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ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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GENERAL FERDINAND FOCH

The supreme commander of the Allied Armies operating on the Western Front

THE WORLD'S WORK

MAY, 1918

VOLUME XXXVI

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

THE Allied council at Versailles is one evidence of Allied unity of operation. The appointment of a single commander in chief for all the armies on the Western Front is another most encouraging evidence of the same thing. And everyone is agreed that the choice of General Ferdinand Foch is an admirable one.

It is greatly to the credit of the British Government, that has more men under arms both at sea and on shore than any of her allies, that she should be willing to put the army that bore the brunt of last year's fighting under other leaders than her own, for the common benefit.

And the United States has likewise shown a willingness to put aside all pride, and coöperate for the common good. We have not only unhesitatingly put Pershing's gallant little army under General Foch; we have gone much farther than that. We have made an arrangement whereby various American units can be merged with the British and French forces. To swallow our pride and use our allies' help to train our troops is obviously the course of true patriotism, and the Administration or General Bliss or whoever made the decision is deserving of the Nation's thanks.

The unification of effort and command at the front greatly improves our chances of rapid training and skillful use of the armies in the field. We can look to General Foch to make the best use of the armies which are given him.

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MR. SWAGAR SHERLEY

Representative from Kentucky and Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, who strongly favors the budget system in the handling of our National expenditures

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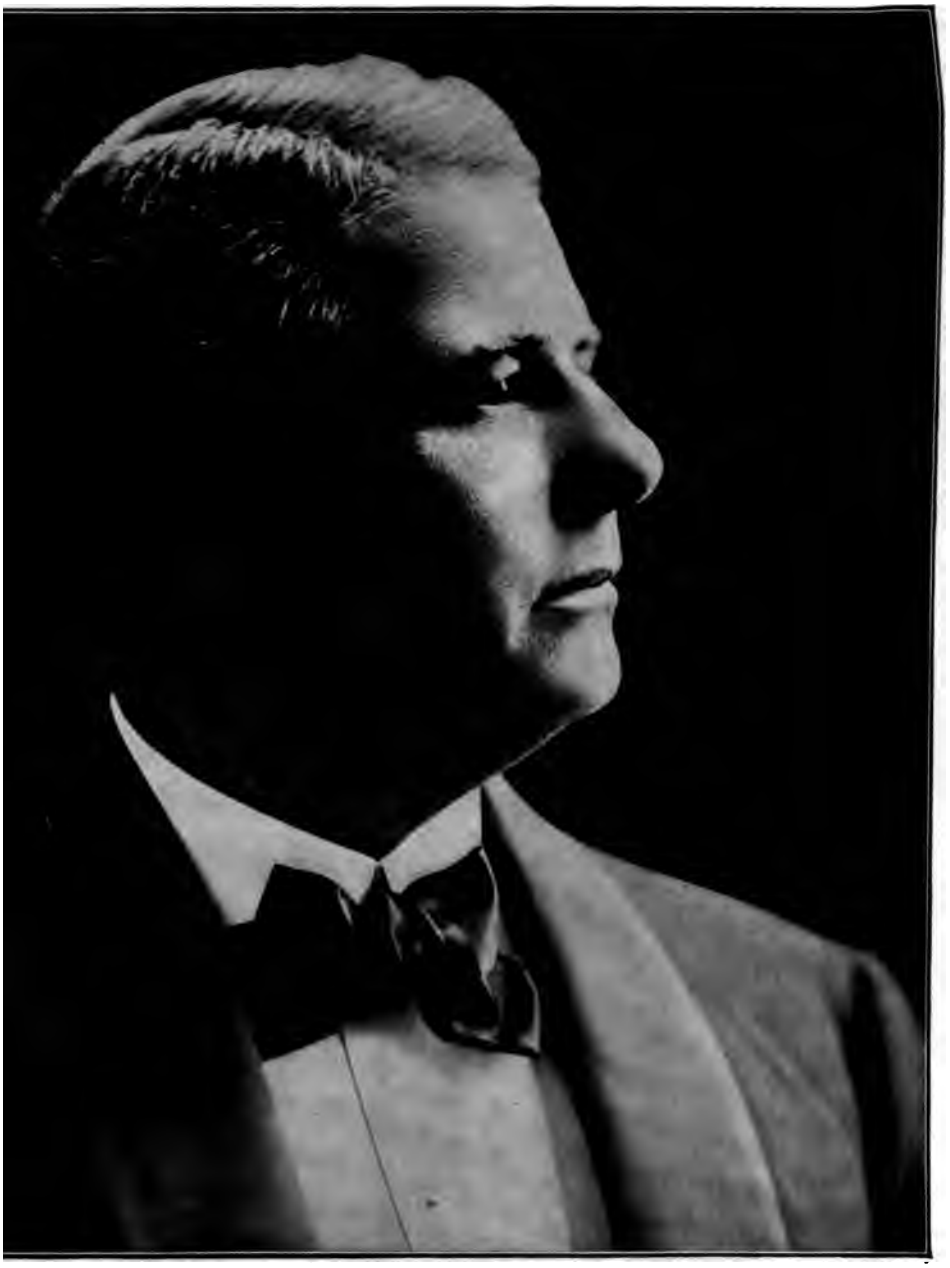
MR. IRVINE L. LENROOT

The recently elected Republican Senator of Wisconsin, who has opposed La Follette, and whose platform was based on patriotic Americanism



MR. CARL R. GRAY

Recently appointed Director of the Division of Transportation; formerly president of the Great Northern Railroad and more recently of the Western Maryland Railroad

The Official Newspaper of the A. E. F.

The Stars and Stripes

By and For the Soldiers of the A. E. F.

VOL. I—NO. 1. FRANCE, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1918. PRICE: 50 CENTIMES.

MEN ON LEAVE NOT TO BE LED ROUND BY HAND

Impression That They will be Chaperoned Wholly Erroneous.

SAVOY FOR FIRST GROUP.

"PINK TICKETS" FOR PARIS.

OFF FOR THE TRENCHES.

TOOTH YANKING CAR IS TOURING FRANCE

Red Cross Dentist's Office Lacks Nothing but the Lady Assistant

A MESSAGE FROM OUR CHIEF

IN this initial number of THE STARS AND STRIPES, published by the men of the Overseas Command, the Commander-in-Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces extends his greetings through the editing staff to the readers from the first line trenches to the base ports.

These readers are mainly the men who have been honored by being the first contingent of Americans to fight on European soil for the honor of their country. It is an honor and privilege which make them fortunate above the millions of their fellow citizens at home. Commensurate with their privilege is being born to the duty which is laid before them, and this duty will be performed by them as by Americans of the past, eager, determined, and unyielding to the last.

The paper, written by the men in the service, should speak the thoughts of the new American Army and the American people from whom the Army has been drawn. It is your paper. Good luck to it.

(Signed) JOHN J. PERSHING,
Commander-in-Chief, A.E.F.

ARMY MEN BUILD AN OVER-SEAS PITTSBURGH

Mammoth Warehouses and the World's Largest Cold Storage Plant Spring Up in Three Months.

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Don't Forget that War-Risk Insurance Expires February 12 in your last chance at it.

THE STARS AND STRIPES

The first number of the daily paper published by the American Expeditionary Force for the benefit of our men on duty in France. It is about the size of the average American newspaper, but it sells for fifty centimes—nearly ten cents

Saving Banks and the Liberty Loan

WHAT effect will the offering of 4¼ per cent. Liberty Loan bonds have on the savings banks which with few exceptions pay not more than 4 per cent interest? There seems to be sufficient data at hand to answer that the withdrawals of deposits will be comparatively slight, and in the long run the results of the Liberty Loan and War Savings campaigns are certain to be beneficial to all savings institutions. Meanwhile the savings banks are protected by the plan Secretary McAdoo has outlined for granting them one year loans against their security holdings should there be any need for additional funds. This should allay any apprehension that savings bank officials might have. They will not be forced to sell their securities at present low prices.

War borrowings in Great Britain have come into more direct competition with savings institutions than they have here. That is, there is a greater difference in interest rate. The British national loan bonds and war savings certificates bear 5 per cent. interest, while the average savings bank rate in England is only 2¾ per cent. Yet during the most active period of the war savings campaign, when more than half a billion dollars of the savings of British wage earners went into war savings certificates, the deposits of all savings institutions showed record increases. The experience in Canada has been the same. Figures compiled show that the savings departments of Canadian banks held $663,650,000 deposits in July, 1914, and on January 1, 1918, their deposits were approximately a billion, a gain of about 50 per cent. The interest paid on these savings averages about 3 per cent. and Canada has issued war loans carrying 5 and 5½ per cent. interest without causing the withdrawal of money from the savings banks. The remarkable fact is that during the periods when payments were being made on the first two loans, savings deposits grew as rapidly as they did in the intervening periods.

In this country there is nearly $5,000,000,000 of capital in savings banks. This goes a good way toward refuting the statement that we are not a thrifty nation. Ten million people own these savings. About half of this capital is in New York State savings banks. During 1917 the savings bank deposits of that state grew by $33,000,000. In
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to yield comfort and happiness for men and women. From the standpoint of the economist this was ideal. Unproductive values were recovered, capital was released, waste was checked and, without any present increase in our manufacturing output, people were provided with many things they needed at a low cost." As a real and much needed form of war economy he advocated the holding of rummage sales throughout the country.

Since then he has had the pleasure of reporting that his "small drop of ink" has resulted in what they called "A White Elephant Sale" in Omaha, Nebraska, which netted $6,200 for the war fund of the local branch of the Women's League for National Service. There is probably not a community in the country, unless it be some very new settlement, that could not raise money for the war and at the same time improve its own domestic convenience and comfort, by a general auctioning off of "white elephants." Every dollar received for them is a dollar salvaged from the original expenditure. A woman living in a village near New York has told this editor how they manage there, in a very businesslike way, two rummage sales a year to make money for their village improvement society. This interesting information he has passed on to his readers. Among the benefits reported by local housewives are more orderly and clearer attics and closets than they had before the bi-annual sales became a village custom.

In England, where war economy has gone much deeper than it has here, people of moderate incomes are selling their pianos, and they are going into the homes of the munition workers who are enjoying a prosperity that they have never before known. Mr. H. Gordon Selfridge, proprietor of the largest retail store in London, says that his store is doing a large business in these second-hand pianos. England cannot spare labor and materials for the making of new ones. By the transferring of existing property from one person to another in this way the buying demand of the one class is satisfied without interfering with the war demands of the Government. As a beginning in this way it would be well for us to meet as much of the buying demand here as we can with goods which the present owners have no use for. The rummage sale can help win the war.

The Stock Promotion Evil Uncontrolled

IN WASHINGTON a day or so after the Liberty Motor had been criticised in Congress, there were enterprising individuals demonstrating on Pennsylvania Avenue within sight of the Treasury Building "The Greatest Motor ever built for Airplane and Tractors," and selling stock in the company that *was to make* the motor. The motor itself, running in the front room, was the bait to catch the "suckers." In the back room were tables where the unwary signed up for the stock. It had already advanced, they were told, from $1 to $1.25 a share, and could not be bought under $1.50 a share by the next week.

Not far from the spot where this was going on, sat the Capital Issues Committee which decides whether proposed financing is compatible with the interest of the United States. The most reputable banking houses will not participate in new financing in these times unless it has the approval of this committee. The get-rich-quick promoter, however, does not go near the committee. His offerings continue to compete with Liberty Bonds for the savings of the public. He promises anything up to a thousand per cent. return, while the Government offers only 4¼ per cent. His field of operation is nation-wide, and his trail is one of loss and sorrow for those least able to afford it.

Moreover he is hurting the Liberty Loan campaigns in their most vulnerable spot. The half million people who have investing experience in this country do not get caught by the get-rich-quick promoters very often. The promoters generally take the first savings which the people of smaller incomes accumulate—these first savings which are hardest of all to make. One of the great opportunities for the Liberty Loans is to train such people in the ways of safe investment, and to give them the benefit of it, as well as of raising funds for the war. And at this vital point the get-rich-quick promoter lures the little investor away, to take his money and sour his whole disposition against investment. As it is too hard for some people to withstand the lure of the promoter's promise even when their country needs the money, it would be a great blessing if Congress would give the Capital Issues Committee, or some other agency, the power and duty of putting these piratical promoters out of business at least for the duration of the war.

The Responsibility of a Nation's Strength

WITHOUT the confirmation of Prince Lichnowsky, ex-German ambassador to Great Britain, the world had become convinced of Germany's fixed intention to start the world war in 1914. Prince Lichnowsky, in his attack on his own government, however, refers specifically to the great council at Potsdam on July 5th where the final decision was made. This council is a thing of which the public in the Allied and neutral nations has known little or nothing, and, consequently, any number of books and articles have been written analyzing the diplomatic interchanges of the ten days before war began. But as a matter of fact, nothing after July 5th mattered. The German Government had decided on war then. All its later actions were merely to deceive its own people and the rest of the world, in an endeavor to follow the Bismarckian teaching that it is wise when starting an aggressive war to seem to be the injured party if possible.

There is beside the Lichnowsky statement another record—and a fuller one—of the famous council of July 5th. As Mr. Morgenthau will tell in the next issue of the WORLD'S WORK, the German ambassador, Baron von Wangenheim, left Constantinople to attend this famous meeting, and some time after the war started, he told our ambassador about this momentous gathering and its criminal decision against the peace of the world.

Little by little we are beginning to fill in the details of the Kaiser's diabolical preparations in the purely political and military fields. We have not thus far uncovered as much of the correlated programme in commerce and finance by which Germany also intended to seek world dominion. We are fairly familiar now with the German reason for attacking Belgium and France first, rather than Russia. The Western advance gave the German armies control of great deposits of iron and coal in Belgium, Northern France, and in the Briey basin opposite Verdun. This was not only indispensable for this war as it turned out, but it is also indispensable for future wars. It would likewise give Germany a practical monopoly of continental coal and iron. The control of the dye business of the world and its relation to explosives is well known. In this number of the WORLD'S WORK, Mr. Stockbridge explains a similar
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We produced two-thirds of the world's oil supply of that year alone.

About 60 per cent. of the world's cotton is raised here and another 25 per cent. in British dependencies.

Our responsibilities arising out of the possession of natural wealth are much greater than those of all the British people. On the other hand they own the stategic points of world commerce and govern more than 300 million politically undeveloped peoples. We are responsible for about ten million, chiefly in the Philippines. In this respect France has far greater responsibilities than the United States, for the French colonies in Africa, China, and elsewhere contain about 40 million people.

Next to the United States and the British peoples, and in many things more than the British—Germany had the greatest responsibilities of power, but her selfish use of her strength has not been mitigated by any enlightened ideas whatever.

In or out of a league, the richly endowed nations must meet these responsibilities, must mitigate the dangers of unfair commercial competition, and must endeavor, on the one hand, to prevent the exploitation of dependent and backward peoples, and, on the other hand, to encourage them toward material well-being and political ability and its attendant freedom.

For each nation to try to work these problems out alone is extremely difficult, for there has to be two sides to commercial intercourse. Moreover, unless there is some active coöperation, there are several tasks which are so large that no one nation can accomplish them. The financing of the reconstruction of Europe is one of the most stupendous tasks mankind ever faced. If the devastated countries have to bid for money as under ordinary circumstances, the cost of their reconstruction will be very high.

There must, therefore, be some kind of coöperation, especially among the nations whose natural resources confer on them a great responsibility. If a league can be formed by which this coöperation can be achieved, all well and good. If not, it is possible at least to continue the system now in vogue, of coun-

cils, commissions, exchange visits of responsible officers between the different countries, etc. The only difference would be that in peace times the deliberations of these various agencies should be public. This method is not as Utopian as a league, but we know it will work for we see it working now, and if practised diligently and extended it may turn into a league at a later date. Until we do get a league of nations into practical operation it would certainly be foolish to throw away the machinery which we now have in operation.

A Car Ferry from England to France

On February 22, 1918, the British Army put into service the first English Channel car ferry. Now British troops are being transferred from England to France without leaving their trains, thus saving considerable time, and preventing congestion at the Channel ports.

Car ferries have been used for years in America, the most notable being the huge ferry running between Key West and Havana. Sicily is connected with Italy by car ferry, and on Lake Baïkal there is, during the summer, a ferry as a link in the Trans-Siberian Railroad.

The Channel Ferry has great possibilities. At the present time it is intended only to assist the British Army, but after the war will, until superseded by the Channel tunnel, help in maintaining cordial Anglo-French relations, and will offer Great Britain an easier route to the trade centres of continental Europe.

Those Who Vote Against the Republic

LAST fall in the elections in New York, Hillquit, the Socialist anti-war candidate for mayor, got 141,739 votes. A study of the distribution of these votes shows that they were chiefly in those parts of the city where the recent immigrants congregate, especially the Russian Jews.

In the recent elections in Chicago the Socialists met complete defeat at the hands of the Republican and Democratic parties. Nevertheless, it was necessary for these parties to join efforts in certain districts to prevent the election of a Socialist. The bulk of this Socialist vote also was the foreign born of comparitively recent arrival. In Wisconsin, Victor Berger, the Socialist candidate, got 100,000 votes. A glance at the map on page 24 will explain this, for many of t
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keep up the pace and got a very low toll the succeeding seven days. When these low figures were announced the great drive was slowing up, and more people noticed them than had paid any attention to the "frightful" week before. The total result of this combined frightfulness manœuvre was nothing.

The military ability of the German General Staff and the fighting power of the German Army are things to take seriously every minute as is also the German ability at propaganda and corruption, but the carefully staged frightfulness campaigns have never produced any effect except to strengthen the morale of their enemies.

Our Advantage in the West

AS SPRING came on, the German General Staff was faced with the choice between holding the line on the Western Front and using considerable forces for the further penetration, "pacification," and organization of Russia; and thereby strengthening the German condition for next year; or of leaving Russia with little military attention, and throwing the whole force of the German arms into an effort to gain a decision in the West.

The General Staff chose the latter. Whether it was because internal conditions called for some quick decision, or because it feared the results of our reinforcements next year we do not know. Perhaps both causes contributed. Whatever the reason that decided them to force the fighting in the West, that decision has in it more potential advantages for us than for them.

For them it has two possibilities but no probabilities. The first is the possibility that they could break the juncture of the French and the British armies, separate them, and defeat them one at a time, and thereby bring the war to a victorious close on the field of battle. Considering the numbers and fighting qualities of the armies against them, this was a pretty desperate hope. On the other hand, even if it failed, it left them their second possibility. After such a drive as they inaugurated, they are in position for their favorite manœuvre, which is to strike a hard blow with one hand and try to start peace negotiations with the other, in the hope that the combination of fear of their military prowess and the bait which they offer in their

peace terms will induce one or all of the Allies to stop. A general attack on all fronts would serve as an even better preliminary to this peace campaign than the one attack in France.

But the hope of the Allies accepting a peace without victory is farther away than ever. At Baltimore, on April 6, the President said that the Germans could not be allowed to keep the fruit of their robberies to the East, and that "there is . . . but one response possible from us. Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in dust."

It took everybody a long time to learn that force was the only thing that the German understood, but by now the lesson is thoroughly digested.

Therefore, the peace drive will fail, and the Germans will have made no gain beyond the loss in men they cause their enemies. And this is not a net gain if they pay higher in men than their adversaries pay.

On the other hand, our side has the advantage of having occupied the whole German army profitably while the million American troops that ought to be ready by 1919 is arriving.

The harder the fighting this year, and the more depleted the present armies are by it, the more important our million soldiers will be. So long as the Germans pay more than man for man and do not achieve a decisive victory, the more the fighting is forced, the nearer and more complete the ultimate German defeat.

Daniels and Destroyers

ON THE day of the anniversary of our entrance into the war Secretary Daniels, in a speech in Cleveland, announced that there were 150 ships of the American Navy in European waters. This number includes battleships, cruisers, destroyers, and small craft of various kinds.

These are almost the only facts which the public has been given about the extent of our participation in the war at sea. We are proud to have the battleships where they may have a hand in the next battle with the German fleet if it comes out again. And all Americans have the pride which Mr. Daniels expresses in the achievements of our smaller craft in the war against the submarine
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The New Pension System

UNCLE SAM has insured well above 90 per cent. of those in the military and naval service of the country. This means that the largest insurance business in the world is now being conducted by the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department at Washington. More than 12 billion dollars of life insurance has been written since the plan was approved by Congress on October 6, 1917. The largest insurance company in the world has less than one-third that amount on its books.

On this Government insurance the United States bears the expense of administration, the excess mortality, and also the disability cost resulting from hazards of war. The soldier pays what is known as the net premium rate. At the age of twenty-five this is but $8.00 a year for each $1,000 of insurance. No company could sell the insurance at that rate in justice to its old policyholders. The average taken has been $8,085 per man. For the period of the war and for five years thereafter the insurance will be what is known as "term" insurance. Within five years after the war the insured can convert this into any of the usual forms of insurance at the net premium rate for such forms of insurance. No medical examination will be required then, and none is required when the insurance is first taken out. Any one enlisting in the army or navy or entering active service in the nurse corps, can within 120 days apply for and secure insurance up to a maximum of $10,000.

It is not correct to say that this insurance takes the place of the old pension system. Its benefits are paid in monthly installments for twenty years to the beneficiaries, and if the insured becomes totally and permanently disabled, these monthly payments will be made to him and continued through the duration of the disability. In addition to this insurance, however, the Government has provided for compensation for death or disability applying to all those in the service. This is somewhat like the old pension system. Death or disability, to be compensable, however, must occur while in the service or within one year after discharge or resignation, unless the injured person, within the year, has undergone a medical examination and obtained a certificate that he is suffering from an injury likely

to cause death or disability. Then compensation shall be payable whenever death or disability resulting from such injury occurs. This may cause a year of boom business for doctors after the war comparable with that done by a certain class of lawyers under the old pension system. But the Government's liability under this plan of compensation is not likely to increase steadily year after year as it has under the old system.

These Government provisions for insurance, for compensation, and also for allotments of pay to dependents, which are doubled by the Government, are important measures for increasing the morale of our soldiers and sailors and making them better fighting men. One of the incidental results of the insurance plan is likely to be an increased demand for insurance throughout the country; if not at once, then after these men return home and the education they have received in insurance principles begins to spread.

A War Cabinet?

THE President has taken a decided step to meet the very general criticism that our conduct of the war lacked cohesion at the top. He has instituted a weekly meeting of Mr. Bernard Baruch, the head of the War Industries Board, Mr. Hoover, Mr. Garfield, Mr. Hurley, Mr. Vance McCormick, head of the War Trade Board, Secretary Daniels, and Director General of Railroads, Secretary McAdoo. The Secretary of War, of course, will also be a member. At the first meeting the President presided. This organization becomes, therefore, a kind of war cabinet that can accomplish the coördination at the top which the Council of National Defence failed in.

If the President continues to take an active part in the deliberations of this new body we may hope for a quickening pulse all through our war making organization. Up to the present there has been no body that could decide any matter of vital importance. These decisions were practically all made by the President, and usually made after long delay had caused much damage. At the meetings of this new body questions can be brought to the President's attention for decision much earlier than has hitherto been done and if this body, under the President's leadership, can decide matters quickly it will be a vast achievement not only in
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branch of the Government will present to Congress an outline of its policy with a request for the funds to carry it out, and in which the members of the Cabinet can be held responsible on the floor of Congress for their administration.

The President's appearance before Congress was taken as an indication of this trend particularly as he was known to believe in responsible government. Many political leaders of all shades of opinion from Elihu Root to John J. Fitzgerald have advocated the idea in recent years. And now the action of the War and Navy Departments in explaining their administration weekly to a committee from Congress is another step in that direction.

Mr. Swagar Sherley, the new chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, is a strong advocate of a federal budget which is much the same thing as responsible government presented from another angle. He wants the executive department to submit all its money demands with an explanation of their purpose to a budget committee of Congress.

Mr. Sherley, says:

"This thing can be brought about if the President will begin the reform by sending to Congress a real budget, which has his sanction as a whole and in all its parts. That means that the Secretary of the Treasury must cease to be a mere messenger boy for the transmission to Congress of the unrelated annual estimates of what the various Cabinet departments want in the way of money for the twelve months to come.

"On the contrary, the Secretary of the Treasury should be raised to the dignity of a real Premier of finance for the Government. He should have the power to suggest to his colleagues in the Cabinet that they all make their estimates with reference to the total amount of all the departments, with reference to their relative merits from the point of view of the general national welfare and progress, and, above all, with reference to the total amount to be raised to foot the total bill. These department estimates should be considered by the Cabinet as a whole. Each member should be obliged to show cause to the heads of the other departments why he wanted so much, why he wanted an appropriation for such-and-such a purpose. And when all these sums are considered by the Cabinet as a whole, and agreed to and approved

by the Secretary of the Treasury and the President, they would make a clear-cut problem for Congress to consider. They would form a real budget.

"So much for the part the President and the Cabinet should play in the establishment of a budget system. What Congress should do is substantially this—instead of undertaking what I believe would be the impossible task of bringing back to the Committee on Appropriations jurisdiction of all the supply bills, we should create a new committee on estimates and expenditures, a budget committee, if you please. This should include in its personnel the Chairman and three ranking majority members and the ranking minority members of the Committees on Ways and Means and Appropriations, and the Chairmen and ranking minority members of the Committees on Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, Agriculture, Foreign Affairs, and so on through all the committees that now have jurisdiction over part of the total appropriations of the Congress. I would also add the Chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on Rules, for that is the great political committee of the House.

"This suggestion of mine has been objected to on the ground that the Budget Committee would be too large. But it really would be two committees because the majority members would necessarily come to one conclusion, just as the majority of Ways and Means does now, and the minority members would come to another conclusion. Then these two proposals would come before the whole House for debate and for a final choice with or without modification. This discussion would mean something to the entire House and require consideration by all the members and by the public of the real purposes of Government and legislation, for, as I said a moment ago, nearly every great problem that comes before a legislative and deliberative body presents itself in the tangible, concrete form of a proposition of either taxation or expenditure."

And Mr. Sherley very truly points out that under this plan:

"The power of the individual, acting as a special pleader, with personal or local motives, to meddle with what Congress as a whole had determined to be right, would be destroyed. But it should be. The Congress of the United States has become so big that in order to function properly as a body the privileges and activities of its individual
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Does Our War Programm

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They point out, however, that even the size of this force should not be exaggerated in the public mind. Assuming, according to Secretary of War Baker's estimate, that there are something like 500,000 men in France, it must be remembered that only half of these are fighting men and that the other half are non-combatants.

Also, according to the three line system now used, there must be two fighting men behind the line for every man at the front. At that rate members of the Military Committee point out, there cannot be more than 83,000 fighting men in the front line trenches, and even that number should be cut in half, they believe, in order to arrive at any definite statement of the men in the trenches.

The members of the Military Committee are not inclined to criticize the Pershing army in any way. They do, however, insist that the public be informed as to the relative unimportance of the American force now in France as a means to making the people realize what remains to be done before the United States can be counted as one of the four great adversaries of the Central Powers. Even Bulgaria, a nation not as large as many of the states, has an army in the field which would be much more than a match for anything the United States now has in the field.

The conclusion that the United States cannot take a part in the war commensurate with her size until 1919 is arrived at not merely from recent statements in regard to the airplane situation but in regard to the whole military situation. In guns of all sorts, in ships, in motor trucks, in transportation, and in fact in everything but the men that go to make up the army, the United States is now deficient, and will remain so for some time to come.

This is a fair statement of the case, but there are two important aspects of our war preparation which it does not cover. The first is that the public, the press, and Congress now know that the Administration must not only be watched but prodded. The second is that the watching and prodding has already resulted in a reorganization of the machinery for preparing for war which puts it upon a better plane than heretofore. When we entered the war the Administration had neither the vision of what our part must be nor the organization to carry out either that part or the more limited programme it intended. Our preparation for 1918 was not therefore what we hoped. The question now is what is our programme for 1919? Is the Administration planning to win the war then? If so does its schedules provide for men and munitions enough in France in 1919 to do it?

We have, of course, done much in the last 13 months, raised men and money, saved food, built shipyards, etc.. In peace times any of these things would be remarkable achievements. In war times they are successful or not according to how much and where they hurt the German army.

The question before us now is very like what it was nine months ago. Then optimistic people hoped that our government was making a programme to insure victory in 1918, now these same people hope that the programme includes a victorious end of the war in 1919.

The Aircraft Programme Also

THE President authorized Mr. Gutzon Borglum, the sculptor, to investigate the progress that we were making in the preparation of the great air fleet on which the American public based great hopes. Mr. Borglum's report was most discouraging. He stated that the programme was only 26 per cent. up to schedule. Further investigations seemed to indicate that Mr. Borglum's report was over-pessimistic, but all the facts indicate that our manufacture of airplanes and engines is far below the original estimates.

It is not surprising. Springing to arms, especially in the air, is a difficult feat. It is, however, deeply disappointing because there was a hope, even after we knew that a big achievement in rifles, machine guns, and artillery was beyond our power to improvise that we might do the seemingly impossible and make good our programme in aviation. Had we done so it would have been a most creditable achievement, for the Signal Corps and the Aircraft Production Board laid out for themselves a relatively bigger programme than any other branch of the army. They had a truly big vision and, as far as they have come from realizing it, they have at least done better than most other branches of the army.

The military result is that we shall not appreciably aid our allies in the air until this fall, and that any decisive effect on the control of the air which we may have must, in all probability, be postponed until next spring's fighting.

The aviation was about the last point on which there was hope that the Administration would be able to make good by efficiency what it lacked in foresight.

Martin Luther's Diagnosis of Germany's Case

IN FORMER times", said Martin Luther, early in the sixteenth century, "it stood well with Germany; but now her people are fallen from virtue, and are become rude and proud and insolent. Germany is like a brave and gallant horse, highly fed, but without a good rider. Germany is a rich, powerful, and brave country, but she is in sore need of a good head and governor. I often reflect with sorrow how utterly Germany rejects all good counsel in this respect."

German Peace Talk in Public and in Private

ON MARCH 18th the New York *Times* printed the following editorial which contains in a most illuminating way two German documents which have an interesting bearing on all Germany's peace talk, and also on the phrase "no annexations and no indemnities" which she professed her self willing to accept.

Those who think such a thing as a negotiated peace is possible with Germany, who think any kind of peace conference is possible until she has been beaten, who take her words not exactly at their face value but as containing some residuum of truth, should attend to the secret official communication which fell into Hugo Haase's hands and was read by him to the Main Committee of the Reichstag. Haase is the leader of the Independent Socialists, who are the anti-Kaiserite minority Socialists. The document he produced was a secret communication sent by Berlin to Vienna outlining Germany's intentions. It was written by Michaelis, who was then Chancellor.

This is the same Michaelis who pretended to accept the resolution of the Reichstag declaring for peace without annexations. While Michaelis—who, like Bethmann and Hertling, is merely the mouthpeace and puppet of the real rulers and not to be considered as having an identity apart from them—was declaring to the Reichstag and the world Germany's moderate and pacific aims, in secret he was communicating to Austria her real aims. Compare them:

MICHAELIS TO THE REICHSTAG, JULY 19, 1917.	MICHAELIS TO AUSTRIA, IN THE SECRET DOCUMENT
The concentration of the Russian Army compelled Germany to seize the sword. There was no choice left to us, and what is true of the war itself is true also of our weapons, particularly the submarine.	The motive of all of Germany's acts is the lack of territory, both for the development of commerce and colonization. Germany has to solve two problems—the freedom of the seas and the opening of a route to the Southeast. And these two problems can only be solved through the destruction of England.
Germany did not desire the war in order to make violent conquests, and therefore would not continue the war a day longer merely for the sake of such conquests, if it could obtain an honorable peace.	Our object is the permanent securing of the German Empire in Central Europe and the extension of its territory. No one who understands the significance of this war can doubt that, in spite of our wish to be moderate, we shall not allow ourselves to be deterred from extending the borders of the empire and from, under all circumstances, annexing such territories as are fitted for colonization and are not subjected to the influence of the sea power.
These aims may be attained within the limits of your resolution as I understand it [the Reichstag resolution declaring against annexations]. We cannot again offer peace. We have loyally stretched out our hands once. It met no response; but . . the Government feels that if our enemies abandon their lust for conquest and their aims of subjugation, and wish to enter into negotiations, we shall listen honestly and readily for peace to what they have to say to us.	We can weaken her [Russia] materially by taking away her border territories, the Baltic provinces. By using skillful policies the Baltic provinces can easily be Germanized. They will be settled with Germans and their population will double itself. That is the reason why they must be annexed. . . . The frontier between the German Empire and Poland must be materially altered. . . . The lakes, which we shall not leave in the hands of the Russians at any price, will be included within our borders.
What we long to attain is a new and splendid Germany, not a Germany which wishes, as our enemies believe, to terrorize the world with her	In the Vosges the boundary line must be improved by the annexation of some valleys, so that the German frontier troops can no longer be

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Government. The present German Government used German foreign commerce in this way. The German Government legalized the German trusts, even forcing the formation of some of them. Having done this the Government encouraged them to go into competition for the world's markets with the injunction that they break down all competition by fair means if possible; by unfair competition if necessary. To make this unfair competition effective the German Government was willing to subsidize its trusts in one form or another at least until they had driven all competition out of the field. At the same time that German business was engaged in these commercial practises it was also used to undermine the political fabric of the States in which it was harbored. It was to gain so strong a commercial and financial foothold that it could form a pro-German political organization, which would do the bidding of the Kaiser's government in any emergency. This plan was more or less successfully carried out here, in South America, in Switzerland, Italy, Russia, and Scandinavia. It was nowhere as successful as the Germans hoped but it was sufficiently successful to make all countries which prize their own policical life take good care that it never happen again. We can hardly allow another influx of people from any foreign country to come here either in trade or as immigrants who have the intention of using our hospitality to undermine our political life for the benefit of another nation. As long as the present régime exists in Germany we could have no assurance that it was safe for us to allow either German immigrants or German business to come here.

In fact there is no living in the world with the present German Government. It is not a question of whether we think it wise or right to meddle with the kind of government the Germans want to live under, it is a matter of necessity for us and everyone else who believes in civilization that this menace be abolished. It is not practical for the world to hold no intercourse with seventy millions of people living in the heart of Europe, and it isn't safe to have intercourse with them while they have their present government. The only practical solution is that their government be changed and the only way to be sure to accomplish this is by force.

THE SAFEST INVESTMENT

Every Month the WORLD'S WORK *publishes in this part of the magazine an a*
and the lessons to be learned therefrom.

MR. JOHN J. PULLEYN is president of the largest savings bank in the world—the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank of New York. As head of such an institution, operating under the strict savings bank laws of New York State, one naturally expects him to express conservative views in regard to investments. But it would not necessarily follow that he practices the same conservatism in making his own investments. He does, however, practice what he preaches, and when his depositors go to him for advice regarding investments he recommends the same kind of securities that he has found best suited for the employment of his own funds—the highest grade issues.

He has found this class of security to be the best for him by experience. For that reason his advice to others is practical and based on his own investment experience.

"When I was a young man," he said, "I went with a banking house in Wall Street. At that time there was much speculation going on in mining stocks. We heard a great deal then about the possibilities of holes in the ground, just as you hear the same thing now with the oil promotions. The get-rich-quick promoter was then busy bringing out mining stocks. There was also speculation in new railroad issues selling at low prices. I thought I was going to make a great deal of money in these stocks. I got together all I had and started in. I was going to make at least 10 per cent. on it, and I expected to double it in a very short time. Instead of that I lost it. One of the stocks, I remember, was the Toledo, Delphos & Burlington Railroad. A Senator from Ohio was interested in the promotion of that. He came on to New York and spent a good deal of time in our office. What ever became of the road I don't know; those who bought the stock lost their money. After that I invested no more in things I knew nothing about. Those experiences convinced me that I could not eat my cake and have it, too. After that, when I had money to invest, I was satisfied with a small interest return on good securities.

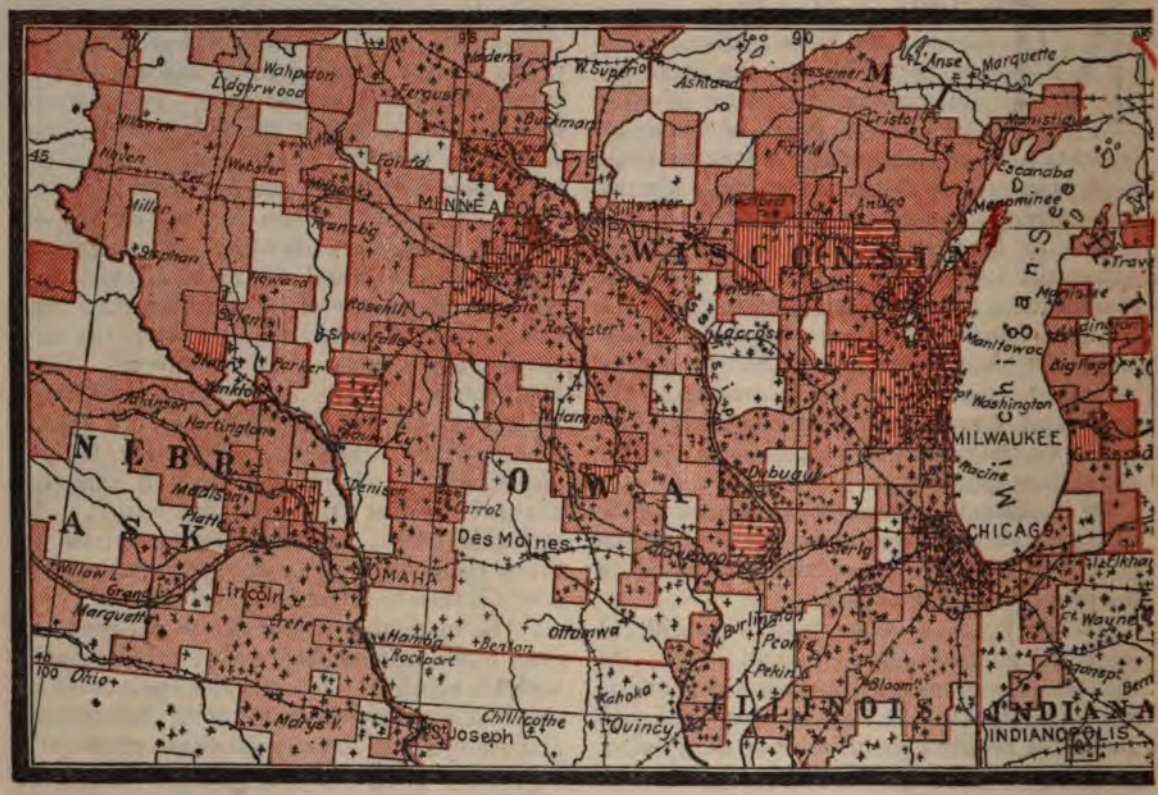
A man cannot become a millionaire by this method of investment, accumulate an estate, whi if the interest is added to from all worry in regard have to keep watch of th tations in the daily pape best grade bonds, he can hold until maturity, when at par. He never needs to them. People should real do the importance of bu can be treated in this wa savings banks make their buy bonds to hold to are purchased at a discou ally marked up each year are bought at a premiun charged against the in technical terms, the bond bring their book value t which is then their market

"The man who tries to even 6 per cent. on his m with his principal. For th the best investments rang and state bonds down thr to the highest grade railr securities there is the safety for an investment. cludes the first mortgage roads, such as the trans-co mortgages on essential p line or most important br feeds a large volume of b line. Such securities are if the roads have to go t and reorganizations. The are the ones that savings State buy. There have among them. There ar securities that are good, best. At present prices th yield from 4½ to 5 per cent

"For the person who c amount, Liberty Loan bon of $50 and up, are the b can be made to-day; for save as much, War Savings Stamps are the best invest

AS GERMANY

Reproductions of Four Maps Taken From Perthes' Alldeutscher Atlas Pub
tus Perthes of Gotha, Germany. With the Exception of the Translated



A SECTION OF THE UNITED STATES—

The legend in the upper right hand corner has been translated, but otherwise this map is as it appears in the Alldeutscher Atlas. The crosses show the locations of German churches, which denote, to the German mind, impor-

EVERY German in a foreign land is, in official Germany's eyes, an outpost of German autocracy. Every outpost of German business is considered an outpost of the German Government.

And the careful record that has been kept of German emigrants in various parts of the world shows only too well how much Germany is interested in her emigrated citizens—how much she still counts on their being German at heart, ready to forward Germany's interests, even to the extent of damaging the interests of the lands of their adoption.

The maps reproduced herewith are taken from an atlas containing a large number of similar maps, showing Germany's centres of influence all over the world. The United States, Canada, Brazil, Chile, South Africa, Australia, and a dozen other countries have all to consider the German in their midst. In the United States, nearly a third of the country is, according to the map, said to be more than 30 per cent. German. It is hardly conceivable that the percentage is so high, but it serves to bring home the seriousness of the situation. Parts of Brazil are nearly 100 per cent. German!

Furthermore, the steamship lines shown on the map on page 26 demonstrate the extent of the German influence that has been brought into play, largely in the last decade.

There are, on the map of the United States shown above, hundreds of crosses showing German churches. But they are there not to show any religious tendencies—not to show

SEES THE WORLD

lished Under the Auspices of the Pan-German League in 1913 by Jus-
Legends These Maps Are Exactly as They Appear in the Atlas

—AS SEEN THROUGH PAN-GERMAN EYES

tant centres of German influence. The population in the districts shown in red according to the legend, is from five to thirty-five per cent. German. German newspapers are also shown, as are cities with large German population

any moral benefit to the country as a result of German immigration—not to show the high standard of the German population. They are there merely to show the centres of German influence—of German Kultur, merely to show to what extent Germany is prepared to undermine the interests of the United States when those interests clash with the interests of the Fatherland.

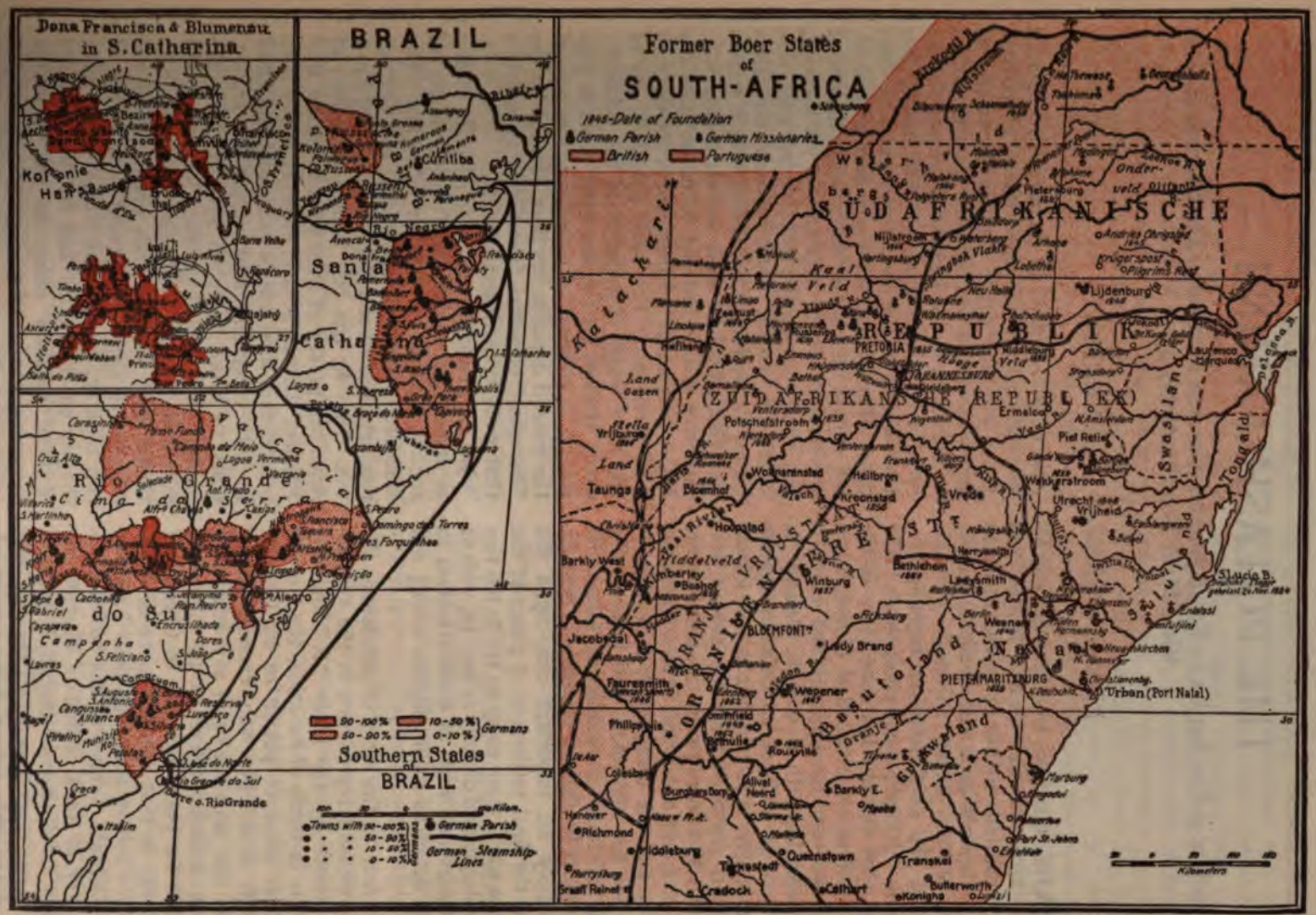
According to the figures in the 1900 edition of the Alldeutscher Atlas, there were at that time more than ten million Germans in America. Nine cities of the United States had more than 100,000 Germans each, while New York's total was slightly more and Chicago's slightly less than half a million.

It is possible for a German to take out citizenship papers in a foreign country without losing citizenship in Germany. He can swear to uphold the Constitution of the United States without being considered by the German Government anything other than a German subject. Consequently the maps contained in Perthes' Alldeutscher Atlas are maps showing official Germany's idea of the number of German citizens in foreign lands, owing allegiance to Germany, advancing Germany's interests. These are not citizens of foreign lands, retaining only a friendly memory of the Fatherland. They are, to German officialdom, Germans, ready to do Germany's work—ready to serve Germany in whatever capacity she may see fit to place them.

Here is merely another example of Germany's scheme of world empire—another step on her way to a "place in the sun."

AS GERMANY SEES THE WORLD

This map, reproduced exactly as it appears in Justus Perthes' Atlas except for the translated legend, shows how the Germans record the percentage of German population all over the world. It is to be noted that the percentage of Germans shown in the United States is higher than in any other country outside of Germany, and that German steamship lines practically encircled the earth before being driven from the sea by the British Navy



GERMAN CENTRES IN BRAZIL AND SOUTH AFRICA

The German activities in Southern Brazil have attracted attention to the numerous German settlements there. In South Africa, also, Germany has found it to her advantage to keep a watchful eye on her settlers. These maps are reproduced exactly as they appear in Justus Perthes' Pan-German Atlas, except that the legends have been translated. In Brazil several districts are shown as being nearly 100 per cent. German

POTASH FAMINE

reak Another German Monopoly—The Sources of This al Plant Food in America

BY

PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

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And until Germany, in January, 1915, placed an embargo on the exportation of potash, practically the entire commercial supply of the whole world was obtained from the mines at Stassfurt, in the Prussian province of Saxony. Not a pound of German potash has been added to the stocks on hand since that date. These stocks have now been exhausted, not only in the United States but in the rest of the civilized world. We are not yet starving, but even allowing the usual 90 per cent. discount for "swank" from Professor Ostwald's claim, we are facing a situation that is serious and that would be more serious if American inventive genius had not found at least the key to permanent independence of the German *Kali* monopoly. For while potash is one of the most widely-distributed of the elements, every attempt for the last forty years to produce it in commercial quantities from any of the natural deposits has been blocked by the "dumping" of potash from Germany at prices that made competition impossible.

We are producing potash in America to-day in commercial quantities, from a variety of sources and in a number of ways. The standard potash of commerce, the German product, used to cost the farmer around $40 a ton. Now he can buy limited quantities of American potash at from $350 to $500 a ton! Much of this new potash, however, comes from sources that soon will be exhausted and all of it, with exceptions that as yet are trifling, costs so much more to produce than the highest price at which the German potash ever sold, that its production cannot be continued after the war ends unless means are adopted to keep the German product out of this country, a procedure which would react sharply on the farmer and on the consumer of farm products unless in the meantime cheaper methods and more permanent sources are developed.

There is little doubt that Germany has long regarded the possession of the Stassfurt

deposits as one of its most valuable pieces on the diplomatic chess-board. It has hoped to recoup a large part of its war costs by making the rest of the world pay through the nose for potash after the war, and to utilize what it has regarded as control of the world's fertility as a club to compel concessions whenever peace conferences convene. Two elements that Germany did not foresee have arisen to block this game. One will result from the restoration of Alsace to France. It has been disclosed only recently that the potash deposits discovered in that province in 1909 are even larger and more accessible than those of Stassfurt. The other is the development in America of methods of potash production that will be on the one hand adequate to supply the growing needs of American agriculture and eventually provide a surplus for export, and on the other hand be capable of withstanding any future German attempt to destroy the industry by "dumping," without the aid of Government subsidies or the shelter of a tariff wall. Alsace is in German hands, but when it shall have been restored to France its potash resources will not only break the German monopoly but provide France with a valuable export commodity to exchange for the vast supplies of all kinds she must obtain from us.

These Alsatian potash deposits are actually larger in extent than the Stassfurt beds, according to information recently disclosed from French sources. They contain about 1,500,000,000 tons of potash salts in a form readily usable for agricultural fertilizer without separation from magnesium salts, as is required with the Stassfurt salts. These deposits are located near Wittelsheim and were first discovered when some deep borings for coal were made in that vicinity. The first production from this deposit began in 1910, but under a German Government regulation it has been carefully restricted. Fifteen mines in Alsace, with a capacity of 800,000 tons a year, are allowed to sell only 80,000 tons and the total amount permitted to be produced in Alsace is restricted to one-tenth of the total German production. This procedure is, of course, due to the attempts of the German authorities to control and strengthen their potash monopoly.

The United States in normal peace times has used an average of about 250,000 tons of German potash annually. The demand has been steadily increasing.
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claim that this has already proved the panacea sought for, but the evidence so far is all in its favor and I am merely passing along the judgment of Government experts who have delved deeply into every phase of the potash question in saying that, on the basis of results thus far obtained, it offers the best chance now in sight to compete with German potash in normal times.

THE COTTRELL METHOD

Like many other important discoveries, what the inventor of the electric precipitation method of recovering potash from cement and blast-furnace dust found was not what he was looking for. Columbus set out to find a short route to India and discovered America; F. G. Cottrell undertook to preserve the orange groves of Riverside, Cal., from destruction by dust from a cement plant and discovered a new industrial and agricultural resource. It has long been known to chemists that limestone, coke, iron ore, and clay, the ingredients used in cement kilns and blast furnaces, contain much potash, in the form of insoluble silicates. When Mr. Cottrell, who is now Chief Metallurgist of the U. S. Bureau of Mines, found that the way to prevent the dust from a cement kiln from being carried out through the stack and devastating the vegetation of the surrounding countryside was to pass the furnace fumes through a series of charged electric wires, the problem of what to do with the quantities of dust thus accumulated at the kiln came up next for solution. Analysis of the dust disclosed, as had been anticipated, that it contained a very high percentage of potash, but more important than that fact, its atomic affiliations had been so readjusted by the heat of the kiln that it was now readily soluble and could be recovered by a simple process of leaching.

The process of precipitating the cement-kiln dust and extracting the potash content has already found wide application. It furnishes at once a solution of the problem of dust-disposition, which every manufacturer of Portland cement confronts as state after state makes it illegal to discharge the dust into the air, and of preventing the alkaline potash carried in the fumes from eating out the linings of the flues. Cement manufacturers have for years been trying to use as small a proportion as possible of potash-bearing ingredients. Now those plants that have installed the Cot-

trell method find they can add substances heretofore discarded and obtain a more profitable by-product. An idea of the low cost of potash obtained by this method is given by the experience of the Security Cement and Lime Company of Hagerstown, Md., the first plant in the East to adopt the Cottrell process. On a production of three tons of potash a day, the cost at Hagerstown is 39 cents a unit. Before the war the same quantity of the same grade from Stassfurt sold for 85 cents; it is now selling for $5 a unit in the open market. Germany could cut its pre-war price of potash in two and still not drive the Hagerstown product out of the market. The cost of installing the Cottrell process is rather high, amounting to about $50,000 for a 3,000-barrel plant, but since cement manufacturers realize that they must do something to control the dust, installations are being made as fast as the necessary equipment can be obtained, all over the country. The Riverside plant has been in operation about four years, that at Hagerstown about a year and a half and the one at Cementon, the Alpha company's plant on the Hudson, about six months. All have amortized the cost of installation out of the profits from potash, and nine other installations are now under way. Successful adaptation of the potash-recovery method to dust-catching apparatus using a water spray instead of electric precipitation has been made, and some plants using the spray method are now producing potash commercially.

The annual production of Portland cement in the United States is about 90,000,000 barrels. The average amount of recoverable potash, as determined by a very thorough and careful survey that took in 104 American plants and nine in Canada, is about one and three quarter pounds to the barrel of cement produced. Without making any allowance for improved methods of recovery or for the increased output of cement which will come with the necessary rebuilding after the war, here is a potential supply of 75,000 tons a year of potash on a basis that will compete with the German product on any sort of terms, and which is mainly produced in the sections of the country where it is most needed, thus saving transportation expense.

The blast furnaces of the United States offer a vastly greater supply of potash, awaiting only the replacement of their present gas-washing apparatus with electric precipitation devices. In this industry, as in the cement industry, the main quest
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POTASH FROM LAKE

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supply as practically inexhaustible. Actual experience in harvesting the kelp, however, has proved that the density of the growth is very much less than had been believed, and that much of it grows so close to dangerous rocky coasts that it cannot be gathered. The largest company operating in this field is the Hercules Powder Company, whose plant at Chula Vista, California, was established primarily for the purpose of obtaining acetone, an essential ingredient in the manufacture of some of the explosives used by the Allies. Potash is produced as a by-product and is being marketed from this plant. The Diamond Match Company also has a kelp-reduction plant on the California coast, operated to obtain its own supply of potassium chlorate, the essential ingredient in the manufacture of the modern safety or "strike-on-the-box" match. About 25 per cent. of the solid content of kelp is potassium chlorate. There are seven other concerns actively engaged in potash production from kelp, and the Department of Agriculture is just putting into operation a plant near Santa Barbara, where improved methods of drying the kelp and extracting the potash salts are to be tried and the effort made to develop profitable by-products. The present cost of operation makes kelp purely a war-emergency source of potash supply. The harvesting, which is done with an ingenious submarine mowing machine that cuts the kelp off about 3 feet below the surface, is extremely expensive; the fuel cost for drying out the 90 per cent. of water is, so far, prohibitive of anything like peace-time competition, and there is the heavy freight rate from the Pacific Coast to the Atlantic seaboard to be considered. Nevertheless, the idea of returning to the land the potash that has been leached out of the earth into the sea and gathered up by Nature's own chemical synthesis is one that so strongly appeals to the human sense of order and efficiency that there will doubtless be a long series of efforts to make of kelp a permanent source of potash supply. The Agricultural Department is planning to transplant the spores of the kelp to the rocky coast of Maine, hoping that it may flourish there as on the Pacific and thus remove one of the most serious obstacles to its use for fertilizer, the long freight haul. In the meantime, somewhere between 4,000 and 5,000 tons of potash were produced from kelp in 1917, representing a gross income of possibly $2,000,000 on an investment of

close to $4,000,000. The same output at prices prevailing before the war would bring perhaps $200,000, or 5 per cent. on the capital invested, out of which the very heavy cost of production would have to be paid.

DEPOSITS OF POTASH

There is still plenty of undeveloped potash. Nearly half the earth's crust is feldspar and nearly all feldspar contains from 5 to 10 per cent. of potash. You can put a potash mine down anywhere. It looks alluring. The patent offices of the world contain thousands of processes for extracting the potash from the feldspar. None of these as yet has appeared to offer sufficient promise of profit in the face of probable future competition from Stassfurt to enlist the necessary capital for any important development. The green sands of the South Atlantic coast, from New Jersey down, are rich in potash. Laboratory experiments have produced potassium oxide from these sands and some experimental plants are under operation. This source is not yet a commercial factor; whether it can become commercially important remains to be seen. A plant with a capacity of 200 tons of sand daily, expected to produce about nine tons of potash, is now under construction. These sands are practically inexhaustible and may prove an important contribution toward the problem of future supplies. Near Marysvale, Utah, are deposits of alunite, a mineral containing potash in combination with alumina. From this, potassium sulphate is being produced at a cost that yields a profit at present high prices and which, if the attempt to purify and render marketable the aluminium by-product proves successful, may be very materially reduced. These—feldspar, green sand, and alunite—are by far the largest reservoirs of potash known in America; their successful commercial operation on a peace-time basis presents many as yet unsolved problems.

To go on to enumerate the other sources of potash that can be developed if investors are willing to do business at a loss would take volumes. Every few days some new plan for obtaining potash gets into the newspapers. There is some being produced from hardwood ashes imported from Canada, but this is for special chemical purposes, like making the detonators for shells and c
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WORK.

Sir Henry H. Wilson

K.C.B., D.S.O.

r British officer has so accurate a knowledge of n Front as has General Sir Henry H. Wilson, the ne British General Staff. For twenty-five years the war Sir Henry spent practically all of his d down the entire length and breadth of what is ne French, British, and Belgian forces. Consequently ng as much about the Western Front as Hindenburg an Lake region.

ne first came prominently before the public at the ference at Rapallo, near Genoa, on November 9, ontrol which followed this conference made General Before the war, however, he was well known at ne French army headquarters, especially as former f College. He was appointed Sub-Chief of Staff war, and in this position he has for four years at rs been director of military operations.

his speech in Parliament on February 19, stated, he terms of the agreement made at the Versailles ith the duties Sir Henry Wilson performs: "The taff is to hold office under the same conditions, vers, as every Chief of the General Staff up to neral Robertson, remaining the supreme military overnment. He is to accompany Ministers to the War Council as their adviser, and is to have the for the purpose of consulting with any or all of the of the Supreme War Council."

born in Ireland at Currygrane in 1864. At the ed the Royal Irish Regiment. He distinguished and won promotions until, at the beginning of was made a Lieutenant General and was knighted. e was made Chief of the General Staff.

Drawn from photograph © Underwood & Underwood

SIR HENRY H. WILSON
Chief of the British General Staff

niral Samuel McGowan

eral of the United States Navy—The Man rgely Responsible for the Preparation Fleet—How He Takes Care of quisitions for Supplies Going to Our Ships in European Waters

BY
THOMAS R. SHIPP

IRAL SAMUEL McGOWAN, paymaster general avy, is the "boss" of a system that daily 30,000,000.

ar the price of the Navy rations was 43 cents 37 cents the year before, but, at that, McGowan ually saved $1,500,000 to the nation through g and economic handling. And there was no en who are helping to make the seas safe.

is divided into six departments—purchase, supply, isbursing, and accounting. He has experts in rtment, and if it becomes necessary to buy any ds in quantity, McGowan immediately develops

tain standards, and requires publicity as to bids standard specifications are recognized in other ernment as standard.

k of the war, McGowan had merely to expand ed no painful "reorganization." The war brought tract system. McGowan at once worked out on this so that contractors could not bleed the insisted that recognized concerns should do the

t selling brigade" of speculators and middlemen usiness direct with concerns whose integrity and doubted.

Supplies and Accounts is the navy's great business y it is one of the biggest enterprises in the United cent report of the House Committee on Naval chief, Rear Admiral Samuel McGowan, it has

Drawn from photograph © Clinedinst Studio

REAR ADMIRAL SAMUEL McGOWAN
Paymaster General of the United States Navy

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with the aid of skilful coöperation with manufacturing establishments. According to present indications, the navy will never find during the war that it lacks proper equipment and a sufficient supply of it.

The foresightedness of McGowan and the smoothness of his machine were especially demonstrated at the time of the Vera Cruz expedition. The supply system at that time was so well geared that the getaway for the distant port was accomplsihed in twenty-four hours—a feat which naval tacticians say was a model for any navy.

McGowan's offices in the granite State, War, and Navy Building contain no chairs and no clocks. He believes that if you put chairs in an office, you invite a caller to intern. McGowan believes that clocks encourage slacking. So his force works without a chance to see them. Still another example of efficiency in minor things is his removal of all doors in the supplies and accounts division to save time opening and shutting them.

McGowan has another system of saving time taken by calls. He has ordered his officers to be courteous always, but in so far as they can tactfully and practically do so, to ask that all business matters be put in writing. This makes them concise, and they must be of record anyway, so that time is thus conserved all around.

McGowan's department dispenses with the formalities and takes the short cuts.

Vice Admiral Sims cables for something for the destroyer fleet in European waters. That settles it with McGowan, and Sims gets it. The McGowan order, strictly followed, is that any requisition from Sims must be put ahead, and must be considered as just as mandatory as though the head of the supplies and accounts service himself had demanded it.

McGowan regards accounting as a very vital factor in the operation of his bureau.

"A common conception of accounting," he says, "is that it is something entirely academic; its importance to efficient administration not being generally understood.

"The highest developed phase of accounting is the system covering the manufacturing, shipbuilding, and repair operations of the industrial yards. Its greatest importance in war time is . . . as a guide to the distribution of labor in a large plant so that inefficiencies may be corrected, work systematically controlled and more output secured."

THE CHIEF OF THE GENERAL

His Career at West Point, in the Philippines, in Manchuria During War, and in France—The Second of Six Distinguishe of a Distinguished Father

BY

CHARLES A. SELDEN

MAJOR GENERAL PEYTON CONWAY MARCH is one of six distinguished sons of a distinguished father. The father was Professor Francis A. March, of Lafayette College, a famous philologist and author of standard works on Anglo-Saxon. One brother is also a philologist and the author of March's "Thesaurus," a reference book of international fame. Another brother is a psycologist and the author of "A Theory of Mind." A third brother wrote "The Conquest of the Philippines."

General March is an artillerist, and an all-round soldier. Here are four estimates of him, from the men who have commanded him and been commanded by him, the men who have fought with him and worked with him in the Philippines, in Manchuria, in France and Mexico and in the many posts he has held in Washington and elsewhere in the United States.

"He is a great student and technical expert in the affairs of the army," say the old retired officers who were in command when March was coming along.

"He is a great teacher," say the young officers who have been trained under him.

"He never misses the significance of anything," say the officers who served with him as the American army observers with the Japanese forces in the Japanese-Russian war.

"He can fight like hell," say the old soldiers and non-commissioned officers who were in his commands in the Philippines.

And now, to bring this case down to the present moment, the best reason for his being chosen Chief of the General Staff was that given the other day in Washington by a brother general, who said.

"General March always had the makings of a Chief of the General Staff in him because he could see the army as a whole. He was and is a great artilleym his special branch of the s has had interest and lo infantry and cavalry an great supply departme scientific specialist and

"This was sufficiently ago for March to be chos the great army manoeu It was shown by the wor his tour at the War Col talking at the War Colle that were put into the policy of the army at the It was shown by the re plished when put in cha under Adjutant Genera Chief of the Artillery of in France during the first war he acquired direct, fi on the needs and cond abroad and has brought ington as a big addition t ment for the high comm

General March was b 1864 and graduated at *cum laude*, and with a P (like his brothers) and w on all his sweaters won i and track.

An opportunity now March's father to send West Point. He asked t they would rather do, continue their studies in t or go to West Point. Pe deciding between Germa and in favor of the lat immediately selected him

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One of the incidents of that same day was the capture of Blockhouse No. 14 on the Pace road to Manila. By their fire from this position the Spaniards had succeeded all of the day before in blocking the approach of the American troops. General MacArthur called for volunteers to capture the blockhouse. Captain March and fifteen of his men volunteered, left their battery, and armed only with revolvers, rushed the hill and took the blockhouse. Only three of the fifteen volunteers, Captain March and two men, escaped death or serious wounds, in that enterprise.

That was a fair sample of the work of the Astor Battery. At the end of the war it came back to New York and was mustered out, but Captain March returned to the Philippines as aide-de-camp on the staff of General MacArthur and when the troops in the islands were reorganized for the war of the insurrection, March was made a Major and given command of a battalion in the Thirty-third Volunteer Infantry.

One bit of the official comment on his work in that capacity was in the report of Colonel L. R. Hare, commanding the regiment at the Headquarters in the Island of Luzon. Col. Hare reported on March 19, 1900, to the Adjutant General:

"Major March's work with his battalion shows that he was not only fortunate in having such men to command but he was fully worthy of and equal to the occasion. I regard him as one of the finest soldiers I have had the good fortune to meet."

"THE BATTLE OF THE CLOUDS"

It was while in command of this battalion that Major March made his famous expedition in pursuit of Aguinaldo in the course of which he fought many skirmishes and one battle which still looms large in the history of American military operations in the Philippines. That was the battle of Tilad Pass, popularly known as "the battle of the clouds" because it was fought literally in the clouds, up and down a cliff three thousand feet in height. The commanders opposed were Major March and General Gregorie del Pilar. The latter, who was fighting a rear guard action to facilitate the escape of Aguinaldo, was killed and his forces captured.

On another occasion Major March and his troops captured General Venancio Concepcion, or rather they ran him into a trap in the

mountains and Concepcion gave up. He did not surrender. It was this way. Concepcion sent a flag of truce to Major March to see what could be done. They were told that they could surrender and be taken in safety to General Otis at Manila, or that they could go on fighting. If they chose the latter Major March said he would give them an hour and a half start on the road to Lubong and then pursue them with cavalry. It was a matter of indifference to March, but he was friendly and advised surrender. They refused the terms. They said that General Concepcion would lay down his arms and that he would go to Manila but that he would never surrender. The word was offensive to him.

Major March was not the son of a philologist for nothing. He ostentatiously scratched out the word "surrender" which he had written on the paper and wrote in the words "give up." That was entirely satisfactory. Concepcion and his men were sent on to General Otis as prisoners.

APPOINTED MILITARY GOVERNOR

When the fighting was over, Major March was made military governor of the Lepanto-Bontoc district and then of Abra. After cleaning up that job he returned to the United States. The files of the War Department and the *Congressional Record* show that he received three brevets for five engagements, a larger number of brevets than was given to any other officer for service in the Philippines. The first was a brevet captaincy in the regular army for gallantry at Manila; the second a brevet lieutenant colonelcy in the Volunteers for gallantry at Parvi and San Jacinto and the third a brevet colonelcy in the Volunteers for gallantry at Tilad Pass and Cayam.

The next high spot in the March army record came with the formation of the General Staff by Secretary of War Root in 1903 and with Mr. Root's selection of the cream of the army to make up its personnel. March was chosen as one of the captains, not because of his gallantry in the Philippines, although that was nothing against him, but because of his military scholarship and sc
gunnery.

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BASSADOR GENTHAU'S STORY

Activities at the Sublime Porte Before the Outbreak
d During the Earlier Stages of the Struggle—
of the Leading Men and Events in
Turkish Theatre of the War

BY

ENRY MORGENTHAU

Formerly American Ambassador to Turkey)

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unlimited world dominion. Do these German aggressions in the East mean that this extensive programme has succeeded?

As I look upon the new map, which shows Germanys recent military and diplomatic, triumphs, my experiences in Constantinople take on a new meaning. I now see the events of these twenty-six months as part of a connected, definite story. The several individuals that moved upon the scene now appear as players in a carefully staged, superbly managed drama. I see clearly enough now that Germany had made all her plans for world dominion and that the country to which I had been accredited as American Ambassador was the foundation of the Kaiser's whole political and military structure. Had Germany not acquired control of Constantinople in the early days of the war, hostilities would probably have ended a few

HENRY MORGENTHAU

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instinct which impelled him. That aristocratic and autocratic organization of German society which represents the Prussian system was, in Wangenheim's eyes, something to be venerated and worshipped; with this as the ground work, Germany was inevitably destined, he believed, to rule the world. The great land-owning Junker represented the perfection of mankind; "I would despise myself," his closest associate once told me, and this represented Wangenheim's attitude as well, "if I had been born in a city." Wangenheim divided mankind into two classes, the governing and the governed; and he ridiculed the idea that the upper could ever be recruited from the lower. I recall with what unction and enthusiasm he used to describe the emperor's caste organization of German estates; how he had made them non-transferable, and had even arranged it so that the possessors, or the prospective possessors, could not marry without the imperial consent. "In this way," Wangenheim would say, "we keep our governing classes pure, unmixed of blood." Like all of his social order Wangenheim worshipped the Prussian military system; his splendid bearing showed that he had himself served in the army, and, in true German fashion, he regarded practically every situation in life from a military standpoint. I had one curious illustration of this when I asked Wangenheim one day why the Kaiser did not visit the United States. "He would like to immensely," he replied, "but it would be too dangerous. War might break out when he was coming home and the enemy would capture him." I suggested that that could hardly happen as the American Government would escort its guest home with warships, and that no nation would care to run the risk of involving the United States as Germany's ally; but he still thought that the military danger would make any such visit impossible.

WANGENHEIM'S NATURE

From the day that he reached Constantinople Wangenheim had one absorbing ambition; that was to make Turkey Germany's ally in the struggle which he knew was impending.

He believed that should he succeed in doing this, he would reap the reward which for years had represented his final goal—the chancellorship of the Empire. His personal popularity with the Turks gave him a great advantage over his rivals. Wangenheim had

precisely that combination of force, persuasiveness, geniality, and brutality needed in dealing with the Turkish character. I have emphasized his Prussian quaiities; yet Wangenheim was a Prussian not by birth but by development; he was a native of Cassel, and, together with all the push, ambition and overbearing traits of the Prussian, he had some of the softer characteristics which we associate with Southern Germany. He had one conspicuous quality, which is not Prussian at all—that is, tact; and for the most part he succeeded in keeping his less agreeable tendencies under the surface and showing only his more ingratiating side. He dominated not so much by brute strength, as by a mixture of force and amiability; externally he was not a bully; his manner was more insinuating than coercive; he won by persuasiveness, not by the mailed fist, but we who knew him well understood that back of all his gentleness there lurked a terrific, remorseless ambition. Yet the impression left was not one of brutality, but of excessive animal spirits and good nature. Indeed Wangenheim had in combination the jovial enthusiasm of a college student, the rapacity of a Prussian official, and the happy-go-lucky qualities of a man of the world. I still recall the picture of this German diplomat, seated at the piano, playing the finest productions of the Fatherland—and then suddenly starting to pound out uproarious German drinking songs or popular melodies. I still see him jumping on his horse on the polo grounds, spurring the splendid animal to its speediest efforts—nevermaking sufficient speed, however, to satisfy the ambitious sportsman. Indeed, in all his activities, grave and gay, Wangenheim displayed this same restless spirit of the chase. Whether he was flirting with the Greek ladies at Pera, or spending hours over the card table at the Cercle d' Orient, or bending the Turkish officials to his will in the interest of Germany, all life was to him a game, which was to be played more or less recklessly, and in which the chances favored the man who was bold and audacious and willing to pin success or failure on a single throw. And this greatest game of all—that upon which was staked, as Bernhardi has expressed it, "World empire or downfall,"— Wangenheim did not play languidly, insidiously, as though it had been merely a duty to which he had been assigned; to use the German phrase, he was "fire and flame" for it; h
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hardly explain in detail the causes of this failure. Let us not criticise too harshly the Young Turks; there is no question that, at the beginning, they were sincere. In a speech in Liberty Square, Saloniki, in July, 1908, Enver Pasha had eloquently declared that, "To-day arbitrary government has disappeared. We are all brothers. There are no longer in Turkey Bulgarians, Greeks, Servians, Rumanians, Mussulmans, Jews. Under the same blue sky we are all proud to be Ottomans." That represented the Young Turk ideal for the new Turkish state, but it was an ideal which they could not realize. The races which had been maltreated and massacred for centuries by the Turks could not transform themselves overnight into brothers; the hatreds, jealousies, and religious prejudices of the past still divided Turkey into a medley of warring clans. Above all, the destructive wars and the loss of great sections of the Turkish Empire had destroyed the prestige of the new democracy. There were plenty of other reasons for the failure; but it is hardly necessary to go into them at this time.

THE COMMITTEE OF UNION AND PROGRESS

Though the Young Turks had disappeared as a positive, regenerating force, they still existed as a political machine. Their leaders, Talaat, Enver, and Djemal, had long since abandoned any expectation of reforming their state, but they had developed an insatiable lust for personal power. The political order that existed in Turkey in 1913 bore certain resemblances to the Boss system in the United States. The Committee of Union and Progress was a private, irresponsible group of men who secretly manipulated elections, and filled the offices with their own henchmen. It had its own building in Constantinople, with a supreme chief who gave all his time to its affairs and issued orders to his subordinates,—in fact he ruled the party precisely like an American city boss in our most unregenerate days. It furnished a splendid illustration of "invisible government." This kind of irresponsible government has obtained control of American cities mainly because the real hard working citizens are busily engaged in their daily tasks and have no leisure for public matters. In Turkey the masses were altogether too ignorant to understand the meaning of democracy; the bankruptcy and general vicissitudes of the country had left it with practically no govern-

ment and an easy prey to a desperate band of adventurers. The Committee of Union and Progress, with Talaat Bey as the Supreme Boss, constituted such a band. About forty men controlled this committee, and there were sub-committees stationed in all important cities of the empire. These men met frequently in secret; they formulated their plans, allocated the patronage and issued orders to their appointees, who filled nearly all the important offices. These men, like orthodox department heads in the worst days —now happily passed—of American city government, "took orders" and made the appointments submitted to them.

I must admit, however, that I do our corrupt American gangs a certain injustice in comparing them with the Turkish Committee of Union and Progress. Talaat, Enver, and Djemal had added to their system a detail that has not figured extensively in American politics,—that of assassination and judicial murder. They had wrested power from the other factions by a deed a violence. This *coup d'etat* had taken place on January 26, 1913, a few months before my arrival. At that time a political group, headed by the venerable Kiamil Pasha, as Grand Vizier, and Nazim Pasha, as minister of war, controlled the government; they represented a faction known as the "liberal party," which was chiefly distinguished for its enmity to the Young Turks. These men had fought the disastrous Balkan war; and, in January, they had felt themselves compelled to accept the advice of the European powers and surrender Adrianople to Bulgaria. The Young Turks had been outside the breastworks for about six months, looking for an opportunity to return to power. The proposed surrender of Adrianople apparently furnished them this opportunity. Adrianople was an important Turkish city and naturally the Turkish people regarded the contemplated surrender as marking still another milestone to their national doom. Talaat and Enver hastily collected about 200 followers and marched up to the Sublime Porte, where the ministry was then sitting. Nazim, hearing the uproar, stepped out into the hall. He courageously faced the crowd, a cigarette in his mouth and his hands thrust into his pockets.

"Come, boys," he said, good humoredly, "what's all this noise about? Don't you know that it is interfering with our deliberations?"

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Talaat and the Committee were the masters of Turkey. After this tragical test of strength, the Sultan never attempted again to interfere in affairs of state. He knew what had happened to Abdul Hamid, and he feared an even more terrible fate for himself.

III

Talaat, the leading man in this band of usurpers, really had remarkable personal qualities. He had started life as a letter carrier; from this occupation he had risen to be a telegraph operator at Adrianople; and of these humble beginnings he was extremely proud. I visited him once or twice at his house; although Talaat was then the most powerful man in the Turkish Empire his home was still the modest home of a man of the people. It was cheaply furnished; the whole establishment reminded me of a thirty dollar a month apartment in New York. His most cherished possession was the telegraph instrument with which he had once earned his living; I have seen him take the key and call up one of his personal friends or associates. Talaat one night told me that he had that day received his salary as Minister of the Interior; after paying his debts, he said, he had just one hundred dollars left in the world. He liked to spend his spare time with the rough-shod crew that made up the Committee of Union and Progress; in the interims when he was out of the cabinet he used to occupy the desk daily at party headquarters, personally managing the party machine. His powerful frame, his huge sweeping back and his rocky biceps emphasized that natural mental strength and forcefulness which made possible his career. In discussing matters Talaat liked to sit at his desk, with his shoulders drawn up, his head thrown back and his wrists, twice the size of an ordinary man's, planted fiercely on the table. It always seemed to me that it would take a crowbar to pry these wrists from the board, once Talaat had laid them down. Whenever I think of Talaat now I do not primarily recall his rollicking laugh, his uproarious enjoyment of a good story, the mighty stride with which he crossed the room, his fierceness, his determination, his remorselessness,—the whole life and nature of the man takes form in those gigantic wrists.

Talaat, like most strong men, had his forbidding, even his ferocious moods. One day I found him sitting at the usual place, his mas-

TALAAT PASHA, GRAND VIZIER OF TURKEY

In 1914, when the war broke out, Talaat was Minister of the Interior and the most influential leader in the Committee of Union and Progress, the secret organization which controlled the Turkish Empire. A few years ago Talaat was a letter-carrier, and afterward a telegraph operator in Adrianople. His talents are those of a great political boss. He recently represented Turkey in the peace negotiations with Russia and his signature appears on the Brest-Litovsk treaty

THE "IDAHO" AND THE "MISSISSIPPI"

The battleships which the American Government sold to Greece in June, 1914. Greece purchased these to protect herself against an attack by Turkey, then threatening. The German Ambassador at Constantinople warned Mr. Morgenthau that the sale of these ships might "cause a European war"

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sive shoulders drawn up, his eyes glowering, his wrists planted on the desk. I always anticipated trouble whenever I found him in this attitude. As I made request after request, Talaat, between his puffs at his cigarette, would answer "No!" "No!" "No!"

I slipped around to his side of the desk.

"I think those wrists are making all the trouble, your Excellency," I said. "Won't you please take them off the table?"

Talaat's ogre-like face began to crinkle, he threw up his arms, leaned back, and gave a roar of terrific laughter. He enjoyed my joke so much that he granted every request I made.

At another time I came into his room when a couple of Arab princes were present. Talaat was solemn and dignified, and refused every favor I asked. "No, I shall not do that." "No, I haven't the slightest idea of doing that," he would answer. I saw that he was trying to impress his princely guests; to show them that he had become so great a man that he did not hesitate to "turn down" an ambassador. So I came up nearer and spoke quietly.

"I see you are trying to make an impression on these Princes," I said. "Now if it's necessary to pose, do it with the Austrian ambassador — he's out there waiting to come in. My time is too important."

Talaat laughed. "Come back in an hour," he said. I came back; the Arab princes had left, and we had no difficulty in arranging matters to my satisfaction.

"Some one has got to govern Turkey; why not we?" Talaat once said to me. The situ-

TURKISH CAVALRY AND INFANTRY

These troops were drilled by German military instructors. In January, 1914, the Turkish army was a ragged undisciplined force. The officers had received no pay for three months; it showed in their appearance; the soldiers did not even have shoes. Then came Liman von Sanders, sent by the Kaiser to organize this army in preparation for the approaching world war. These troops show the result of six months' training.

ation had just about come to that. "I have been greatly disappointed," he would say, "at the failure of the Turks to appreciate democratic institutions. I hoped for it once, and I worked hard for it,—but they were not prepared for it." He saw a country which the first enterprising man who came along might grab; and he determined to be that man. Of all the Turkish politicians I met I regarded Talaat as the only one who really had extraordinary native ability; and he showed this in th asures which he took, after the murder of gain the upper hand in this dis- e. He did not seize the government all at once; he went at it gradually, feeling his way. He realized the weaknesses of his position; he had several forces to deal with, the revolutionary committee which had backed him, the army, the foreign governments, and the several factions that made up what then passed for public opinion in Turkey. Any of these elements might destroy him, politically and physically. He always anticipated a violent death; "I do not expect to die in my bed," he told me. By becoming Minister of the Interior, Talaat gained control of the police and the administration of the provinces, or vilayets; this gave him a great amount of patronage, which he used to strengthen his position with the Committee. He attempted to gain the support of all influential factions by gradually placing their representatives in the other cabinet posts. Though he afterward became the man who was chiefly responsible for the massacre of hundreds of thousands of Armenians, at this time Talaat maintained the

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C. K. G. BILLINGS

An American capitalist who visited Constantinople in March, 1914, to discuss the question of an American loan to Turkey. At that time the Turkish treasury was empty and was seeking financial support elsewhere than in Europe. Talaat was turning to the United States because he knew that the United States had no territorial ambitions in Turkey. The German Ambassador was much excited over the possibility that American bankers might finance the Turkish empire

pretense that the Committee stood for the unionization of all the races in the empire; his first cabinet contained an Arab-Christian, a Deunme (a Jew by race, but a Mohammedan by religion), a Circassian, an Armenian, an Egyptian. He made the latter Grand Vizier, the highest post in the government, a position which roughly corresponds to that of Chancellor in the German Empire. Prince Saïd Halim, this new dignitary, was a cousin of the Khedive of Egypt; he was an exceedingly vain and ambitious man,—not ambitious so much for real power as for the trappings that went with it. The Young Turk programme included the reconquest of Egypt, and the Committee had promised Halim that, when this was accomplished, he was to become Khedive.

Germany's war preparations had for years included the study of internal conditions in other countries; an indispensable part of the Imperial programme had been to take advantage of such disorganizations as existed to push her schemes of penetration and conquest. What her emissaries have accomplished in Russia and to a smaller extent in Italy is now tragically apparent. Clearly such a situation as existed in Turkey in 1913 and 1914, provided an ideal opportunity of manipulations of this kind. The advantage of Germany's position was that Talaat needed Germany almost as badly as Germany needed Talaat. He and his Committee needed some exterior power to organize the army and navy, to finance the nation, to help them reconstruct their industrial system, and to protect them against the encroachments of the encircling nations. Ignorant as they were of foreign countries, they needed a skillful adviser to pilot them through the channels of international intrigue. Where was such a protector to be obtained? Evidently only one of the great European powers could perform this office. Which one should it be? Ten years before Turkey would have naturally appealed to England. But now the Turks regarded England as merely the nation that had despoiled them of Egypt, and that had failed to protect Turkey from dismemberment after the Balkan wars. In association with Russia, Great Britain controlled Persia, and thus constituted a constant threat—at least so the Turks believed—against their Asiatic dominions. England was gradually withdrawing her investments from Turkey; English statesmen believed that the task of driving the Turk from Europe was about complete; the whole Near-Eastern policy of Great Britain hinged on maintaining the organization of the Balkans as it had been determined by the Treaty of Bucharest—a treaty which Turkey refused to regard as binding and which she was determined to upset. Above all, England had become the virtual ally of Turkey's traditional enemy, Russia, and there was even then a general belief, which the Turkish chieftains shared, that England was entirely willing that Russia should inherit Constantinople and the Dardanelles.

Though Russia was then making no such pretensions, at least openly, the fact

she was crowding Turkey in other directions made it impossible that Talaat and Enver should look for support in that direction. Italy had just seized the last Turkish province in Africa, Tripoli, and at that moment was holding Rhodes and other Turkish islands and was known to cherish aggressive plans in Asia Minor. France was the ally of Russia and Great Britain, and was also constantly extending her influence in Syria. The personal equation played an important part in the ensuing drama. The ambassadors of the Triple Entente hardly concealed their contempt for the dominant Turkish politicians and their methods. Sir Louis Mallet, the British ambassador, was a high-minded and cultivated English gentleman; Bompard, the French Ambassador, was similarly a charming, honorable Frenchman; and both were constitutionally disqualified from participating in the murderous intrigues which then comprised Turkish politics. Giers, the Russian Ambassador, was a proud and scornful diplomat of the old aristocratic régime. He was exceedingly astute, but the contemptuous manner in which he treated the Young Turks naturally made their leaders incline to Germany. Indeed these three ambassadors did not regard the Talaat and Enver régime as permanent. That many factions had risen and fallen in the last six years they knew; and they likewise believed that this latest usurpation would vanish in a few months.

BUSTÁNY EFFENDI

Ex-Minister of Commerce and Agriculture in the Turkish cabinet who came to Mr. Morgenthau in January, 1914, seeking American assistance in financially rehabilitating Turkey. Bustány is a Christian Arab, who represented Turkey at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. He is a great scholar and speaks English fluently

But there was one man in Turkey then who had no nice scruples about using such agencies as were most available for accomplishing his purpose. Wangenheim clearly saw what his colleagues had only faintly perceived, that these men were steadily fastening their hold on Turkey, and that they were looking for some strong power that would recognize their position and abet them in maintaining it. Let us imagine that there had been no Monroe Doctrine six years ago, when Huerta gained control of Mexico by murdering his predecessor. What Huerta needed to maintain his ascendency was strong foreign support — his repeated attempts to gain American recognition made this painfully apparent. Let us suppose that Germany, by recognizing Huerta, organizing the finances of his country, and equipping and modernizing his army, could have got a preliminary grip on Mexico that would have amounted to practical possession. Now this is exactly what happened in Turkey. As I look back upon the situation, the whole operation seems so clear, so simple, so inevitable. Germany, up to that time, was practically the only great power in Europe that had not appropriated large slices of Turkish territory; this gave her an initial advantage. Germany's representation at Constantinople was far better qualified than that of any other country, not only by absence of scruples, but also by knowledge and skill, to handle this situation. Wangenheim was not the only capable German then on the ground. A particularly influential outpost of Pan-Germany was Paul Weitz, who had represented the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in Turkey for thirty years. Weitz had the most intimate acquaintance with Turks and Turkish affairs; there

A GUARD OF HONOR

Awaiting to escort the American Ambassador to his presentation to the Sultan. In the little barber shop, spies were stationed by the Turkish Government to watch Mr. Morgenthau's visitors. The lower picture shows Mr. Morgenthau leaving the American Embassy for his presentation

was not a hidden recess to which he could not gain admittance. He was constantly at Wangenheim's elbow, coaching, advising, informing. The German naval attaché, Humann, the son of a famous German archælogist, had been born in Smyrna, and had passed practically his whole life in Turkey; he not only spoke Turkish, but he could also think like a Turk; the whole psychology of the people was part of his mental equipment. Moreover, Enver, one of the two main Turkish chieftains, was Humann's intimate friend. When I think of this experienced trio, Wangenheim, Weitz, and Humann, and of the delightful and honorable gentlemen who were opposed to them, Mallet, Bompard, and Giers, the events that now rapidly followed seem as inevitable as the orderly processes of nature. By the spring of 1914 Talaat and Enver, representing the Committee of Union and Progress, practically dominated the Turkish Empire. Wangenheim, always having in mind the approaching war, had one inevitable move: that was to control Talaat and Enver.

IV

Early in January, 1914, Enver became Minister of War. At that time Enver was thirty-two years old; like all the leading Turkish politicians of the period he came of humble stock; his popular title, "hero of the revolution," shows why Talaat and the Committee had selected him to head the army department. Enver enjoyed something of a military reputation though, so far as I could discover, he had never achieved a great military success. The revolution of which he was one of the leaders in 1908 cost very few human lives; he commanded an army in Tripoli against the Italians in 1912—but certainly there was nothing Napoleonic about that campaign. Enver used to tell me himself how, in the second Balkan war, he had ridden all night at the head of his troops to the capture of Adrianople, and how, when he arrived there, the Bulgarians had abandoned it and his victory had thus been a bloodless one. But certainly Enver did have one trait that made for success in such a distracted country as

MOHAMMED V, THE SULTAN OF TURKEY

His majesty is a kind hearted old gentleman, who is entirely ignorant of the world and lacking in personal force and initiative. The lower picture shows the Sultan's carriage at the American Embassy waiting to take Mr. Morgenthau to an imperial audience

Turkey—and that was audacity. His other dominating motive was an unlimited ambition. I remember sitting one night with Enver, in his private apartment; on one side hung a picture of Napoleon, on the other one of Frederick the Great, and between them sat Enver himself! This fact gives some notion of the man's colossal vanity; these two warriors and statesmen were his great heroes and I believe that Enver actually thought fate had a career in store for him not unlike theirs. The fact that, at twenty-six, he had taken a leading part in the revolution which had deposed Abdul Hamid naturally caused him to compare himself with Bonaparte; many times has he told me that he believed himself to be "a man of destiny." Enver even affected to believe that he had been divinely set apart to reëstablish the glory of Turkey and make himself the great dictator. Like Napoleon, Enver was short in stature, but his diminutive size did not prevent him from being a handsome, even an impressive figure. He was the type that in America we sometimes call a matinée idol; the word women frequently used to describe him was "dashing." His face contained not a single line or furrow; it never disclosed his emotions or his thoughts; he was always calm, steely, imperturbable. That Enver certainly lacked Napoleon's penetration is evident from the way which he had planned to obtain the supreme power; for he early allied his personal fortunes with Germany. For years his sympathies had been with the Kaiser. At the fall of Abdul Hamid he had gone on a military mission to Berlin; and here the Kaiser immediately detected in him a possible instrument for working out his plans in the Orient, and cultivated him in numerous ways. Afterward Enver spent a considerable time in Berlin as military attaché; when he returned, he was wearing a mustache slightly curled up at the ends; he could speak German; indeed he had been completely captivated by Prussianism. As soon as Enver became Minister of War, Wangenheim flattered and cajoled the young man, played upon his ambitions and doubtless promised him Germany's complete support in achieving

DJEMAL PASHA, MINISTER OF MARINE

In 1914 Djemal headed the Police Department; it was his duty to run down citizens who were opposing the political gang then controlling Turkey. Such opponents were commonly assassinated or judicially murdered. Afterward Djemal was Minister of Marine, and as such violently protested against the sale of American warships to Greece. Then he was sent to Palestine as Commander of the Fourth Army Corps, where he distinguished himself as leader in the wholesale massacre of the non-Moslem population

TALAAT AND ENVER AT A MILITARY REVIEW

Observing the transformation worked in the Turkish army by its German drill-masters. This was in early July, 1914, almost a month before the war broke out. Talaat is the huge broad-shouldered man at the right; Enver is the smaller figure to the left

them. In his private conversation Enver made no secret of his admiration for Germany.

Thus Enver's elevation to the Ministry of War was virtually a German victory. He immediately instituted a drastic reorganization. Enver told me himself that he had accepted the post only on condition that he should have a free hand; and this free hand he now proceeded to exercise. The army still contained a large number of officers who inclined to the old régime rather than to the Young Turks—many of them partisans of the murdered Nazim. Enver promptly cashiered 268 of these, and put in their places men who were known as "U and P" men and Germans. The Enver-Talaat group always feared a revolution that would depose them as they had thrown out their predecessors. Many times did they tell me that their own success as revolutionists had taught them how easily a few determined men could seize control of the country; they did not propose to have a little group in their army organize such a *coup d'etat* against them. The boldness of Enver's move alarmed even Talaat, but Enver showed the determination of his character and refused to reconsider his action. One of the officers removed was Chukri Pasha, who had defended Adrianople in the Balkan war. Enver issued a circular to the Turkish commanders practically telling them that they must look to him for preferment alone—that they could make no headway by playing politics with any group except that dominated by the Young Turks.

Talaat was not an enthusiastic Prussian like Enver. He had no intention of playing Germany's game; he was working chiefly for the Committee and for himself. He could not succeed unless he had control of the army; therefore, he had made Enver, for years his closest associate in "U and P" politics, Minister of War. But he needed a strong army if he was to have any at all; therefore he had turned to Germany. Wangenheim and Talaat, in the latter part of 1913, had arranged that the Kaiser should send a military mission to reorganize the Turkish army. Talaat told me that on calling in this mission he was using Germany, though Germany thought that it was using him. That there were definite dangers in the move he well understood. A deputy who discussed this situation with Talaat in January, 1914, has given me a memorandum of a conversation which shows well what was going on in Talaat's mind.

"Why do you hand the management of the country over to the Germans?" asked this deputy, referring to the German military mission. "Don't you see that this is part of Germany's plan to make Turkey a German

THE MARQUIS GARRONI; ITALIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE SUBLIME PORTE IN 1914
One of the most charming and accomplished of Italian diplomats, though his position was made difficult by the fact that Italy had just taken from Turkey her last African province of Tripoli

colony—that we shall become merely another Egypt?"

"We understand perfectly," replied Talaat, "that that is Germany's programme. We also know that we cannot put this country on its feet with our own resources. We shall, therefore, take advantage of such technical and material assistance as the Germans can place at our disposal. We shall use Germany to help us reconstruct and defend the country until we are able to govern ourselves with our own strength. When that day comes, we can say good-bye to the Germans within twenty-four hours."

Certainly the physical condition of the Turkish army betrayed the need of assistance from some source. The picture it presented, before the Germans arrived, I have always regarded as portraying the condition of the whole Empire. When I issued invitations for my first official reception a large number of Turkish officers asked to be permitted to come in evening clothes; they said that they had no uniforms and no money with which to purchase or to hire them. They had not received their salaries for three and a half months. As the Grand Vizier, who regulates the etiquette of such functions, still insisted on full military dress, many of these officials had to absent themselves. About the same time the new German mission asked the Commander of the second army corps to exercise his men; the latter replied that he could not do so as his men had no shoes!

Desperate and wicked as Talaat subsequently showed himself to be, I still think that he at least was not then a willing tool of Germany. An episode that involved myself bears out this view. In describing the relations of the great powers to Turkey I have said nothing about the United States. In fact we had no particular business relations at that time. The Turks regarded us as a country of idealists and altruists; the fact that we spent millions building wonderful educational institutions in their country purely from philanthropic motives aroused their astonishment and possibly their admiration. They liked Americans and regarded us as about the only disinterested friends they had among the nations. But our interest in Turkey was small; the Standard Oil Company did a growing business, the

HENRY MORGENTHAU, AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO TURKEY, 1913–1916

Mr. Morgenthau is standing on the terrace of the American Embassy in Constantinople. The two boys are his grandsons, Henry M. and Mortimer J. Fox; the two girls are the daughters of the Swedish Minister to Turkey, C. d'Anckarsvard. Madame d'Anckarsvard is an American

THE AMERICAN SUMMER EMBASSY ON THE BOSPHORUS
Not far away, across the Strait, which is here only a mile wide, Darius crossed with his Asiatic hosts nearly 2,500 years ago

Singer Company sold sewing machines to the Armenians; we bought much of their tobacco, figs, and rugs, and gathered their licorice root. In addition to these activities, missionaries and educational experts were about our only contacts with the Turkish Empire. The Turks knew that we had no desire to dismember their country or to mingle in Balkan politics. The very fact that my country was so disinterested was perhaps the reason why Talaat discussed Turkish affairs so freely with me. In the course of these conversations I frequently expressed my desire to serve them, and Talaat and some of the other members of the Cabinet got into the habit of consulting me on business matters. Soon after my arrival, I made a speech at the American Chamber of Commerce in Constantinople; Talaat, Djemal, and other important leaders were present. I talked about the backward economic state of Turkey and admonished them not to be discouraged. I described the condition of the United States after the Civil War and made the point that our devastated Southern states presented a spectacle not unlike that of Turkey at that present moment. I then related how we had

ENVER PASHA, MINISTER OF WAR

A man of the people, who, at 26, was a leader in the revolution which deposed Abdul Hamid and established the new régime of the Young Turks. At that time the Young Turks honestly desired to establish a Turkish democracy. This attempt failed miserably and the Young Turk leaders then ruled the Turkish Empire for their own selfish purposes, and have developed a government which is much more wicked and murderous than that of Abdul Hamid. Enver is the man chiefly responsible for turning the Turkish army over to Germany. He imagines himself a Turkish combination of Napoleon and Frederick the Great

SAÏD HALIM, EX-GRAND VIZIER

Saïd is an Egyptian prince, who provided campaign money for the political activities of the Young Turks, and, as a reward, was made Grand Vizier. In this position he was not permitted to exercise any real authority. He was promised that when the Young Turks succeeded in expelling England from Egypt, he should become Khedive

THE AMERICAN, BRITISH, AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS

Mr. Morgenthau (at the left) in congenial association with Sir Louis Mallet, the British Ambassador to Turkey in 1914. Sir Louis had been secretary to Sir Edward Grey and was pursuing a policy of conciliation and "hands off" in Turkey. At the right are Sir Louis Mallet and M. Bompard, the French Ambassador to Turkey. Neither the French nor the British Ambassador made any attempt to compete with the German diplomats for the favor of Talaat, Enver, and the other leaders of the Young Turks

gone to work, realized on our resources and built up the present thriving nation. My remarks apparently made a deep impression, especially my statement that after the Civil War the United States became a large borrower in foreign money markets and invited immigration from all parts of the world.

This speech apparently gave Talaat a new idea. It was not impossible that the United States might furnish him the material support he had been seeking in Europe. Already I had suggested that an American financial expert be sent to study Turkish finance; I had mentioned Mr. Henry Bruère, of New York—a suggestion which the Turks had favorably received. At that time Turkey's greatest need was money. France had financed Turkey for many years, and French bankers, in the spring of 1914, were negotiating on another large loan. Though Germany had made some loans, the condition of the Berlin money market at that time did not encourage the Turks to expect much assistance from that source.

In late December, 1913, Bustány Effendi, a Christian Arab, and Minister of Commerce and Agriculture, who spoke English fluently—he had been Turkish commissioner to the Chicago World's Fair in 1893—called and approached me on the question of an American loan. Bustány asked if there were not American financiers who would take entire charge of the reorganization of Turkish finance. His plea was really a cry of despair and it touched me deeply. But I had been in Turkey only six weeks; obviously I had no information on which I could recommend such a large contract to American bankers. Talaat came to me a few days later, and suggested that I make a prolonged tour over the Empire and study the situation at first hand. Meanwhile he asked if I could not arrange a small temporary loan to tide them over the interim. He said there was absolutely no money in the Turkish

treasury; if I could only get them $5,000,000, that would satisfy them. I told Talaat that I would try to get this money for them and that I would adopt his suggestion and inspect his Empire with the possible idea of interesting American investors. After obtaining the consent of the State Department I wrote to my nephew and business associate, Mr. Robert E. Simon, asking him to sound certain New York institutions on making a small short-time collateral loan to Turkey. Mr. Simon's investigations disclosed that a Turkish loan did not seem to be regarded as an attractive business undertaking in New York. Mr. Simon wrote, however, that Mr. C. K. G. Billings had shown much interest in the idea; and that, if I desired, Mr. Billings would come out in his yacht and discuss the matter with the Turkish Cabinet. In a few days Mr. Billings had started toward Constantinople.

The news of Mr. Billings's approach spread with great rapidity all over the Turkish capital; the fact that he was coming in his own private yacht seemed to magnify the importance and the glamor of the event. That a great American millionaire was prepared to reinforce the depleted Turkish Treasury and that this support was merely the preliminary step in the reorganization of Turkish finances by American capitalists produced a tremendous flutter in the foreign embassies. So rapidly did the information spread, indeed, that I rather suspected that the Turkish Cabinet had taken no particular pains to keep it secret. This suspicion was strengthened by a visit which I received from the Chief Rabbi Nahoum, who informed me that he had come at the request of Talaat. "There is a rumor," said the Chief Rabbi, "that Americans are about to make a loan to Turkey. Talaat would be greatly pleased if you would not contradict it." Wangenheim displayed an almost hysterical interest; the idea of America coming to the financial assistance of Turkey did not fall in with his plans at all; in his eyes Turkey's poverty was chiefly valuable as a means of forcing the Empire into Germany's hands. One day I showed Wangenheim a book containing etchings of Mr. Billings's homes, pictures, and horses; he showed a great interest, not only in the horses—Wangenheim was something of a horseman himself—but in this tangible evidence of wealth. For the next few days Ambassador after Ambassador and Minister after Minister filed into my office, each solemnly asking for a glimpse at t
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Giers, the Russian ambassador, had a vacation at the same time. Baroness Wangenheim explained to me—I was ignorant at this time of all these subtleties of diplomacy—precisely what these vacations signified. Wangenheim's leave of absence, she said, meant that the German foreign office regarded the Von Sanders episode as closed—and closed with a German victory. Giers's furlough, she explained, meant that Russia declined to accept this point of view—that, so far as Russia was concerned, the Von Sanders affair had not ended. I remember writing to my family that, in this mysterious Balkan diplomacy, the nations talked to each other with acts, not words, and I instanced Baroness Wangenheim's explanation of these diplomatic vacations as a case in point.

"THE THIRTEENTH CHAIR."

An incident which took place in my own house opened all our eyes to the seriousness with which Von Sanders regarded this military mission. On February 18th, I gave my first diplomatic dinner; General von Sanders and his two daughters attended, the general sitting next to my daughter Ruth. My daughter, however, did not have a very enjoyable time; this German Field Marshal, sitting there in his gorgeous uniform, his breast all sparkling with medals, did not say a word through the whole meal. He ate his food silently and sulkily, all my daughter's attempts to enter into conversation evoking only an occasional surly monosyllable. The behavior of this great military leader was that of a spoiled child.

At the end of the dinner Von Mutius, the German chargé d'affaires, came up to me in a high state of excitement. It was some time before he could sufficiently control his agitation to deliver his message.

"You have made a terrible mistake, Mr. Ambassador," he said.

"What is that," I asked, naturally much alarmed.

"You have greatly offended Field Marshal von Sanders. You have placed him at the dinner lower in rank than the foreign ministers. He is the personal representative of the Kaiser and as such is entitled to equal rank with the Ambassadors. He should have been placed ahead of the Cabinet Ministers and the foreign ministers."

So I had affronted the Emperor himself!

This then was the explanation of Von Sanders's boorish behavior. Fortunately, my position was an impregnable one. I had not arranged the seating precedence at this dinner; I had sent the list of my guests to the Marquis Pallavicini, the Austrian Ambassador and dean of the diplomatic corps, and the greatest authority in Constantinople on such delicate points as this. The Marquis had returned the list, marking in red ink against each name the order of precedence—1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc. I still possess this document, as it came from the Austrian Embassy, and General von Sanders's name appears with the numerals "13" against it. I must admit, however, that "the 13th chair" did bring him pretty well to the foot of the table.

I explained the situation to Von Mutius and asked Mr. Panfili, *conseiller* of the Austrian Embassy, who was a guest at the dinner, to come up and make everything clear to the outraged German diplomat. As the Austrians and Germans were allies, it was quite apparent that the slight, if slight there had been, was unintentional. Panfili said that he had been puzzled over the question of Von Sanders's position, and had submitted the question to the Marquis. The outcome was that the Austrian Ambassador had himself fixed Von Sanders's rank at number 13. But the German Embassy did not let the matter rest there; afterward Wangenheim called on Pallavicini, and discussed the matter with considerable liveliness.

"If Liman von Sanders represents the Kaiser, whom do you represent?" Pallavicini asked Wangenheim. The argument was a good one as the Ambassador is always regarded as the *alter ego* of his sovereign.

"It is not customary," continued the Marquis, "for an Emperor to have two representatives at the same court."

The Marquis was obdurate and Wangenheim carried the question to the Grand Vizier. But Saïd Halim refused to assume responsibility for so momentous a decision and referred the dispute to the Council of Ministers. This body solemnly sat upon the question and rendered this verdict: Von Sanders should rank ahead of the Ministers of foreign countries, but below the members of the Turkish Cabinet. Then the foreign ministers lifted up their voices in protest. Von Sanders not only became exceedingly unpopular for raising this question, but the dictatorial and autocratic way in which he did it aroused general disgust. The ministers declared th
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They stand there in the Ægean Sea like guardians controlling the Bay and the great port of Smyrna. It is quite apparent that any strong military nation which permanently held these vantage points would ultimately control Smyrna and the whole Ægean coast of Asia Minor. The racial situation made the continued retention of these islands by Greece a constant military danger to Turkey. Their population was Greek and had been Greek since the days of Homer; the coast of Asia Minor itself was also Greek; more than half the population of Smyrna, Turkey's greatest Mediterranean seaport was Greek; in its industries, its commerce, and its culture the city was so predominantly Greek that the Turks usually referred to it as *giaour Ismir*,—"infidel Smyrna." Though this Greek population was nominally Ottoman in nationality it made practically no secret of its affection for the Greek fatherland; these Asiatic Greeks even made contributions to the Greek Government. The Ægean islands and the mainland, in fact, constituted *Graecia Irredenta*; that Greece was determined to redeem them, precisely as she had recently redeemed Crete, was no diplomatic secret. Should the Greeks ever land an army on this Asia Minor coast, there was not the slightest question that the native Greek population would welcome it enthusiastically and coöperate with it.

Germany, however, had her own plans for Asia Minor and naturally the Greeks in this region formed a barrier to Pan-German aspirations. As long as this region remained Greek, it formed a natural obstacle to Germany's road to the Persian Gulf, precisely as did Serbia. Any one who has read even cursorily the literature of Pan-Germania understands the peculiar German method advocated for dealing with populations that stand in Germany's way. That is by deportation. The violent shifting of whole peoples from one part of Europe to another as though they were so many herds of cattle has for years been part of the Kaiser's plans for German expansion. This is the treatment which, since the war began, she has applied to Belgium, to Poland, to Serbia; its most hideous manifestation, as I shall show, has been to Armenia. Acting under Germany's prompting, Turkey now began to apply this principle of deportation to her Greek subjects in Asia Minor. Three years afterward the German Admiral Uzidon, who had been stationed in the Dardanelles during the bombardment,

told me that it was the Germans "who urgently made the suggestion that the Greeks be moved from the seashore." The German motive, Admiral Uzidon said, was purely military. Whether Talaat and his associates realized that they were playing the German game I am not sure; there is no doubt, however, that the Germans were constantly instigating them in this congenial task.

The events that followed foreshadowed the policy adopted in the Armenian massacres. The Turkish officials pounced upon the Greeks, herded them in groups and marched them toward the ships. They gave them no time to settle their private affairs, and they took no pains to keep families together. The plan was to transport the Greeks to the wholly Greek islands in the Ægean. Naturally the Greeks rebelled against such treatment; and occasional massacres were the result, especially in Phocaea, where more than fifty people were murdered. The Turks demanded that all foreign establishments in Smyrna dismiss their Christian employees—and replace them with non-Greeks. The Singer Manufacturing Company received such instructions; I interceded and obtained sixty days' delay, but ultimately this American concern had to obey the mandate. An official boycott was established against all Christians not only in Asia Minor, but in Constantinople; this boycott did not discriminate against the Jews, who have always been more popular with the Turks than have the Christians. The officials particularly requested Jewish merchants to put signs over their doors indicating their nationality and trade—such signs as "Abraham the Jew, tailor," "Isaac the Jew, shoemaker," and the like. I looked upon this boycott as illustrating the topsy turvy national organization of Turkey, for here we had a nation engaging in a commercial boycott against its own subjects.

"TURKEY FOR THE TURKS"

Naturally this procedure against the Greeks aroused my indignation. I did not have the slightest suspicion then that the Germans had instigated these deportations; I looked upon them merely as an outburst of Turkish ferocity and chauvinism. By this time I knew Talaat well; I saw him nearly every day, and he used to discuss practically every phase of international relations with me. I objected vigorously to his treatment of the Greeks; I told him that it woul possible impression abroad American interests. Tala national policy; these di Turkish Empire had alwa Turkey; because of the native populations, Turke after province—Greece, Se garia, Bosnia, Herzegovina In this way the Turkish E almost to the vanishing p left of Turkey was to su rid of these alien peoples Turks" was now Talaat Therefore, he proposed and the adjoining island Greeks had left; he asked American business houses t He said that the accoun murder had been greatl suggested that a comm investigate. "They want whitewash Turkey," Sir British Ambassador, told when this commission did it exculpated Turkey.

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to show our good feeling. The fact that Greece and Turkey were practically on the verge of war, said Djemal, really made the sale of the ships an unneutral act. Still, if the transaction were purely a commercial one, Turkey would like a chance to bid. "We will pay more than Greece," he added. He ended with a powerful plea that I should at once cable my government about the matter; and this I promised to do.

Evidently the clever Greeks had turned the tables on their enemy. Turkey had rather too boldly advertised her intention of attacking Greece as soon as she received her dreadnaught. Both the ships for which Greece was now negotiating were immediately available for battle! The *Idaho* and *Mississippi* were not indispensable ships for the American Navy; they could not take their place in the first line of battle; they were powerful enough, however, to drive the whole Turkish navy from the Ægean. Evidently the Greeks did not intend politely to postpone the impending war until the Turkish dread-

naught had been finished, but to attack as soon as they received these American ships. Djemal's legal point, of course, had no validity. However much war might threaten, Turkey and Greece were still actually at peace. Clearly Greece had just as much right to purchase warships in the United States as Turkey had to purchase them in Brazil or England.

But Djemal was not the only statesman who attempted to prevent the sale; the German Ambassador displayed the keenest interest. Several days after Djemal's visit Wangenheim and I were riding in the hills north of Constantinople; Wangenheim began to talk about the Greeks, to whom he displayed a violent antipathy, about the chances of war, and the projected sale of American warships. He made a long argument about the sale; his reasoning was precisely the same as Djemal's—a fact which aroused my suspicions that he had himself coached Djemal for his interview with me.

"Just look at the dangerous precedent you are establishing," said Wangenheim. "It is not unlikely that the United States may sometime find itself in a position like Turkey's to-day. Suppose that you were on the brink of war with Japan; then England could sell a fleet of dreadnaughts to Japan. How would the United States like that?"

And then he made a statement which indicated what really lay back of his protest. I have thought of it many times in the last three years. The scene is indelibly impressed on my mind. There we sat on our horses; the silent ancient forest of Belgrade lay around us; in the distance the Black Sea glistened in the afternoon sun. Wangenheim suddenly became quiet and extremely earnest. He looked in my eyes and said:

"I don't think that the United States realizes what a serious matter this is. The sale of these ships might be the cause that would bring on a European war."

This conversation took place on June 13; this was about six weeks before the conflagration broke out. Wangenheim knew perfectly well that Germany was rushing preparations for this great conflict; he also knew that preparations were not yet entirely complete. Like all the German Ambassadors, Wangenheim had received instructions not to let any crisis arise that would precipitate war until all these preparations had been finished. He had no objections to the expulsion of the Greeks, for that in itself was part of
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to realize while all this was going on, that neither the Grand Vizier, nor any of the other high Turkish officials would leave the house without outriders and body guards to protect them from assassination—whatever other emotions such a vibrating atmosphere might arouse, it was certainly alive with interest. I felt also that there was something electric about it all; war was ever the favorite topic of conversation; everyone seemed to realize that this peaceful, frivolous life was transitory; that at any moment might come the spark that was to set everything aflame.

Yet, when the crisis came it produced no immediate sensation. On June 29th we heard of the assassination of the Grand Duke of Austria and his consort. Everybody received the news calmly; there was, indeed, a stunned feeling that something momentous had happened; but there was practically no excitement. A day or two after this tragedy. I had a long talk with Talaat on diplomatic matters; he made no reference at all to this event. I think now that we were all affected by a kind of emotional paralysis—as we were nearer the centre than most people, we certainly realized the dangers in the situation. In a day or two our tongues seemed to have been loosened, for we began to talk—and to talk war. When I saw Von Mutius, the German chargé, and Weitz, the diplomat-correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, they also discussed the impending conflict, and again they gave their forecast a characteristically Germanic touch; when war came, they said, of course the United States would take advantage of it to get all the Mexican and South American trade!

"SERBIA WILL BE CONDEMNED"

When I called upon Pallavicini to express my condolences over the Grand Duke's death, he received me with the most stately solemnity. He was conscious that he was representing the imperial family, and his grief seemed to be personal; one would think that he had lost his own son. I expressed my abhorrence and that of my nation for the deed, and our sympathy with the aged emperor.

Ja, Ja, es ist sehr schrecklich (yes, yes, it is very terrible), he answered, almost in a whisper.

"Serbia will be condemned for her conduct," he added. "She will be compelled to make reparation."

A few days later, when Pallavicini called upon me, he spoke of the nationalistic socie-

ties that Serbia had permitted to exist and of her determination to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina. He said that his government would insist on the abandonment of these societies and these pretentions, and that probably a punitive expedition into Serbia would be necessary to prevent such outrages as the murder of the Grand Duke. Herein I had my first intimation of the famous ultimatum of July 22d.

The entire diplomatic corps attended the requiem mass for the Grand Duke and Duchess, celebrated at the Church of Sainte Marie on July 4. The church is located in the Rue Pera, not far from the Austrian embassy; to reach it we had to descend a flight of forty stone steps. At the top of these stairs representatives of the Austrian embassy, dressed in full uniform, with crêpe on the left arm, met us, and escorted us to our seats. All the ambassadors sat in the front pew—and it was the last time that we ever sat together. The service was dignified and beautiful; I remember it with especial vividness because of the contrasting scene that immediately followed. When the stately, gorgeously robed priests had finished, we all returned to our automobiles and started on our eight mile ride along the Bosphorus to the American Embassy. For this day was not only the day when we paid this tribute to the murdered heir of this medieval autocracy; it was also the Fourth of July. The very setting of the two scenes seemed to me to symbolize these two national ideals. I always think of this ambassadorial group going down those stone steps to the church, to pay their respect to the Grand Duke, and then going up to the gaily decorated American
respect to the Declaratio
All the station ships of t
lay out in the stream, de
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which is not yet entirely
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Bosphorus, seemed almo
lenge to the plentiful re
and oppression which we
part of the day. Not
across the water the dark
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tisms, caught a faint and
glow from these illuminati

In glancing at the
group at the church and
tion I was surprised to n
figure was missing. Wa
ally, was not present.
zled me at the time; but
explanation from Wang
He had left some days be
Kaiser had summoned
council, which met on
decided to plunge Europe

The next instalment of Ambassador Morgenthau's Story will ap
World's Work for June

CAN NEGRO AND THE ORLD WAR

Worth in the Army—Negro Officers and Negro Regi- f View of the Negro in the Present Crisis

BY

BERT RUSSA MOTON

s principal of Tuskegee Institute, after having been for twenty-five years associated with Hampton Institute)

marvelous es in the ger groups d so many universal has experi- endly atti- race. He rs open to imes won- cere people beginning he Negro, hich, as a y and the red, would l with the nd fall an s. Others would un- heir people lly hostile t educated ese anxious knowledge a matter of m any or- e educated men and nselves as Americans, ple to be se expres- l others to hey urged y Liberty demand of any lines was being as other m that is now proverbial. One Negro fraternal organization, the Mosaic Templars of Arkansas, purchased $80,000, worth of Liberty Bonds, and throughout the South more food stuffs were raised by Negroes than ever before in their history. In the appeal from the Food Administration for conservation or saving of these food products for man and beast there was a response such as has never before been witnessed. It is reported by families who employ Negro domestic servants that they have never known their cooks to be more thoughtful and economical than at present. Chancellor D. C. Barrow of the University of Georgia, reported that the Negro cook who had been in his family for a great many years, and who was inclined at first to take the matter of saving as a joke, had come to the point where she was preparing and serving the family dainty, appetizing, nutritious meals from the leftovers and took great delight in so doing. This is the opinion of scores of other people with whom I have talked regarding this matter. Negroes in their own homes, from the lowliest cabin to the best Negro residence, are vying with their white neighbors and their country in helping our government in this struggle, by saving food, and practising every economy.

PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO VOLUNTEERS

It is notorious that when President Wilson asked for 70,000 volunteers, in many cities the Negro volunteers were out of proportion to their percentage of the population. Investigation in three cities has shown that these Negro volunteers were not doing so in a thoughtless, adventurous way, for many of them had jobs and reasonably comfortable homes, but they felt it their patriotic duty to offer their services to their country.

In several cities where Negroes volunteered for the Navy, they were frankly and abruptly told that Negroes were only wanted for the mess departments. Many of these same men went from the navy recruiting station to the army and volunteered their services where they could be assigned to direct combative service. When the War Department, as a result of the earnest and persistent efforts on the part of colored people and their white friends, opened a camp for the training of Negro officers at Des Moines, Iowa, and asked for 1,200 Negroes to offer their services for training, notwithstanding the fact that it was less than 30 days, the required number reported for three months' training. Out of the number that took the training, 625 received commissions. Some people have ventured the suggestions that this present crisis is an opportune time for the Negro to demand "his rights," but subsequent developments have shown that the Negro, while clearly conscious of what he considers his rights, has been most earnest and persistent in his efforts to be granted the chance to do his duty by his country. The leaders have felt that that was sufficient for the present. Just now the important thing is the opportunity to serve in the great struggle for democracy.

A NEGRO DIVISION

Major Thomas B. Spencer, who is on the staff of Gen. C. C. Ballou, of the 92d Division, a division to be composed of Negroes, has been making a tour of Negro schools and colleges of the country with a view to selecting four or five hundred men for a particular branch in this division. At every school visited he has been asking for men who were below the draft age. He has received a most hearty response in volunteers from practically every school to which he has gone. At Tuskegee Institute thirty of the upper class men with whom he talked offered their services and left within 48 hours for Chillicothe, Ohio, where they are now being trained. About one hundred thousand Negro soldiers are under arms at the present time, as follows:

These troops are divided among many states and many regiments. They are in the infantry, the cavalry, and in considerable numbers in the National Guard, not only in Southern States but also in Northern and Western States. In many instances their officers are men of their own race, but white officers assigned to Negro regiment
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that they are excellent m
make soldiers. The Negr
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so necessary to military p
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Negro men were called
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the largest number of
have been under arms, fo
178,000 black men bore
side.

Including those who
at the officers' training
Moines, those who were
the four regiments and
are now about one thous
in the United States Army

THE ATTITUDE OF THE

But all of the foregoing
One naturally asks what
of these men? How do t
whole thing? I have tal
the rank and file of Negro
teers as well as of state g
one group of a half doze
Atlanta, who were at Ca
the question something lik

"I suppose you feel pro
form of your country?"

"Yes," said one.

"Do you like the army li

"Not very well. We h
out yet with all of our eq
we'll like it better when
it."

"Would you rather be h

"In some ways, yes, W
home with the old folks a
but I don't b'lieve we col
git a chance again like this
try, so for our own race a
feel it's our duty to go."

I talked with men also
in Petersburg, Virginia,
camps at Newport News
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long has America been enslaved, too long has caste been enthroned. Kings will be relics, thrones will be in museums, here and abroad."

No finer tribute has been paid the Negro soldier than by Colonel James A. Moss, who recently said:

"Understanding the Negro as I do, and knowing his responsibilities as a soldier, I consider myself fortunate in having been assigned to the command of a colored regiment. Of my twenty-three years' experience as an officer, I have spent eighteen with colored troops, having commanded Negro troops in the Cuban campaign, and in the Philippine campaign, so that what I say about the Negro soldier—my faith, my confidence in him—is based on long experience with him in garrison and in the field; in peace and in war. I do not hesitate to make the assertion that if properly trained and instructed, the Negro will make as good a soldier as the world has ever seen. The proper training and instruction of the Negro soldier is a simple problem—it merely consists in treating him like a man, in a fair and square way, and in developing the valuable military assets he naturally possesses in the form of a happy disposition, pride in the uniform, tractability, and faithfulness. Any one who says that the Negro will not fight, does not of course, know what he is talking about.

"The first fight I was ever in, the battle of El Caney, Cuba, July 1, 1898, I had Negroes killed and wounded all around me, 20 per cent. of my company having been killed and wounded in about ten minutes' time, and the behavior of the men was splendid. At no time during that, and in subsequent fights, did my men hesitate at the command to advance or falter at the order to charge. I expect my colored regiment to be fully as well drilled, as well instructed, as well behaved, and as good fighters, as any other regiment in the National Army. Lest some might think that what I have to say about the Negro soldier is only the fulsome words of a "Yankee" Negro-phile, let me say that I am a native Louisianian who did not leave the confines of the State until I went to West Point at the age of eighteen."

THE POINT OF VIEW OF PUBLIC MEN

We have had no finer interpretation of the fundamentals of democracy than from our own President Wilson, and the appointment of Mr. Emmett J. Scott, Secretary of Tuskegee

Institute, as Special Assistant to the Secretary of War, is evidence of a growing faith in the Negro race and in its capacity for citizenship. Secretary Baker, in his telegram to the Chicago Colored Branch of the National Security League, said of democracy:

"After all, what is this thing we call 'democracy' and about which we hear so much nowadays? Surely it is no catch phrase or abstraction. It is demonstrating too much vitality for that. It is no social distinction or privilege of the few, for were it that, it could not win the hearts of peoples and make them willing to die for its establishment. But it is, it seems to me, a hope as wide as the human race, involving men everywhere—a hope which permits each of us to look forward to a time when not only we, but others, will have respective rights, founded in the generosity of Nature, and protected by a system of justice which will adjust its apparent conflicts. Under such a hope nations will do justice to nations, and men to men."

NEGRO TROOPS IN THE FRENCH ARMY

When one talks face to face with such a man as Colonel E. M. House as well as other men, newspaper editors, Southern and Northern, as well as certain French officials, as has been my honor and pleasure to do during the past few months; when one remembers that France called to her aid her black troops from Senegal as well as her thousands of black Arabian troops, and when we remember how France has treated these men, not as black men, but as soldiers and patriots who gladly placed their lives at the service of their country, permitting them to have equal share in the blessings and privileges of French democracy in proportion as they have measured up to democracy's requirements, the Negroes of America feel that the world is going to be made safe for democracy. When through the discipline which it is now undergoing, it is stripped of arrogance, selfishness, and greed, and when those who arrogate to the
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EQUALITY OF OP

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Germany's Spies

IV

RY OF THE CAPTAIN OF THE TEL FRIEDRICH

AND OF

S J. F. ARCHIBALD

ble Cruise of the Eitel Friedrich—A Photographic Re-Sank—A War Correspondent Who was Pro- and the Result of his Activities

BY

RENCH STROTHER

anaging Editor of the WORLD'S WORK)

ure of the n fighting ed four or s that have ion of the antic and 's enemies. ys remain sea. The iators who len foe of nd strewed e best that scene of nexpected ur shores, ed waters, ur people. cident was b.

1915, this e Marine, k, having rs outside eer of six alling the War. The the period put under whose fleet tribute of their fair Max Thier-

ichens and his crew became objects of admiration to the world. They were showered with felicitations, most of all, as was natural enough, from Germans and German-Americans.

That is the bright side of the picture—and no one, even now, would care to dim its lustre.

But even at his best the German of the ruling class seems tainted with the ineradicable nature of the beast. The world has long accepted the Latin affinity of Mars and Venus —perhaps too complacently, though not without reason—so it would not have been surprised if the gallant Thierichens had not measured up to the standards of a Galahad. Nevertheless, it had a right to expect that he should not descend to the level of a Caliban; and Thierichens fell below even that low standard.

Among the great quantities of letters of congratulation which Captain Thierichens received were many from German-American women. They were stirred by the brilliancy of his exploit: it was a ray of light in the gloom that had fallen on the Teuton peoples after the Battle of the Marne, when the rosy vision of quick victory had turned to the gray fog of a long defensive war. These letters breathed the passionate loyalty of the German spirit to the Fatherland. To these women, Thierichens was the embodiment of the martial spirit of their race—the spirit of the sons they saw themselves in imagination sending forth to war. Some phrases from their letters strike the key:

It is a pleasure for us to help our German brothers, but I also understand that you, my dear brother, are waiting to come out from your predicament. How grand it is that you are receiving letters from the Fatherland. We don't hear anything. Can't write anything, as the letters are not being delivered. So far good news. It is wonderful. My heart is jumping with joy. I look with confidence in the future. I have to please so many; have so many times to defend my Germany, but I have an unlimited confidence in God and in the truth.

Again: Hold your head high and do not forget: 'starlight itself is in the night and God does not forsake his own.'

Their attitude was one of high patriotism and maternal solicitude. They sent him books and delicacies, scraps of news from Germany, and in every way sought to comfort and inspirit their hero.

Thierichens was indifferent to the lofty purpose of these letters. His mind was depraved by the social custom of military Germany by which men of the officer class are in youth taught to consider themselves above the moral law. He was quite aware of the kinship of all emotions, and he promptly undertook to change the direction of these currents of passion into a channel more pleasing to his tastes. It was not long until he had narrowed his correspondence chiefly to three women and of these more particularly to two. Of these latter one was a German servant girl of rather better than average understanding, and the other a kindergarten teacher in the Middle West, one twenty-five and the other forty-five years of age. Their correspondence in both cases started on an exalted plane. It ended in depravity unprintable. Only a reading of the complete series of Thierichens's letters to these women could give a full understanding of the heartlessness, the baseness, and the ingenuity with which this man, always playing upon their patriotic fervor, transmuted their finer feelings into the most degrading travesty of romantic love. He and the kindergarten teacher never met. But by the time their correspondence came under Government censorship it had become a blend of exalted patriotism and of passion perverted to the obscenities pictured on the walls of ruined Pompeii.

Terrible as was the plight to which the teacher had descended, the case in which the German servant found herself was infinitely worse. Thierichens and she had met after their first interchange of letters and they had entered on a liason of a characte
base it cannot even be sugg

All this while Thieriche
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women. Fortunately for
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to-day is safely behind p
crimes. In the midst of
correspondence he was r
affection and devotion f
children, two of which may
to make clearer the depth
One is from his little dau
other from his wife. They

Kiel,

My dear Father:

My darling, to-day the day
will thank you all alone fo
lovely kisses for same. I ho
you will be with us again.
evening and morning to the d
protect my dear father, and t
be ended, and you come again t

Many hundred thousand k

Your than

Kiel, Germany,

My only Muckicken:

I want to chat with you aga
very little time yesterday; did
ings, and some stocking mend
some linen work in the evenin
had love pains; had a little c
went with Christel to Kare
stockings, a school hat and g
leather hat for Elly; very neat
still like a child; she also is s
down her back; she is any w
morrow I will get some bones
for Fritz, and then I shall ri
children to Aunt Niemann.
day, but still a little cold. An
No. 50. From Christmas
darling, we want to hope tha
6th Christmas evening togethe
Christmas evening you probab
darling, you're writing so as
no my darling, we have not ha
Germany yet. We are havin
meat, bread, and potatoes ev
much of it as in times of pea
then everything was extrav
now everybody has to learn
which is a good lesson for day
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right; nobody will conquer us ;
leave us alone,—we are all
Russia gain by the revolution?

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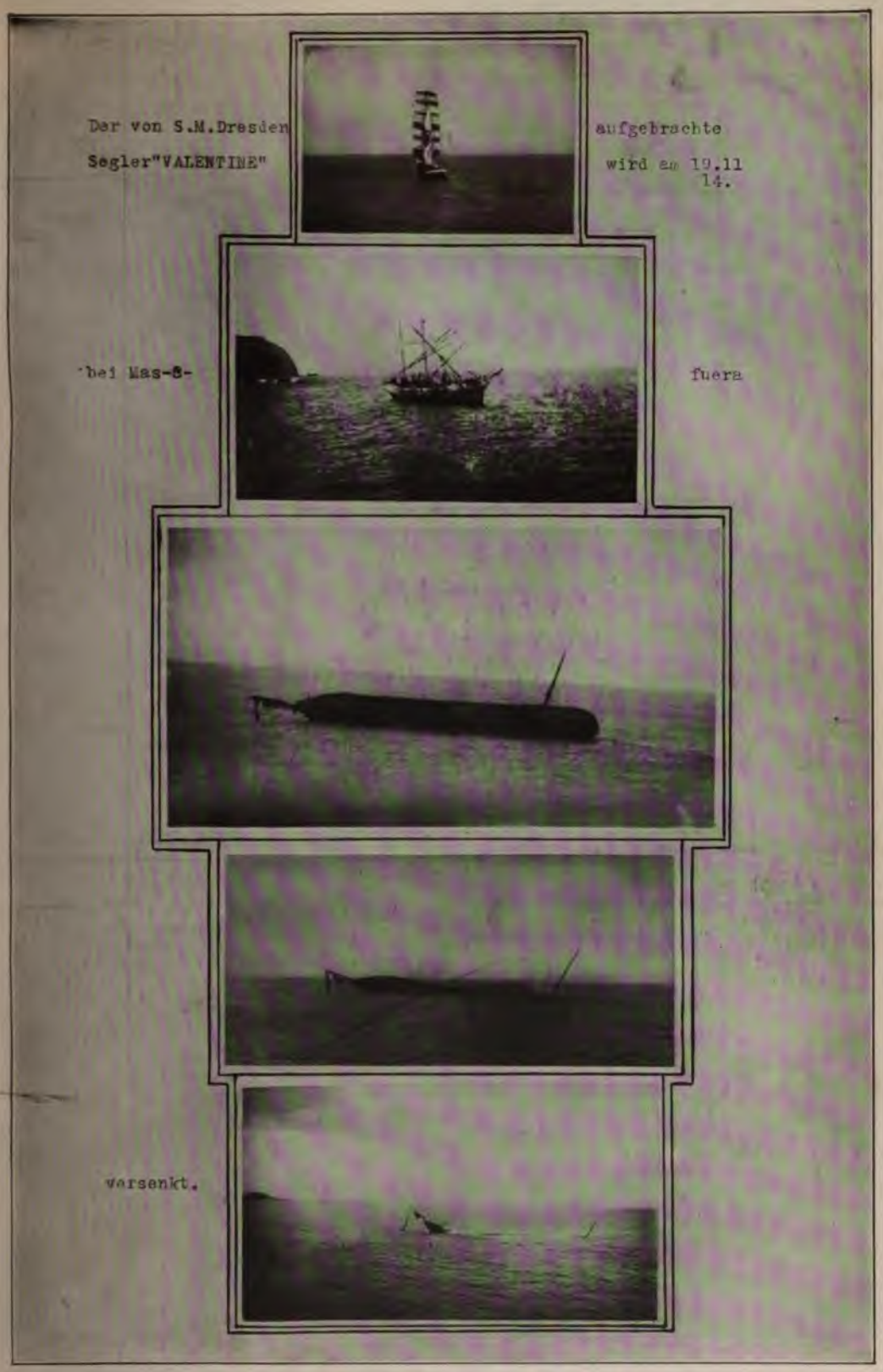
money, and after a few moments sent some other boys over the side to make as much noise as possible to call the attention of the guards. He had his men maltreated wherever there was a chance to do so. He even did this after we had been brought to Fort Oglethorpe. We have to thank the U. S. Officers for putting a stop to it. The captain had been mad that he lost the power over the men. He swore he would bring the men to a military prison for years to come, simply because they refused to be treated like dogs after being informed by the U. S. Officers that they don't have to stand for anything like that. If it was not for the iron discipline maintained by the Germans, there would have been a mutiny on board the ship. Even a common man hates to see good supplies going to waste just because the captain could not get quick enough to his wine, and the men feed on hardtack that was full of worms. Some of the men are willing to appear in court against the captain to bear out because they are not protected by the U. S. government, and may have to face a court martial law if they are returned to Germany. We do hope that there will be an investigation of the evil doings of said Captain. If found guilty, we do hope that he may find out what it does mean to do wrong to his fellowmen.

On succeeding pages of this article are printed photographs taken by officers of the *Eitel Friedrich* during her career as a commerce raider. With true German thoroughness they made a complete record of the ships they sank, even to photographs of these vessels when first sighted, and "progress pictures" of their destruction and submersion, mounting the photographs on sheets of paper embossed with the Imperial sign. The *Eitel Friedrich* was a cruiser, not a submarine, and it so far observed the rules of war as to remove the crews before the ships were sunk. One of these merchantmen was an American, the *William P. Frye*. The German photographs show the Stars and Stripes flying from the stern when sighted and then a last view of the topmasts as she went beneath the waves. On the *William P. Frye*, as on many of the others, women were among the prisoners of war removed to the *Eitel Friedrich*. Aboard the German raider they were locked in their cabins under guard and treated with scrupulous politeness. Perhaps it was as well for their peace of mind that Thierichens' subsequent record in an American court of law was not emblazoned on their walls. It is certainly well that there was the difference between the German crew and their captain trained in the Prussian military code of morals which the foregoing documents show.

4 for next article on Fighting Germany's Spies)



ONE OF THE RECORDS OF THE "EITEL FRIEDRICH"

Showing the sinking of the *Valentine*. This is an exact reproduction of the sheet of paper on which the officers of the *Eitel Friedrich* mounted the "progress pictures" of the sinking, showing the successive stages in their work of destruction and with their own notations in the margin, ending with *versenkt* ("sunk")

THE SINKING OF THE "WILLIAM P. FRYE"

1. The American ship photographed from the *Eitel Friedrich* before the crew was removed

THE SINKING OF THE "WILLIAM P. FRYE"

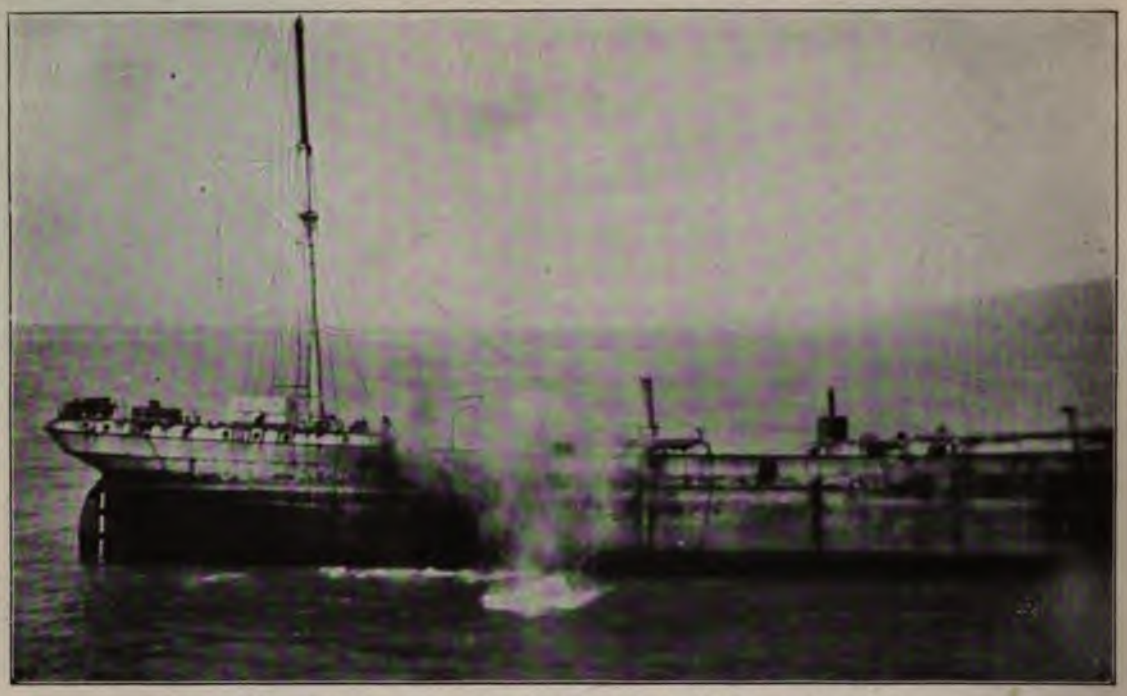
II. After the crew of the *Eitel Friedrich* had exploded a charge of dynamite placed within the hull

THE OFFICERS OF THE "EITEL FRIEDRICH"

Their exploits and the evil story of Captain Thierichens (left centre holding spy glass) are told in the preceding article. Between August 5, 1914, and March 10, 1915, the *Eitel Friedrich* cruised 30,000 miles

A PAGE FROM THE RECORD OF THE "EITEL FRIEDRICH"
Showing the German Imperial sign embossed on the margin, "Kaiserliche Marine." The *Eitel Friedrich* sank eleven vessels in her career as a commerce raider, of a total tonnage of more than 26,000 tons

GOING DOWN BY THE BOW
A victim of the *Eitel Friedrich* sinking after her crew had been ordered to leave



A GERMAN SHELL EXPLODING AGAINST A NEUTRAL TRADER'S SIDE
Photographed by the men of the *Eitel Friedrich*

ONE OF THE "EITEL FRIEDRICH'S" GUNS

Photographed by one of her officers. The *Eitel Friedrich* was a German auxiliary cruiser, carrying a crew of 13 officers and 356 men. She was equipped with three 8-inch guns and ten 4.7-inch guns at Tsing-tau, in addition to her original equipment of four 7-inch and two 3.4-inch guns, two 6-pounders, and fourteen machine guns, besides torpedo launching equipment

THE SINKING OF THE "JAKOBSEN"

This French sailing vessel was sunk by the *Eitel Friedrich* on January 28, 1915, the same day on which the American ship *William P. Frye* was sunk

BEFORE AND AFTER A DOSE OF KULTUR
I Before

BEFORE AND AFTER A DOSE OF KULTUR
II After

THE LAST PLUNGE OF THE "WILLERBY"
Sunk on February 20, 1915, about four hundred miles from Pernambuco, Brazil

"WHEN THE WATER GETS TO THE BOILERS"
The explosion of the boilers of one of the neutral merchant steamers sunk by the *Eitel Friedrich*

THE "MARY ADA SHORT" HEELING OVER

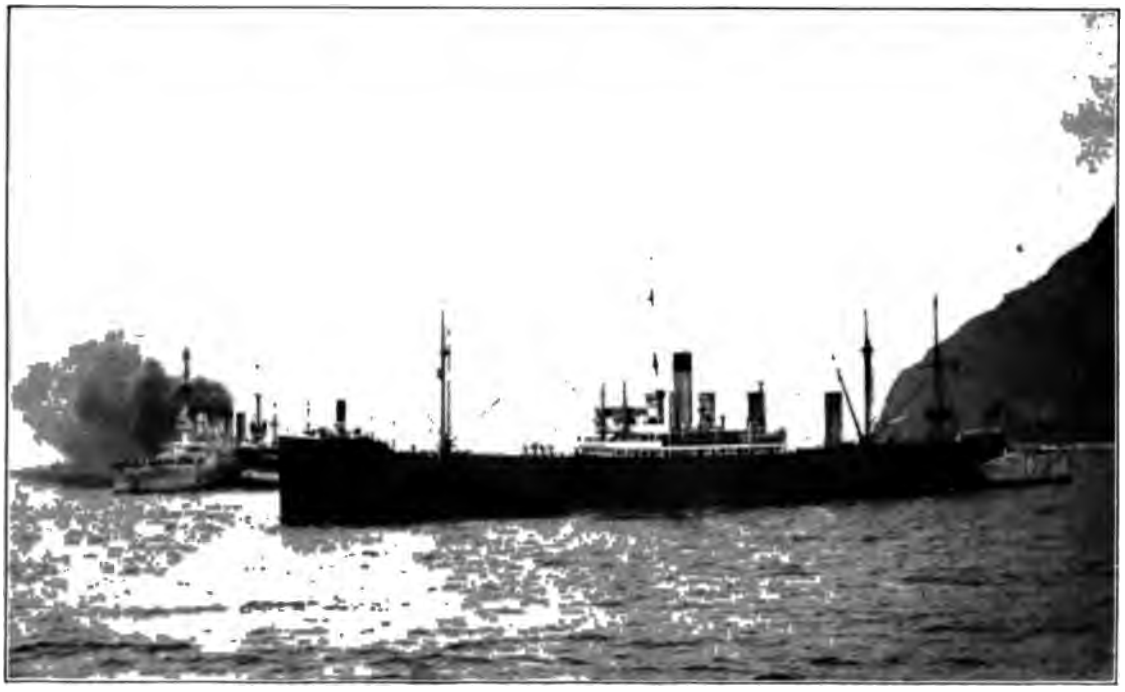
The *Eitel Friedrich's* careful German record entered below this photograph was:
"Englisher Dampf. *Mary Ada Short* aus Sunderland versenkt am 28 Januar 1915, P. M. 2.35 mit 5,200tn. Mais. kam Früh 7.25 in Sicht!

ADMIRAL VON SPEE'S SQUADRON

These extraordinary photographs show Von Spee's squadron receiving supplies, probably at the Chilean Island, Mas-a-fuera, about 500 miles west of Santiago, Chile

ONE OF VON SPEE'S CRUISERS

With other ships in the background at the right. The Squadron sank Admiral Cradock's British squadron off the Chilean Coast on November 3, 1914



ONE OF THE LAST PHOTOGRAPHS OF VON SPEE'S SQUADRON

Before it ventured from the South Pacific into the South Atlantic where it was met and sunk off the Falkland Islands by a flying squadron under Rear Admiral Sturdee sent especially from England for the purpose, on December 8, 1914

V

JAMES J. F. ARCHIBALD AND HIS PRO-GERMAN ACTIVITIES

How a War Correspondent Got To the German Front—Boy-Ed Telephones the "New York Times"—A News Syndicate Discharges a Writer—The British Secret Service Secures Some German Correspondence

(See preceding article on "Fighting Germany's Spies" page 78)

THE case of James J. F. Archibald, war correspondent, is another sample of the Germans' fatal gift for trusting a weak link in an otherwise ingenious and complete chain. Their "cleverness" was the cleverness of the cocky boy who thinks he can outwit any one. The sad ending of Archibald's career, the ignominious exposure of his character as a messenger for the Germans, was simplicity itself. And the revelations contained in the messages he carried were most discreditable to the honor and the wisdom of the plotters in the Teutonic embassies.

The story begins on July 29, 1914, six days after Austria's ultimatum to Serbia and three days before the formal historical date of the opening of the war. On that day an enterprising American newspaper syndicate telegraphed Mr. Archibald as follows:

> Please telegraph us your terms for going to the European war, so that we can size up the syndicate field. As soon as received will try for quick action.
>
> THE WHEELER SYNDICATE, INC.

Archibald soon had his arrangements made, though his employers were ignorant of the reason for the surprising ease with which he obtained the highest possible *entrée* to the best possible points of observation within the German lines. It should be said at once that their attitude was perfectly correct and that the moment they discovered the true nature of his errand they discharged him by cable, on October 27th. But that comes later in the story.

Archibald was a man of true grandiose German style. Writing to the syndicate on September 4th he said:

> You should not confound my efforts with more than five hundred correspondents of every description who have attempted to get to the English, French, and Belgian fronts, none of them with any official recognition and most of them without even a passport. At the hysterical beginning of the war, correspondents are very much in the way but every cartoonist, humorist, and amateur millionaire who wanted a little private excitement rushed to the front and embarrassed the armies in their mobilization and naturally they were not gladly received. I have been working quietly, just as I did in the Russian War when I was the first, and only, foreign correspondent to be accepted after four months' waiting.
>
> There is no necessity of coming into conflict with any censors if one knows military censorship as I do, for all they require is that you will not embarrass their present actual movements. There is not one single foreign correspondent with either the German or Austrian armies, and it will be a great achievement to get dispatches out from there and I am positive, with the papers that I now hold, that there will be no difficulty whatever. The difficulty is merely in establishing one's responsibility with these armies, and my residence in Washington for the last ten years has been for that purpose alone.

Archibald was soon in Germany and began sending back cable dispatches to a syndicate of papers, the principal ones of which were the New York *Times*, *Tribune*, and *World*. His dispatches, however, were so blatantly pro-German and had so much more propaganda than news in them that these papers quickly became dissatisfied. For example, the *Times* cut out of one of his dispatches a large section of fulsome eulogy of the German Government. Imagine their astonishment the next morning to receive a telephone call from Captain Boy-Ed, the Naval Attaché of the German Embassy with offices in New York. Captain Boy-Ed demanded the reason for the omission of these paragraphs. The *Times* naturally demanded Captain Boy-Ed's source of information that such paragraphs existed. It soon developed that Boy-Ed was receiving direct from Germany duplicates of all the material that Archibald was cabling for pub-

lication. As soon as the American newspapers understood this situation they declined to proceed further. In the same spirit and simultaneously the Wheeler Syndicate "fired" Mr. Archibald by cable and wrote him a stinging letter from which the following two paragraphs may be quoted:

Perhaps because of the nature of your stuff, at any rate, we have to face the veiled insinuation that you are in the pay of the German and Austrian Governments. In this connection, we have been told that the German and Austrian Ambassadors to this country have received in skeleton form the several wireless dispatches you sent to us addressed care the *Times*. We think you should know this, and also know that, with the nature of your dispatches such as they were, we dared not allow ourselves, by continuing the service, to be laid open to the charge that we were in the employ of the German and Austrian Governments. So we had to terminate the service.

We have instructed the *Times* not to accept any more wireless dispatches from you, and the wireless company has been notified that no dispatches will be accepted. We regret exceedingly the situation, but it is one that has arisen solely from the fact that you have sent over your personal pro-German opinions instead of the battlefront news you assured us that you would furnish us.

The World's Work can speak with some feeling on this subject from personal experience. Having heard immediately on the outbreak of the war of Archibald's familiarity with the Austrian Army, this magazine asked him for an impartial article of facts concerning its organization. The material which came in response to this request soon convinced the editors that it was written with an ulterior motive which made it impossible to print it, and Mr. Archibald ceased to be a contributor.

Nothing daunted by these rebuffs, Archibald continued his exploits as "war correspondent," interspersing his labors at the front with voyages back to the United States, ostensibly to deliver lectures. The true character of his movements stands revealed in a letter Archibald received from Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, a few days before he embarked on the voyage from New York which was to be his last. This letter was written from Bernstorff's summer home at Cedarhurst, Long Island, on the 19th of August, 1915, and reads as follows:

Dear Mr. Archibald:

I send you herewith the two letters of recommendation asked for and hope that they will be useful to you. I learn with p
once again to return to Ger
you have interceded for our c
ageously and successfully.

With best compliments,

One of these letters w

The German Frontier Cu
requested to kindly give to th
Mr. James J. F. Archibald, fr
going to Germany with phc
etc., in order to collect mater
United States *in the interests*
sible facilities compatible wi
dispatching of his luggage.

Imperial A

The familiar story of w
is that Archibald carried
ments for Bernstorff and
cane. This could scarcely
ments he carried were so r
of them so bulky that the
have been a giant's walk
event the documents then
interest than their vehicle.
from Archibald by the Br
Falmouth. The series can
by a letter from Ambassa
chief, Count Burian, Mi
Affairs in Vienna, which re

My Lord:

Yesterday evening Consul
received the inclosed aide me
editor of the locally known pa
a previous conference with hin
his proposals to arrange for str
Schwab steel and munitions wa
the middle West.

Dr. Archibald, who is well
ship, leaves to-day at 12 o
Rotterdam, for Berlin and
rare and safe opportunity to
the proposal to your lordship's
tion.

It is my impression that we
hold up for months, if not
manufacture of munitions in
middle West, which, in the op
military attaché, is of great in
outweighs the expenditure of m

But even if strikes do not co
that we should extort, under
crisis, more favorable conditi
poor, down-trodden fellow cou
lehem these white slaves ar

City of New York)
County & State of N. Y.) ss.

Ich, Gustav Stahl, wohnhaft in No. 20 Leroy Street, New York City, mache hiefmit die folgenden Aussagen unter Eid:-

Am Tage vor der Abfahrt des S/S "LUSITANIA", April 30, 1915, wurde ich von meinem Freunde, A. Lietch, welcher sich dort als erster Cabinen Stewart angemustert hatte, gebeten ihm behülflich su sein seinen Koffer an Bord zu bringen. Im Laufe des Abends gingen wir an Bord ohne vom wachhabenden Quartiermeister angehalten zu werden.

Nachdem wir uns einige Zeit in der "Gloria" (Stewarts' Quartier) aufgehalten hatten, begaben wir uns aufs hintere Hauptdeck. Ungefähr 15 bis 18 Fuss von dem Eingange zur "Gloria" entfernt, Starbord und Backbord fand ich je ein Geschütz vor, von 12 bis 15 Centimeter Durchmesser, von Leder ganz überzogen, doch das Rohr war deutlich erkennbar. Um meine Neugierde zu befriedigen, machte ich die Schnallen los um festzustellen welches Kaliber das Geschütz hatte. Ferner konnte ich genau sehen, dass das Geschütz auf Holzblöcken aufs Deck montiert war. Die Geschütze waren drei Fuss von jeder Schiffsseite entfernt, und konnte die Schiffswand an der betreffenden Stelle ausgehoben werden. Auf dem Vorderdeck waren auch zwei Geschütze vorhanden von demselben Kaliber, und Bedeckung. Dieselben waren cirka 15 bis 20 Fuss von dem Eingange zum Mannschafts Quartier entfernt, und vier Fuss von der Schiffswand, welcher gleichfalls beseitigt werden konnte.

Sworn to before
me this 28 day of May 1915
George Levy

Gustav Stahl

Q#-D-332

NEW YORK, May 27, 1915.

Opt. H. J. W. reports:-

I proceeded to ---------, and at 8.10 P. M. met C. S. I questioned him in regard to the above mentioned case and made a rough sketch of an affidavit. Just as I was telephoning to the office, P. K. entered and read the draft which I had made, same meeting with his approval. He then instructed me to take it to the office and have it typewritten, while C. S. waited for me at Park Row. P. K. stated that he would meet us later on.

I left the office again at 10.30 P. M. and met C. S. at the appointed place, and both of us waited for P. K., who arrived at 11.45 P. M. We proceeded to the World Building and had the affidavit, with a copy, sworn to by C. S. before a Notary Public.

After discussing our movements for the next day we discontinued at 1 A. M.

REPORT OF AN OPERATIVE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IN PAUL KOENIG'S OFFICE

This confidential document shows the arrangements by which Stahl made his affidavit and was taken before a notary public after midnight to have it attested

(LEFT) THE ORIGINAL AFFIDAVIT OF GUSTAV STAHL

Declaring that the *Lusitania* was armed. Translated it reads:

I, Gustav Stahl, living at 20 Leroy Street, New York City, make the following statement under oath: On the day prior to the sailing of the S. S. *Lusitania*, April 30th, 1915, I was asked by my friend, A. Lietch, who was employed as first cabin steward, to help him to bring his trunk on board. In the course of the evening we went on board, without being hindered by the quartermaster on guard.

After having remained some time in the "gloria" (steward's quarters) we went to the stern main deck. About 15 to 18 feet from the entrance to the "gloria" on port and starboard respectively, I saw two guns, of 12 to 15 centimetres. They were covered with leather, but the barrel was distinctly to be seen. To satisfy my curiosity I unfastened the buckles to ascertain the calibre of the guns. I could also ascertain that the guns were mounted on deck on wooden blocks. The guns were placed about three feet from the respective shipside and the wall could be removed in that particular place.

On the forward deck there were also two guns, of the same calibre and covered in the same manner. They were placed at about 15 to 20 feet from the entrance of the crews' quarter and 4 feet from the shipside, where the wall could also be removed.

Signed: GUSTAV STAHL.

STATE OF NEW YORK }
COUNTY OF NEW YORK } ss.

I, LEONOR LEVY, of lawful age, being first duly sworn, depose and say:-

That I reside at 972 Fox Street, New York City; that I am a Commissioner of Deeds and have been for fifteen years; that I am employed in the Composing Room of the New York World and work at night, from 7 o'clock to 3 A. M; that on May 28th between 11:30 and 12 P. M., three men came up to the Composing Room and asked for me; that one was a man who I have been seeing about one year, who always brought papers to be executed connected with the Hamburg American Line; that I have a suspicion that he may be connected with the German Consulate; that he is about 40 years of age; dark complexion; smooth face; except for a bristling black mustache; that he limps a little; is about 5' 11", weighs about 165 pounds. The second man was pretty well dressed, wore dark overcoat; derby hat, and said absolutely nothing but paid fifty cents for the execution of the affidavits hereinafter described: there were two affidavits: deponent says that he thinks one was in German, but he cannot be sure of this recollection; that the second man was heavier built than the first man, and was about 5' 7"; smooth shaven; weighed about 160 pounds; dark hair; about 30 years of age; that the third man was GUSTAV STAHL, who was about 23 years old; wore dark clothes; had a little mustache just beginning to bud out; that he was commonly dressed; about 5'6"; talked German only; that STAHL impressed him as untruthful, unwilling, and acting under the direction of the lame man; that because of his 15

-2-

Years experience as a Commissioner of Deeds he has acquired certain ability to distinguish between men who have full confidence in the statements to which they make oath and those who do not; that STAHL had a furtive appearance; that on Tuesday, June 1, about 7 P. M. another man brought two other persons to make affidavits about other matters, and while talking to this man the lame man above described, came over and said, "Hurry up"- The man who executed these affidavits on June 1, 1915, had names similar to Szabo and Gratovich or Grallovich; that he would recognize STAHL and the two men who accompanied him should he see them again; that the copy of the affidavit exhibited to him by Mr. Bielaski is, as far as he can judge, a copy of the affidavit made before him by STAHL.

Léonor Levy

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 5th day of June, 1915.

Joseph A. LoMedico
NOTARY PUBLIC, Kings County
Certificate filed in New York County

EVIDENCE THAT STAHL WAS A PERJURER

An affidavit made by the notary before whom Stahl swore to his statement that the *Lusitania* was armed. Stahl was hurried out of New York immediately after making his affidavit, but was arrested and charged with perjury, and on trial his assertions were proved to be a carefully fabricated lie. His original affidavit was presented to the State Department by Ambassador Bernstorff in a brazen attempt to justify the sinking of the *Lusitania*

ssy
D.C.

Washington, D.C., April 22, 1915.

75.

Dear Sir,

I beg to enclose a „notice" to prospective American travellers and to ask whether you could have it printed as advertisement in the newspapers mentioned on the enclosed list once a week during the next three or four weeks. I presume that the prices given are correct and that it will be possible to reduce the rates somewhat for a repetition of the advertisement.

Thanking you in advance for a kind answer at your earliest convenience, I am

Yours very truly,

For the German Ambassador

Councillor of the Embassy.

. Schaffer,
ington, D.C.

NOTICE!

RAVELLERS intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage re reminded that a State of War exists between Germany and er Allies and Great Britain and her Allies; that the zone f war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles; hat, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial erman Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, r of any of her Allies, are liable to destruction in those aters and that travellers sailing in the war zone on ships f Great Britain or her Allies do so at their own risk.

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY

Washington, D.C., April 22, 1915.

J. Albert Shaffer,

Rooms 506-507. Newspaper Advertising,

ESTABLISHED IN 1893
FORMERLY OF THE EVENING STAR

Evening Star Building, Washington, D.C. 27th Ap

Publisher The Transcript
Boston

Dear Sir:

Herewith, we hand you copy for German Embas

which please insert under head of Steamships

beginning, ~~at once~~ Sat. May 1st, in space of 50 agate lines Saturdays

for 3 times.

Kindly send copy of paper to the advertiser during the life of the ad

See that this office is on your mailing list, and send memo. bill at once.

Your careful attention will oblige,

Yours very truly,

J. Albert Shaffer

NOTICE!

TRAVELLERS intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or of any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters and that travellers, sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 22, 1915.

Boston Evening Transcri

ESTABLISHED 1830

324 WASHINGTON STREET
BOSTON, MASS.

ADVERTISI
ACCOUNT

Boston, Apr. 28, 1915.

r. J. Albert Shaffer,
Washington, D. C.

ear Sir:

Much as we dislike to refuse an order at thi
in view of our policy not to allow one advertiser t
business of another except by legitimate competitio
decline to insert the advertisement signed Imperial
ordered by yours of the 27th.

Regretting our inability to serve you in t
we are,

Very truly yours,
BOSTON TRANSCR

Advertis

THE "LUSITANIA" WARNING

II. The advertising agent's order upon which the newspapers inserted the warning; the advertisement itself; and the letter of the Boston *Transcript* refusing the advertisement—the series of illustrations establishing the dates upon which the German Embassy took its steps in giving the warning

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In the interest of successful action at Bethlehem and the Middle West, besides the *Szabodsog*, the *Nepszava*, the new daily paper of Pittsburg must be set in motion, and those of Bridgeport, Youngtown District, etc., also two Slovak papers. Under these circumstances, the first necessity is money. To Bethlehem must be sent as many reliable Hungarian and German workmen as I can lay my hands on who will join the factories and begin their work in secret among their fellow workmen. For this purpose, I have my men Turners in Steelwork. We must send an organizer, who in the interests of the Union will begin the business in his own way. We must also send so-called "soap-box" orators who will know, and so to start a useful agitation. We shall want money for popular meetings and possibly for organizing picnics. In general, the same applies to the Middle West. I am thinking of Pittsburg and Cleveland in the first instance, as to which I could give details only if I were to return and spend at least a few days there.

It is my opinion that for the special object of starting the Bethlehem business and for the Bethlehem and Western newspaper campaign, $15,000 to $20,000 must be able to be disposed of, but it is not possible to reckon how much will ultimately be required; when a beginning has been made it will be possible to see how things develop, and where and how much it is worth while to spend. The above mentioned preliminary sum would suffice to partially satisfy the demands of the necessary newspapers and to a considerable extent those of the Bethlehem campaign.

These documents should be read in the light of their date, August 20, 1915, and of the fact that the United States was a neutral nation, still harboring the representatives of the "friendly" German and Austro-Hungarian Empires. They are conclusive enough, in themselves, of the pernicious activities of these Embassies, but they will become doubly significant in a later article in this series when they are read in the light of the activities of "Labor's National Peace Council."

Another document which Dumba entrusted to Archibald was his report to Burian on the then recent publication in the New York *World* of the papers taken from a satchel left in an elevated train by Dr. Heinrich Albert, the financial adviser of the German Embassy in America and the paymaster for a great deal of its work in plots and propaganda. This dispatch of Dumba's is worthy of reproduction in full. It is,

A map and a number of documents—typed but unfinished copies or statements of petitioners—were stolen from the financial adviser of the German

Embassy here, obviously by the English secret service. These documents are now published in the current issue of the *World*, which has gone over to the English "Yingolager" (Jingo camp) as a great sensation, with cheap advertisement. The paper makes the most violent accusations against the German Embassy, mainly against Count von Bernstorff, Military Attaché Captain von Papen, and Geheimrat Albert, who are said to have conspired secretly against the safety of the United States, in that they have bought arms and munition factories, have concluded bogus contracts for delivery with France or Russia, have purchased large quantities of explosive materials, have incited strikes in the munition factories, have sought to corrupt the press, and have spread far-reaching agitation for the effecting of an embargo in the different American circles. The other important New York papers second the *World* although with less violence, for, in their leading articles, by misrepresentation of the facts, they accuse Germany of all possible and impossible machinations—for instance, they, like the *World*, bring forward the assertion that the German Government wished to stop the supply of ammunition to the Allies, while secretly sending large quantities over itself.

Kaiserlich
Deutsche Botschaft.

Washington, D.C., d

J.Nr A 3688.

Herr Staatssekret

Euerer Exzellenz beehre i
schworene Aussage des Herrn Gu
setzung, einzureichen, aus welc
auf dem britischen Dampfer „Lu
letzten Reise Geschütze aufges
Genehmigen Sie, Herr Staat
Versicherung meiner ausgezeichn

Seiner Exzellenz
dem Staatssekretär der Vereinigten Staaten
Herrn W. J. Bryan.

BERNSTORFF'S NOTE TO B

Enclosing the Stahl affidavit. The translation is

Imperial German Embassy

Wa

Mr. Secretary of State:

I have the honor to forward herewith to your Excellency a of Herr Gustav Stahl from which it appears that guns w Steamer *Lusitania* on her last voyage.

Accept, Mr. Secretary of State, the renewed assurances of consideration.

To His Excellency
The Secretary of the State of the United States
Mr. W. J. Bryan

Count von Bernstorff took the view that these calumnies were beneath reply, and by a happy inspiration, refused any explanation. He is in no way compromised. On the contrary, it appears from the published correspondence of various press agents that he vetoed the purchase of a press agency.

On the other hand, Geheimrat Albert published in the newspapers a very cleverly worded explanation, the tenor of which I venture to submit to Your Excellency in an enclosure. It is especially to the credit of the German Embassy that on July 15th last it informed the State Department officially that it found itself compelled to buy as many materials of war in this country as it possibly could, and to control their production, with the intention of preventing their being supplied through the enemy. These materials, it stated, were at any time at the disposal of the American Government at favorable prices, either as a whole or in parts, and of course this could only further the readiness of the United States for taking the field in war.

Here the absurd accusations of the conspiracy collapse. Also, with regard to the accusations as to the incitement of strikes, there is no proof of the empty statements made. Ne German here is slandered and r sis and consistency. An imp hardly escape the feeling of ap the far-reaching activity of G inspire him. But there are ve sons in New York.

The torpedoing of the *Ar* its having been done without w caused American passengers t do more than any newspaper judice Germany in the public States.

The Imperial and Roy

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Archibald carried numer for the Germans as well as The most interesting of t from Franz Von Papen, mil German Embassy upon exposure. The following this dispatch:

the New York

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ith, since the
Castner Chemical Company, which is friendly to England, appears now to be out of the question.

I shall use the means placed at my disposal (information of Herr Grothen) for the purpose of arriving at an agreement with the Electro Bleaching Company. The published negotiations for the acquisition of the Wrights' patent is without importance, since on our behalf a judical decision against the Curtiss Company, so far as one can see, would not have been obtained.

Part of the significance of Von Papen's dispatch is his reference to the Bridgeport Projectile Company. Other documents in the possession of the United States Government demonstrate completely the ownership of this corporation by the Teutonic Allies. Hans Tauscher, the agent of Krupps and other German munition factories in this country, was in the habit of reporting direct to the War Ministry in Berlin as if he were its representative in this country—as indeed he was, though not ostensibly so. Among other papers in the hands of the Government is a letter from the President of the Bridgeport Projectile Company, informing him that the company is being reorganized and that hereafter Mr. Tauscher will hold as trustee *only 60 per cent.* of the capital stock. Naturally Tauscher was not acting as trustee for anybody but his employers.

Another document, of little importance, is a letter Von Papen wrote to his wife and sent by Archibald. But two parts of it are interesting. After speaking again of the *World* exposure, he says;

> The answer of Albert I am sending you herewith so you can see how we defend ourselves. The document we drew up together yesterday.

But the bright spot for the Americans whose hospitality he was abusing lies in this:

> How splendid in the East! I always say to these idiotic Yankees that they should shut their mouths, and better still be full of admiration for all that heroism. My friends from the Army are in this respect quite different.

Papen's "friends from the Army" have, with a good many of "these idiotic Yankees" organized an army and are looking for Captain Franz again, this time over the top in France with the determination to settle the question with his government on the battle field.

THE PROBLEM OF THE FOO ADMINISTRATION

The Serious Question of Feeding the Allied Countries—The Transpo —Wheat That Cannot be Considered Food—Wheat an the Gold and Silver of the Kingdom of Food

BY

THOMAS H. DICKINSON

(of the United States Food Administration)

IN THINKING about food to win the war you have to think about three other things along with food. These are transportation, time, and the general movement of the world's crops before the war. For if you do not, you will not have any conception of the problems of a Food Administrator in this fourth year of the World War.

First as to transportation and time. When is food not food? The answer is that it is not food when it cannot be delivered where it is needed, in time to be of service. To be explicit, it is not food when it is wheat locked up in Australia unable to get to the battle zones because of insufficient shipping.

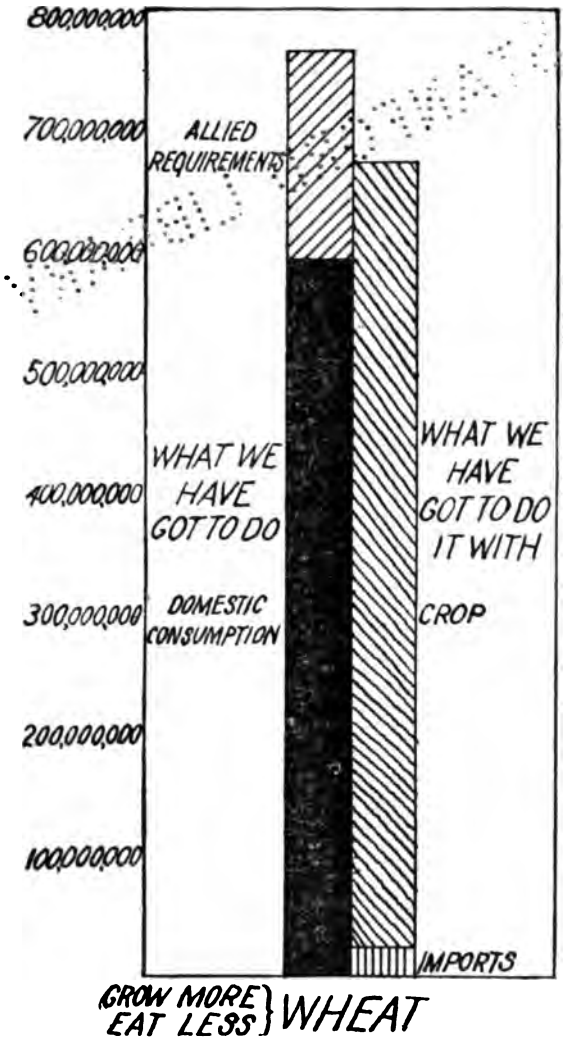
Americans now are in process of learning this first lesson. But there is another lesson the Food Administrators are teaching us. We have become so accustomed to explaining everything by the war, that we are likely to overlook that even before the war there was taking place a change in the pressure areas of the world's food production, which had a vital significance in the fortunes of the war. With all her intensive farming, Europe had passed the crest of increased production. She could look forward only to the increasing necessity of being fed from outside. In spite of her great resources America's production had failed to increase. The fertile regions of India, China, and Japan could barely feed their own populations. As outlet there was left only the great plains of Asia and Europe, and of South America. And thereby hangs a tale. For Germany had her eye on the first, and the others have been cut off from consideration by forces we shall note in due time.

Once for all, in order that no injustice be done, let us say that Mother Nature has done her part.

But Mother Nature w economy. She knows not warfares, big or little. She and if he is not in a posit much the worse for hin Mother Nature isn't skim let it be said that the year bread-cards, queues, and control to Europe, saw in R tina, and Manchuria upw bushels of exportable wl as well never have been helping Europe was con amount was precisely wh imports for France, Italy, th and Belgium for a year. B reached Europe. To thi transportation fought for G

Bringing the figures do we find that Australia had an exportable surplus of o bushels of wheat to whic eighty million bushels of th tina had a surplus of ele with a new crop of one hun million bushels; India to-da surplus of seventy million crop coming April 1st e hundred and fifty million b least fifty million bushels export. With all this whea wheat stored on the wh bought by Great Britain a a bushel and beingeaten by warring nations of the Allies

Why is it that with all world there still is famine famine where men are figh the future? To take the it is because man himself tutions on the plan of a w



WHY THE WHEAT PROBLEM IS SERIOUS

We have, with our imports and domestic crop, less than enough to feed ourselves if we export what our allies need. Consequently we must raise more and eat less in order to make our supply equal our demand

though he thought he was narrowly national. Where there has been slack on one side of the world, constriction on the other side has taken it up. Areas of pressure have equalized areas of vacuum. And ships have been common carriers across the seas. When, by a violent wrench, the world was suddenly broken asunder, all balanced processes fell awry. Expressing now the situation in concrete terms, it is that the lines of world contact in shipping were broken. The channels sufficient for peace time were overtaxed in time of war. The *time it takes to bring a ship from Australia to Europe is three times the time necessary* to bring it from America. In the present situation of the world's shipping the difference is that between food and no food. For behind the polite term "insufficient shipping" is always camouflaged the portentous fact of the submarine, which in two months of 1917 sank 2 per cent. of the ships carrying wheat to England, and has struck a heavy blow at meat carrying vessels from South America. Altogether there has been contrived a decrease in the export of wheat from Argentina during the war of 70 per cent.

When America came into this war along in its third year she had many tasks cut out for her. By a stroke of the pen at the beginning of war her position changed from one of random participation to responsibility. In one way we were better off after war started than before. For then we could take control of forces within and without. Before, we had been a screaming wheat market. We had been selling to the Allies and our drippings had even been going to Germany. After war was declared we could straighten out the market. We could grab the Allied buyers by the scruff of the neck and say, "Get in line." We could say to dealers, "Get back of your counter." And we could keep an eye out for Mr. Common Citizen standing humbly with his porridge dish waiting to be served.

Let it frankly be said that we, like the world as a whole, were unprepared for the great task before us. We had all the sources of food wealth. We had the land to produce crops to the limit of our need. We were not in the position of Europe in which the last hillside square inch had been cultivated. We could feed all Europe if we were given time. All that is called for by the Allies would amount to a scant fifteen per cent. over our normal production. But we were like a billionaire with safes bursting with bonds who had to borrow taxi-fare in a rain storm. We had been living prodigally. We had torn down the forests, scraped the surface of the ground for harvest and called this "working our resources." We had been living off our capital and thinking it inexhaustible, neither keeping books nor claiming interest. Even after we entered war we drifted along by the old "business as usual" plan. Signs of this are shown in the skyrocketing of prices of wheat and sugar in the early days of last spring. Within six weeks wheat for which the farmer had received $1.44 rose to $3.00 a bushel and flour to $17.00

a barrel. The president of a large sugar refinery has written that if the process of things had not been checked the price of sugar would in January have been nearer fifty cents a pound than twenty-five.

When Herbert Hoover came back from Europe to take charge of America's food problems for the service of the Allies he found a babel of voices preaching on food. They called for a multitude of things, some wise, some less wise, and some otherwise. Without expressing himself on any of them, he proceeded to create system out of chaos, to build a proper machine of food economy. This word "machine" is used advisedly for we will learn that machines are very valuable in this war, both human machines and the kind that men build. The Food Administration was directed primarily to the building of that human kind of a machine out of all the food forces of the country which would work together for a single end with uniformity and without waste.

Among the things the Food Administration could do when, on August 10 (four months after we had entered the war) it was established by Congress's enactment of the Food Control Bill, three stand out for particular attention. These were, first, the mobilization of American food agencies for effective prosecution of the war; second, the inauguration by cooperation with the American people of conservation measures whereby immediate deliveries of food might be made to the Allies; third, stimulation of production.

A distinguished American citizen has said that it is easier to produce a unit of food products than to save it. Why, then, the campaign for conservation? The answer will be found in the situation in which America found herself last summer. The Food Administration was not created until after the crops of 1917 had long been sowed. Many of them were harvested. The Food Control Act gives the Food Administration no authority directly to stimulate production. This lies in the hands of the Department of Agriculture where it belongs. Moreover, in a very important sense, stimulation of crops and war gardens should not, in such an emergency as this, be undertaken until other conditions have been created to render the results most effective. A war garden is servicable if it supplies definite food to take a place in the ration which would otherwise be unfilled, or if the crops are used

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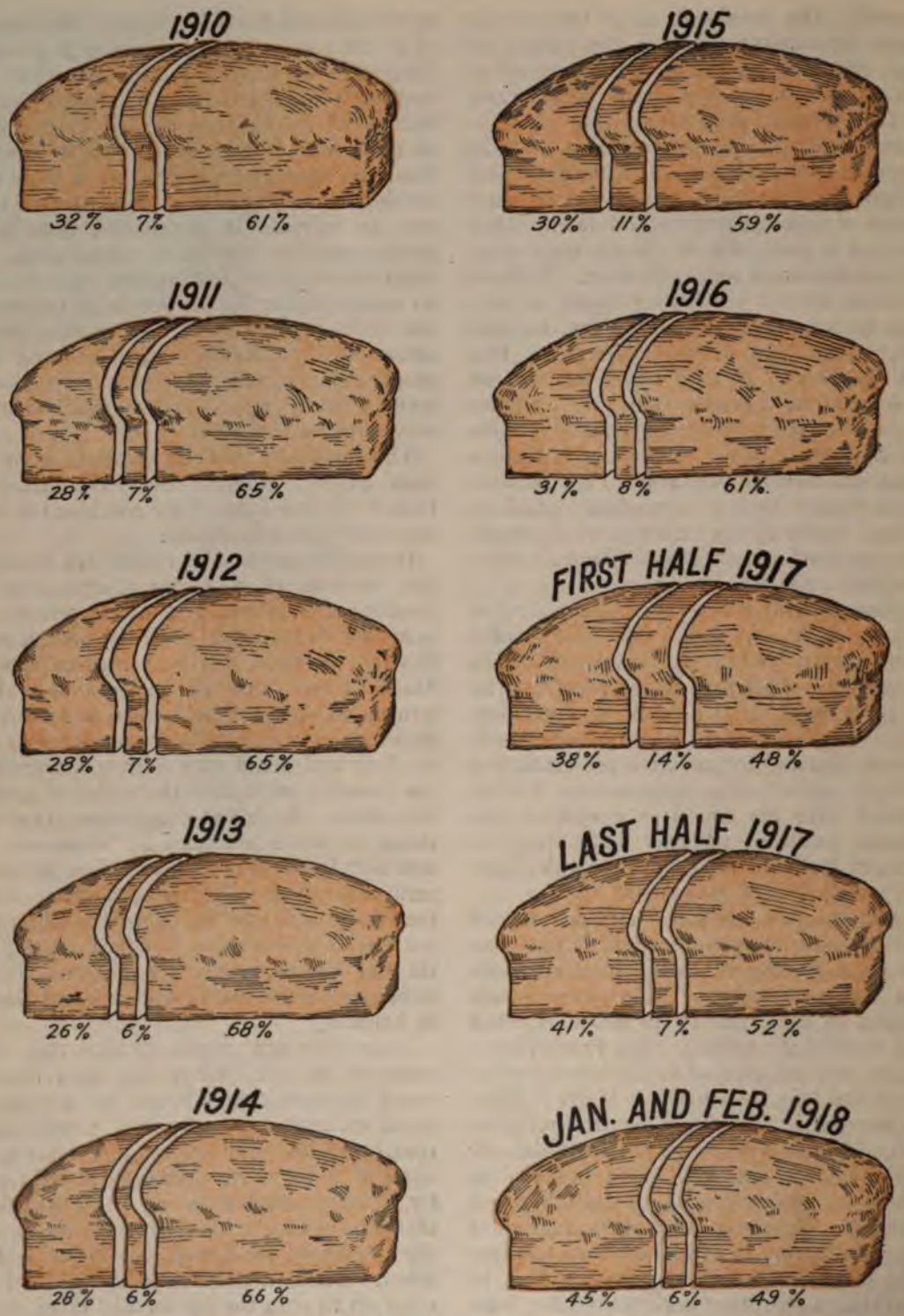

HOW THE COST OF A LOAF OF BREAD IS DIVIDED

In 1910 the farmer got 32 per cent. of the total cost of a loaf. The miller got 7 per cent. and the remaining 61 per cent. went to those who handled the loaf between the miller and the consumer. In January and February, 1918, the farmer got 45 per cent., the miller 6 per cent. and the others interested got but 49 per cent.

all three. But in the first half of 1917 the miller had begun to take speculative profits of about 14 per cent., the baker was reduced to 48 per cent. and the farmer got 38 per cent. Under Food Administration control the miller was reduced to 7 per cent., the baker received 52 per cent. and the farmer 41 per cent. The baker and the miller were further reduced in the first two months of 1918 to 49 per cent. and 6 per cent. respectively while the farmer's share was raised to 45 per cent., by all odds the highest he has ever received.

But standardization alone could not serve the immediate purpose of supplying the Allies with food. For this, popular saving was necessary. Conservation served a double purpose. It was a means by which food stores were started immediately flowing to Europe. And, to quote a phrase much used in Washington these days, it was a means by which the war was "sold to the American people." This point deserves some attention, for it touches a matter of war psychology we are likely to overlook.

We have heard the statement "Food will win the war." What is meant by this? Does it mean food will take the place of men on the firing line? If we think so the sooner we get the idea out of our heads the better. It means only that food is the first thing we could do. A great conflagration was taking place on the other side of the world. Other men had got there first, and were fighting the fire with all their might. Of course the men who had reached the fire first were now in greatest danger, holding their positions of peril with fortitude and courage. But they needed help. In a case like this the thing to do is to pass the buckets along to the man at the head of the line until he drops injured or dying and you can take his place. This is what America started to do.

And while doing this we had to do our utmost to deliver the last ounce to those whose fortunes and lives depended upon our haste and our service. We had to make America as effective in the war as we could in those breathless days before we could strike a blow. Here came our first real chance for service, our first opportunity to dedicate ourselves to the cause.

This matter of saving is by no means without importance. It goes down to the vital essences out of which victory must come. It is well and good to give our m[illegible] to benevo-

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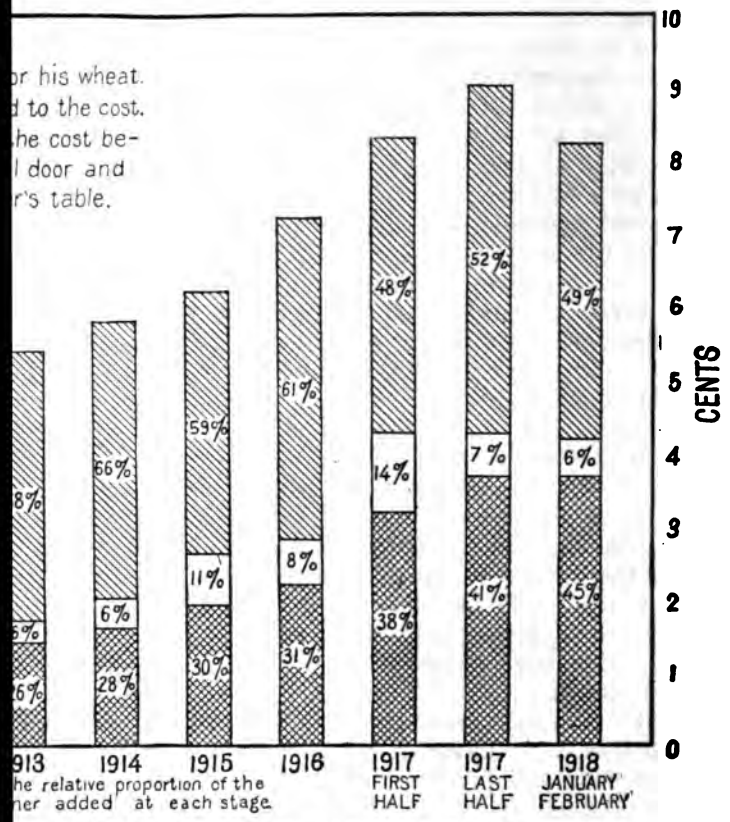

E CONSUMER OF A POUND LOAF OF BREAD

price of a pound loaf of bread rose to 9 cents in the latter part of 1917. and February, 1918, the price dropped slightly

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ve figures, in rows of ary necessi- heat is the change. It everywhere. s of trade. ot grow it; se it. And beyond its ent. It is are nations on wheat. f the total 57 per cent. ave wheat. at is gold, rency. We ocal prices. directly or indirectly dependent upon corn. When 30 per cent. of the corn crop goes soft, and the crop is backed up in the bins at the sidings unable to run down the jerk-water lines to the main lines for lack of cars, corn still remains under wheat in price, though it jumps to the unbelieveable figure of $1.90 a bushel. But the high price of corn causes mothers to pay a cent a quart more for milk in New York; it brings cattle feeders into straits in the Middle West.

What place does wheat take in the big fight? It is the expeditionary army. It must go to the trenches. The American people, who have learned to send their boys abroad, must learn to send their favorite food as well. We must get along on half the wheat we used before. We have cut ourselves from forty-two million bushels a month to thirty million bushels. We must cut again to twenty million bushels. Every citizen must teach himself to get along on six pounds of wheat products a month.

What is corn in the big fight? Corn is the home guard, that stays at home to free the wheat for the fighting abroad. A large part of learning the lessons of saving lies in learning the lesson of substitution. There are three types of substitution. First, there is substitution of a sister product, as corn for wheat. We are learning that. Then there is substitution of unallied products, as meat for wheat. Europe is learning that and we must learn it. And again, there is the creation of new substitutes, as new varieties of fish for land products. "The products of the land are conserved by eating those of the sea."

America has not yet begun to fight. She has only begun to do her part in food service. We can tell by looking at the diagrams that the curve of our shipments has only once come up to the line of normal expectation. Explanations do not feed hungry soldiers, but they may clarify to an interested people how much more we all together need to do before we have reached our minimum of food service. In the first place we have not had since the beginning of the war a crop comparable to our four year pre-war average in wheat before 1914. While the 1917 wheat crop of six hundred and fifty million bushels showed an increase of fourteen million bushels more than the crop of 1916 it was 25 per cent. lower than the eight hundred and five million bushels which had been the average pre-war crop.

Moreover the food service soon found itself involved in the more inclusive problems of America's participation in the war. When we entered the war we promised three things: men, food, and ships. We soon found that these things could not be considered separately, each in a little compartment of its own; they all cling together. Their problems are one problem. Some mischances have grown out of this, and some annoying delays in the food programme. So while the call from all over the world has been for "Ships, more ships!" the call in America has been "Cars! Give us cars!"

Up to the first of February less than 50 per cent. of the corn had been moved, 80 per cent. of the oats, and 60 per cent. of the potatoes. Not a single week's shipments of grain and cereals abroad has equalled the announced programme since January 1st. From January 1st to March 20th shipments totalled 1,416,914 tons, but this was 812,000 tons behind the programme.

How the United States is adapting itself to the demand, the people have abundant opportunity to know in the "fifty-fifty" regulations, in the stipulations of Victory Bread, in the wheatless and meatless days. There is one lesson they are rapidly learning, and this is that the citizenship itself is an actual food army, which must be deployed according as new needs arise. No war conditions are fixed. Change and surprise are characteristic of war. This has been well understood in the case of armies in the field. It is now coming to be understood by the army at home. The people are learning that no narrow principle of consistency can be permitted to operate where the good of the cause is at stake. Food conditions change in a night. To-day there may be a surplus, and to-morrow may bring a Mother Hubbard's cupboard. Stranger than this, to-day there may seem to be famine and to-morrow will show plenty. The food army will not blame officialdom for this. Food Administrations are like generals. They give orders according to the needs of the strategy.

This remark is illustrated by a sudden change in the meat front that took place in March. In January Great Britain was calling for seventy times the beef products she had imported before the war. The American people were asked to save in order to supply their needs. Then suddenly the effect of the embargo on supplies to Holland and Denmark began to be felt. These countries had been supplying fats to Germany sufficient to feed seven million people. Now they began to kill their herds and to supply England with meat. And the demand for American meat lapsed overnight. The American people who had been saving meat were asked to transfer their savings to wheat, of which, alas, there seems to be no promise of the opening up of unlimited stores.

What is the situation to-day? As Viscount Milner has said, the matter has now become so desperate that it is a question "whether Prussian militarism will destroy the Allies and dominate Europe and part of Asia." When we think of needs we think of France, whose production of wheat fell from three hundred and fifty million bushels before the war to one hundred and sixty million bushels last year. France has reduced her pre-war consumption of wheat by 25 per cent.; has reduced her stocks of horses by 50 per cent.

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are making the demand of their servants that all their forces be used in the great cause we have taken up. A sweep is passing over the country that no man of vision would hesitate to perceive. We are going to mobilize our forces into a great machine of victory. In many respects the food machine was the first one to start going. It must remain a definite part of the programme of American offensive warfare.

"The machine must take the place of the man in this war," says Lloyd George. The machine can stand shock, can be replaced, cannot be murdered or misled, functions until it is destroyed. This "machine making" for war is part of the task we are now engaged upon.

IS A WAR WON?

the Point Where We Can Say That We Have Definitely
The Impossibility of Entering into Any Agreement
owers—Will Peace Be Agreed to in the Council
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BY

J. B. W. GARDINER

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France, Italy, and America, as Germany and Turkey. Being equally guilty there is no question of equity between them. Therefore there can be no question of indemnification as between any two of them, either in money for damages done or in accessions of territory.

Without going into any discussion of Germany's claim to international righteousness in the matter, it is sufficient to say that Germany can be reconciled to this point of view. There is loud talk of self defence, of the conspiracy of the world against the Fatherland, but there is reason to believe that Germany would forget all about these claims if peace were offered on the basis of the *status quo ante*. In fact, Germany knows that her enemies do not intend she shall have such a peace, and that the longer the war lasts the greater the probability of her complete defeat. Therefore Germany, too, wants peace on the basis of no victory.

But what does this lead to? Simply a restoration of the situation out of which grew

the present war. And he would be a sentimental idealist who would deny that the same cause or status would again produce exactly the same result. Therefore as far as the civilized world is concerned (and this does not include Germany) the application of the no annexations, no indemnities formula will not bring peace and hence will not bring victory. We may then discard the Bolshevik method as being impracticable, without result, and completely in Germany's interest.

THE BASIS FOR A TRADE

Having disposed of the Bolsheviki we may next consider another group somewhat similar as to method but without fixed opinions as to the terms. This element argues that without any formulated-in-advance opinions, without any predetermined basis, the warring powers should immediately go into conference and endeavor, through frank discussion of the conflicting claims and counter claims, to reach common ground. Here we immediately face the same situation which the Bolsheviki faced at Brest-Litovsk. Germany holds all the cards—the occupied territory of the European Allies—the Allies themselves, empty handed except for the German colonies. Let us begin with Belgium—first and foremost the Allies will demand the evacuation of Belgium and the payment of suitable indemnity for her restoration. This question, the Allies will contend, is not debatable. Belgium was a neutral, her neutrality guaranteed by Germany as well as by others. This neutrality was violated by Germany, the country devastated, the men deported, the women forced to become the mistresses of German officers and men, vast sums have been extorted from her citizens, private property has been pillaged in violation of the Hague convention. Restitution must be made.

And what will Germany's answer be. Do we not know in advance?

"All this I deny. But even so, I hold Belgium by right of conquest; you have been proven too weak to take it away. If I give it up, what will you give in return?"

Here is going to be the crux of the situation. Is Germany willing to acknowledge her criminality? Is she ready to come before the court of the world and say, with bowed head, *Peccavi*, and ask of the world not justice alone, but mercy? Let one quote from an address of the Kaiser d
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These are the important

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upon the Allies, forcing them to sue for peace. This is a clear cut military victory which can never be won as long as Germany retains a defensive attitude. Again, Germany may remain on the defensive until the civilian populations of France and of England so long tried and so long working at high speed and living under the greatest tension, snap under the strain. Finally, through a compromise peace which will enable Germany to launch another war within the next quarter century. In other words the Allies must win the war or they lose it. For them a stalemate or an inconclusive peace is a defeat.

But how can the Allies defeat Germany?

There is but one way—a complete defeat of the German army, forcing it to sue for peace.

This may be brought about

First, by attrition.

Second, by stirring up revolution in Austria which will force Austria into a separate peace.

Third, by starvation through blockade.

Fourth, by a combination of attrition and starvation.

Attrition is simply a killing match. The Allies, who have a superiority in numbers, must so conduct their operations that the number of Germans permanently lost to the battle line exceeds the loss sustained by the Allies in the process. If this can be accomplished, the end of the war is purely a question of arithmetic.

Whether revolution will occur in Austria is a matter of speculation.

NEUTRAL FOOD FOR GERMANY

There are rumblings which would seem to indicate that the Bolshevik doctrines are eating their way into the vitals of Austrian labor, and the propaganda of the Allies is working to assist the process. But German domination of Austria is complete and it is improbable that Austria can rupture the chains that bind her to her master, and act for herself. It is a contingency to be hoped for, but not to be relied upon. We have gone so far in the war that we cannot take chances. We must play safe. The only sure way is to prepare to defeat Germany through weight of shell and quantity of high explosive. Can the war be won by the Allies through economic pressure? Previous to the perfecting of the blockade against the German coast, the answer to this question would have been positively,

No. Germany was receiving food stuffs from Holland, Denmark, and the Scandinavian countries in sufficient quantities to prevent starvation, if not enough to permit normal consumption. The British blockade broke up this traffic to a considerable extent; when the United States entered the war it ceased almost entirely. There is no neutral in Europe who can ship any material quantity of food supplies into Germany, if the United States in turn sees fit to embargo shipments to that neutral. In other words, no nation in Europe is self-sustaining as far as food is concerned, but all must draw for much of their supply from an oversea land. In a discussion of this question, then, we may disregard all the neutrals of Europe and, indeed, Turkey and Bulgaria, since, needing what they have, they can add nothing to the general share of the Central Powers. Moreover, in considering the strength of the Teutonic Alliance to resist such pressure as can be brought in this way we need consider only Germany and Austria, since only these countries can have any bearing on the war situation.

SHORTAGE OF WAR MATERIALS

There is first the question of those materials which are pure war materials. Among them might be mentioned copper, rubber, leather, and cotton—the use of copper for bands on shells, for making brass for shell cases and small arms ammunition, for wire—for a dozen other uses is well known. Germany's resources, including, of course, those of Austria, are well known, and are entirely inadequate. Rubber of course, is not indigenous to Germany—all must be imported—and none can be imported. Aside from all other factors, the Allies control practically every source of this material at its origin. The same thing is absolutely true of cotton. China, India, Egypt, and America producing practically the world's supply. So we might analyze each item on the war list coming finally to the point where, with the single exception of steel, there is not a single raw material which Germany has in sufficient quantity to meet her demands. As to food, with the single exception of fats, there is no reason to feel t
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Wheat	70,00
Potatoes	5,00
Beef	180,00
Pork	150,00
Lard	588,00

FOOD LOST TO GERMANY
BLOCKADE

The total and the per capita amou
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MAN AND HIS MACHINES

A 7,900 Ton Ship Built of Concrete—Machines to Help Speed up Lumber Production—Dugouts of Reinforced Concrete—A Centrifugal Machine Gun—Huge Portable Sterilizers for Our Army in France

A DECK VIEW OF A CONCRETE SHIP

From the bow looking aft. The speed with which concrete ships can be built may prove of inestimable value to us in combating the U-boat, while the cost of a concrete ship is much less than a steel ship of the same tonnage and speed

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A BOW VIEW BEFORE THE LAUNCHING

This ship, built in California, is of 7,900 tons displacement, and is about ten times as large as any concrete ship heretofore constructed. She was launched successfully, and when completed will make about ten knots an hour. She is 320 feet long

© Underwood & Underwood

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A REINFORCED CONCRETE DUGOUT (ABOVE)

In process of construction by the Germans, but captured by the advancing British before being completed

A PORTABLE STERILIZER FOR OUR ARMY (BELOW)

A number of clothing sterilizers of this type have been sent to our army in France, where they will be used near the front line trenches

A CENTRIFUGAL MACHINE GUN

Which is said to be able to fire thousands of shots a minute, and which can be operated by electricity, steam, gasolene, or by hand. No official information concerning it is available, but it is said to be able to break through light armor

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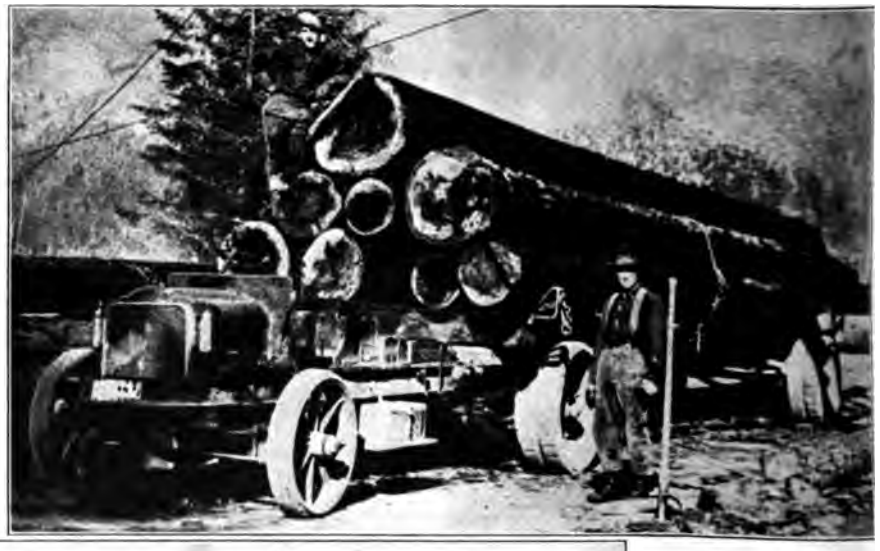
© Underwood & Underwood

A NEWLY DESIGNE SAW

That saves lumber b cutting close to the ground It is easily operated by on man, and is of particia value around the wate front, where it can be use to cut off piling below th surface of the water



MOVING LUMBER—

The demand for speed in the lumber business has resulted in bringing the motor truck into use. The logs are transferred from the woods to the water routes by trucks with trailers or semi-trail-

—BY MOTOR TRUCK

ers. Upon reaching the vi inity of saw mills the lo are hoisted from the wat to waiting trucks which a readily run out on narro piers, and are quickly d livered to the mills

The World's W

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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MR. CHARLES M. SCHWAB

Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation and solely responsible for the fulfilment of our shipbuilding programme. As chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, Mr. Schwab was at the time of his appointment the head of the largest shipbuilding business in the world. As an organizer and producer Mr. Schwab has had a career of success which augurs well for his new activity, one of the most vital in our conduct of the war

THE
WORLD'S WORK

JUNE, 1918

VOLUME XXXVI

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

THE great service which President Wilson has done for the American people is to renew and invigorate their belief in their high standards of public morality. He has done more, he has given the American people an altruism and an inspiration in so able a manner that they applaud him as their true spokesman when he sets a standard which was beyond the popular imagination. And the people are right, for while they might not perhaps formulate the altruism expressed by the President, it is none the less in their hearts. The President's strength is not so much in his works, or in his personality, but in his faith.

His faith has given him a commanding hold on American public opinion. It has also given him a powerful place—not the exclusive and dominating place the cables would lead us to think but none the less a powerful place—in public opinion abroad. He has given America a reputation for altruism. Our men, money, munitions, and ships have given us strength. In the world at large, especially among the smaller peoples, we have an enviable reputation for disinterestedness and fair dealing. This is a reputation of long standing but kept bright by the President's policies.

This puts the United States in an advantageous position in a war for democracy and fair dealing. If we wish to set forth high standards of commercial dealing, and of relations to weaker countries, we can set the standard and gain not only the thanks of smaller nations but of every believes in fair dealing as set such a standard thems them have so many past c leave them open to suspici one nation in Europe cou standard. With the United great nations could enforce done by a league of nations.

The opportunity lies befo ceed if we announce our nounced the Monroe Doc policy backed by the full p States in arms and also by pean Power.

But if we announce our enforcement to the merits of sincerity in making it, no ot us and take up the task of victions. We have put gre tues of impotence. They We have been forced to figl of civilization. If we have after the war, let us not an be righteous enough to sta our strength. And once th we are in deadly earnest, every one can count upon principles, those who agree that by championing a high left alone to see it through be counted on to enforce ou we can count on most of the help us do it.

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REAR ADMIRAL HUGH RODMAN

Commanding the Battleship Squadron of the United States Navy operating in European waters

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REAR ADMIRAL ALBERT P. NIBLACK

Whose work as commanding officer of part of the United States Navy coöperating with the British Navy has helped to strengthen the link that binds the Allies together

BRIGADIER GENERAL C. C. WILLIAMS

Who has returned from service with General Pershing to become head of the Ordnance Department of the Army

MR. W. P. G. HARDING

Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank, who will represent the Federal Banking System on the Board of the new War Finance Corporation

© Paul Thompson

MR. JOHN D. RYAN

Who has succeeded the Aircraft Production Board in the task of producing airplanes for our army. Mr. Ryan as President of the Anaconda Copper Mining Co., has a fine record as an organizer and producer. His appointment concentrates power and responsibility in one person of proved constructive ability

Our Lesser Enemies

E hope that Austria-Hungary may lapse as an active enemy, the fact at we have not been in contact with is we have with Germany, and the lisposition to regard the Hapsburgs ols of the Hohenzollerns incline the i public more favorably toward Ausgary than toward our major enemy.

e truth is that, as far as the principles i we are fighting are concerned, her es are about her only virtues.

ermans planned a world domination all non-Germans would be ruled as peoples. The Austrians and Hunilready have this plan in operation. difference is in the scale on which it is . The Bohemians and Slavs of the ipire have as little practical freedom Germans gave Alsace or intend for and the Baltic provinces. Moreover, persecution has long been a habit in Hungary far more than in Germany. sburg monarchy indulged in governerjury before the war as the Germans e. The rape of Belgium by Germany her as thorough or as bestial as the ierbia by Austria.

he Turk is likewise impossible. The re only about 6 million people. They r about 12 million others. Approximalf this 12 million are Mohammedan The other 6 million are Christians—nd Armenians—and Jews. These were roximate numbers before the war. en the Turks have been putting their of Turkey for the Turks into practice matic massacre.

ner our Government declares war on or not, we can never with a clear conbe a party to a peace that puts any inwillingly under the rule of the Turk. same is true concerning the rule of the rgs.

Sedition

IE Government has reached a place here it will no longer tolerate mass neetings at which treason to this is preached. It seems as if we should e the next step and prohibit agitation olution against any of our allies. In peace we permit almost any kind of discussion *which criticizes* our system of government or any other country's. But in war time we have found that such tolerance is merely an invitation for the enemy to appear in our midst and preach sedition. And the same is true of our tolerance toward the preaching of treason against our allies.

The Sinn Fein party in Ireland is not only preaching revolution against Great Britain, but is making common cause with Germany. From Ireland Sinn Feiners come here and endeavor to arouse American citizens to join with them against our ally and in favor of our enemy, Germany. A meeting to further the Sinn Fein revolution was held publicly recently in Madison Square Garden. If it made any progress in the direction its sponsors intended, it gave aid and comfort to the enemy. It was an act of hostility against the United States as well as against Great Britain.

The Sinn Feiners are trying to foster hyphenism in the United States just as the Germans are. But the Sinn Feiners have failed just as the Germans failed. When they appeal to the Irish in America they make a mistake. There are comparatively few Irish in the United States. There are a great many Americans of Irish extraction but they are Americans. Very few of them claim a dual nationality, or foreswear their citizenship to this country by using it to further some alien cause. Those few are traitors for exactly the same reason that an American citizen of German descent who puts Germany above the United States is a traitor. It is not a question of the merits or demerits of the country of his extraction, it is the simple fact that a citizen of the United States must owe allegiance to the United States and the United States alone. Those speakers at the Madison Square Garden who were encouraging a cause to help defeat the United States in this war should be dealt with as traitors and the others interned as enemy aliens. If Sinn Fein rebels put an armed ship to sea there is no question that American destroyers would treat it as the enemy it would be. There is no more reason to harbor our enemies here than there.

When Shall We Achieve Victory?

WHEN the Germans left their trenches in front of St. Quentin on March 21, they were 42 miles from Amiens and 75 miles from Abbeville. If they reached Amiens they cut the main north and south railroad and made British and

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In the great struggle the Germans have far done almost all the winning, but struggle is such that it is only the last ba which will be decisive.

Our chances for victory in the last ba are getting better again. From the beginn of the war to the arrival of the British in la force in the summer of 1916, there was li chance of a decisive Allied victory. W the Somme and Verdun behind them, British and French had good reason to h for victory over Germany in 1917 if Ru kept the enemy busy on that front. I the Russian collapse took away this opp tunity. It did more. It gave Germany desperate chance to end the war in her fav while Russia was out and before America ca in. The Germans seized the opportunity and failed. Every week as the ships leave w American troops for France our chances in final battle improve. It is hardly possi that our combined armies can achieve the fi victory this year. It seems possible that might be done next year and of course it n take two, three, or more years longer.

The hope that we may win next year founded on a combination of three or f elements, all of which may go in our favor any or all of which may go against us.

The first and most important element is continued and ever-increasing number of m guns, airplanes, and munitions reaching Fra from the United States.

The second is the advantage of the unity command to make the best use of the co bined resources.

The third is an increase in the difficul which face the German Government at ho and also in its relations with the vassal state Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

This battle which began on March 21st kind of Gettysburg for the German army. nearly half the period of the Civil War occur between Gettysburg and Appomattox. I our duty to get such an army to France that, matter what else happens either for or agai us, the war can not drag on.

Do You Know What Your Share Is

THE Bankers Trust Company of N York has issued a little pampl called "What Is My Share of the C of the War?". In it appears a table t should be enlightening to a great many peo

ligest of this table follows, showing what centage and what amount of their in- ies families should contribute to the war, ier as direct taxes to the Government or oan in the form of Liberty bonds.

AT YOU OWE THE GOVERNMENT IN TAXES AND BONDS

INCOME FAMILY AVERAGE	PERCENTAGE DUE GOVERNMENT	AMOUNT DUE GOVERNMENT
$850	9.6	$82
1,500	11.7	175
2,400	15.	360
3,500	18.8	658
4,500	22.4	1,008
5,500	25.8	1,419
7,500	32.8	2,460
9,500	40.	3,800
12,500	42.	5,250
17,500	45.	7,870
22,500	46.5	10,460
35,000	51.	17,850
55,000	59.1	32,500
75,000	64.	48,000
95,000	66.3	63,000
23,000	69.1	85,000
74,000	71.5	124,400

The calculation continues to take care of the families whose average income is more than million dollars a year. The table shows y should give $8,201,500 apiece to the vernment.

The schedules are made out so that if every- paid his share the total would equal our expenditure this year. The amount as- ied to each family is therefore a minimum. good many people will not do their part. ny others will therefore have to do more than irs. A careful study of this schedule ought lead a good many men who had already ight bonds in the Liberty Loan drive to start upplementary private drive of their own. s just as patriotic and useful to carry on the erty bonds that some fallen financial soldier ropping, as to buy them when the bands are ying and the posters are up and the drive is

Our Progress in Preparedness

THE necessities and misfortunes of this year seem in a fair way to make us perhaps more humble in, and certainly re useful to, the cause of civilization next r.

Our ideas of the size of the army which we intend to send abroad have, under pressure, steadily grown. The discussion of whether we could send half a million men in 1918 has changed to whether we ought not to get a million and a half there in 1918. The picture which we have of the army to go in 1919 is two or three times what it used to be, and if we are wise we shall keep right on enlarging our vision and accomplishment just as fast as an all-wise Providence will allow us to stretch our minds.

Also it turns out that once convinced of the necessity of sending men abroad, the former insuperable shipping problem does not continue to be insuperable. Not so very long ago we were under the impression that we were about to eradicate the submarine and build ships faster than the dwindling fleet of U-boats could sink them. Until that was done, we were assured that there wasn't much use of preparing a very large army because it could not be transported. Now we are confronted with the fact that we have not eradicated the U-boats, nor have we been building as much tonnage as they have been sinking, and yet the War Department assures us that the men are going and going fast.

Moreover, the shipping situation shows signs of improvement. We are now putting into the water a quarter of a million tons a month. The first three months of the year were below this amount, but the latter part of the year should more than make up for this so that we should be able to count upon from 3 million to 3½ million tons for 1918 with perfect safety, especially since the appointment of Mr. Schwab as Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. With the British building a minimum of 1½ million tons we should be in a fair way to hold our own especially as the U-boats have not had any tremendous drives such as inaugurated the ruthless campaign in the spring of 1917. As a matter of fact, the situation is even better than this. The United States commandeered some 70 Dutch ships of an average of about 4,000 tons, or altogether, nearly 300,000 tons. We have also gotten some ships from Japan. These acquisitions do not increase the total tonnage afloat but they do increase our facilities. Here again the brightening prospect should be used only as a spur to our endeavor, for only by an increase in vision and performance so rapid that Germany can not meet it can we hasten the day of victory.

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years, the Federal Reserve System, which has been the financial salvation of the country, a so-called trust legislation which was at least an advance over previous legislation—altogether a notable record without the help of business.

All this was the enactment into law of a political philosophy. In doing this the President naturally surrounded himself with other students of political philosophy. When the war came on us the functions of the Government of the United States changed radically. Its principal function ceased to be the formulation and enactment of certain policies into law. Its major function became the purely business proposition of the manufacture and transportation of an Army and Navy and everything appertaining thereto. With this change in Government function came a crying need for a change in Government personnel, or at least the addition of a new type of mind. The formulation of Government policy was as needful as ever and the type of mind skilled in this activity as necessary as ever, but along with this there was an increasingly imperative need for men who were accustomed to take raw men and materials and make finished products of them—in other words need for the banished business man, not as a formulator of policies, but as a producer of munitions, ships, clothes, transportation, etc. He was needed to act in his natural function.

He was, as a matter of fact, immediately called to Washington in vast numbers, but not to function, himself, merely to advise others how to do so. He failed as an advisor and the others failed as producers. It is a most encouraging sign that he is now beginning to be used in his proper capacity. Mr. Schwab would hardly be chosen to formulate political philosophy for the United States but he is a logical choice for a shipbuilder in spite of the fact that in the days before the war he was the pet abomination of the Secretary of the Navy. He has proved himself to be one of the most successful organizers and producers in the country and, at the time he was made Director-General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, he was the head of the largest shipbuilding concern in the United States. Mr. Stettinius, now Assistant-Secretary of War, is the logical choice as purchaser for the War Department. He was the only man in the United States who had had large and recent experience in the purchase of muni-

tions of war. It does not make the slightest difference whether Mr. Stettinius has the same beliefs on Government ownership as Secretary Baker. He is in Washington to buy not to formulate. Another member of J. P. Morgan & Co. has proved himself to be the logical head of the War Council of the Red Cross, Mr. H. P. Davison, and in this case the business man is an enlightened formulator as well as an able raiser and spender of money in the cause of humanity. Mr. Baruch's past has not been of the organizing and producing kind. He used a quick mind and native shrewdness in speculation that won him a fortune, but as Mr. Child points out elsewhere in this magazine, he has had the unique ability to lift himself out of the ruck of advisors into a place of real power. Mr. John D. Ryan, on the other hand, has the organizing and producing past to justify a belief in his ability to bring machines out of the airplane chaos. Mr. P. A. S. Franklin, who is with the British representative managing our merchant shipping, is an experienced shipping man.

If the formulative mind fears that these producers will fill the public view too much and so entrench themselves that they will again trespass on the formulative territory, it must put aside these personal fears and run the risk, for the formulators alone can not save the country. War is a business of production and whatever the later result we must give the business type of mind the power to get results or we shall fail in our great enterprise.

But even if business men should in the near future come to run the Government there is little fear that this would mean a return to the Mark Hanna régime. Business men are not what they were fifteen years nor ten years ago; and perhaps the greatest change has come over them as it has over everyone else in the last four years.

There are among the managers of the great corporations, especially the younger ones, men with an experience and knowledge which would be of the greatest value to those who must formulate the policies of economic readjustment during and after the war. And many of these men have as enlightened a vision as Mark Hanna's was unenlightened.

The Government has not studied the nation's resources in this type of man. It is inevitable that, more and more, business men should be used in the undertaking in which we are engaged. It would serve a most useful purpose if the Administratio
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Shall We Win in Time to S

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There are among the Japanese, as among other peoples, conflicting ideas on foreign affairs. One group can not see beyond the quick and easy profits of exploiting a weak neighbor. They look across at China and see the valuable ports and concessions of nearly every strong European power; there is the precedent. China is full of lawlessness and needs a strong hand to restore order; there is the opportunity. Privileges and concessions can easily be made the price of peace; there is the profit.

The other group in Japan, which include Baron Goto, looks farther ahead. They see that aggression against China would gain more hostility and suspicion than it would yield in profit. They see that if Japan should follow in the Far East the doctrine that to the victor belongs the spoils, while half the world is fighting for the principles of self-government and economic fair play, she would lose her standing among the defenders of civilization. Not only that, but she would encourage the Eastern aspirations of every robber-minded nation in the world.

The Japanese leaders have not yet been able to convince their public of its belief in altruism as thoroughly as President Wilson has the American public, but such is their intention and they have a tremendous weapon with which to work in this direction in the teachings of the old Emperor.

Nor has Japan convinced China of her fair intentions and China's suspicions are reflected around the world. This makes Japan's task still more difficult because it is hard to establish confidence in a suspicious world.

Faced with this intricate, difficult, and baffling problem Japan has three alternatives. The first is to act on the principle that the Far East is open territory for greed, and see whether she can establish this principle and profit by it.

The second alternative is to continue the present policy of trying to reëstablish cordial relations and confidence with China by endeavoring to avoid acts that create distrust. Under the circumstances it will be difficult radically to improve the situation by this somewhat negative policy, and the situation is so full of high explosives that unless it is improved there is great danger of a catastrophe.

The third alternative is a positive policy of generosity to China, so definite, concrete, and tangible that it must drive away distrust and suspicion. If Japan were to announce that

the high principles for which her navy is fighting in Europe applied equally in the Far East and fixed this policy by definite actions toward China, she would immediately acquire a new position in the world. There is often the risk in announcing a foreign policy that it may be opposed by other nations and thereby lead to trouble. But this policy is in no such danger. The United States, Great Britain, France, and all the powers of the Entente must hail it with joy, for it is the essence of their creed, and even if it conflicts with their past and causes many troubles of adjustment, as it must also for Japan, nevertheless it can not fail of the hearty support of every decent government in Europe.

For the first time in its history, Japan is in a position to emancipate the Orient—to remove it from the sphere of commercial exploitation and in so doing transform China from a distrustful neighbor to a genuine friend. For fifty years Japan has followed the example of other nations. She now has a chance of real leadership.

In numbers and riches Japan is at a disadvantage with many other nations. But there is no natural obstacle to an enviable position in the council of nations based on an enlightened and far-seeing foreign policy. A courageous policy of generosity would give Japan a safe place in the world in which to prosper with the good will and friendship of all nations except those which are so consumed with greed as to be incapable of friendship in any case.

The world will watch the progress of Baron Goto's foreign policy with the keenest interest for at present in an extraordinarily large measure the destiny of the East lies in his hands. And the United States must hope that he succeeds in establishing a policy in which we can give him active coöperation.

Those Who Can Afford Welfare Work

THE Standard Oil Company of New Jersey recently put into effect a system of employees' insurance, sick benefits, and pensions, or annuities, which is likely to have a widespread influence on the relations between capital and labor in this country. The company officials believe it is the most complete plan of this kind that has yet been worked out. Other large employers of labor have already shown a keen interest in it.

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pany, and has special provision for retiring employees at an earlier age after 20 and 30 years service. The allowance is based upon the average pay for the ten years preceding retirement and the length of service with the company, being 2 per cent. of this average pay for each year of service. This means retirement on half pay after 25 years with the company. The maximum allowance is fixed at 75 per cent. of the average pay. The insurance is continued by the company for retired employees.

The third part of the company's plan is for sickness benefits of one-half pay for from six weeks to a year, depending on the length of service. Accident benefits are in accordance with the state workmen's compensation law applicable to the case, or, if no such law applies, in accordance with the elective compensation section of the New Jersey law.

Mr. A. C. Bedford, chairman of the board of directors, expresses the underlying idea of the management of the relations between capital and labor.

"To my mind," he says, "the relationships existing between a corporation and its employees will have an increasing bearing on the value of the corporation's securities in the future. Publicity of the affairs of great industrial enterprises which is becoming more marked every day, and the intimate knowledge which people nowadays are in the way of obtaining regarding these affairs, are going to make a company's treatment of its employees a factor in the public estimate of it, and the corporation which exhibits an intelligent, helpful (I don't mean paternal) interest in its employees is bound to gain in public estimation, just as it would by any other demonstration of sensible administration."

It has been demonstrated in a great many instances that such plans as these worked out by the Standard Oil Company drew better men to the company and improved those already there, so that the whole plan ultimately works into a paying investment.

It would seem then that every company would hasten to follow suit. So they would, probably, if all were as rich and as ably managed as the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. If welfare work is a paying investment, it is, nevertheless, an investment, and no company can indulge in it without the money to invest. It costs a good deal before it returns anything. Again it is a paying investment because it raises the standard of the employed. But it takes efficient management to make use of efficient men. The limitations on the prosperity and welfare of the men in most companies, aside from their own personal limitations, are inherent in the management's ability much more than in its intentions. A poorly run business can not institute welfare work nor pay high wages, no matter what it would like to do. The most pressing question in the readjustment of capital and labor is to make business in general sufficiently able to pay for and properly utilize a continuously improving standard of labor. With that done the effort to improve industrial relations can be made with a good chance of success.

Opportunities in Civil Service

THE difficulties encountered by the United States Civil Service Commission in filling the demands placed upon it by the Government for stenographers and typewriters, has resulted in a campaign to encourage suitable applicants. "It is perhaps unnecessary," says Mr. John A. McIlhenny, president of the Commission, in a letter to the WORLD'S WORK, "to say that an efficient Civil Service is as important as the armed forces in the prosecution of the war."

Lack of stenographers and typewriters—both men and women—is causing delay in the handling of many of the important affairs of the Government, and it is to be hoped that Mr. McIlhenny's efforts to obtain a large number of applicants will result in a plentiful supply. Examinations are held for the Departmental Service every Tuesday in 450 cities and towns of the country, and applications may be filed with the Commission at Washington, D. C., at any time. The entrance salaries range from $1,000 to $1,200 a year, and advancement brings higher pay. Applicants must have reached their eighteenth birthday on the date of the examination.

Full information concerning the character of the examination can be secured from the U. S. Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C., or the Secretary of the U. S. Civil Service Board of Examiners at Boston, Mass.; New York, N. Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Atlanta, Ga.; Cincinnati, Ohio; Chicago, Ill.; St. Paul, Minn.; St. Louis, Mo.; New Orleans, La.; Seattle, Wash.; San Francisco, Cal.; Honolulu, Hawaii; or San Juan, Porto Rico.

MR. A. C. BEDFORD ON THRI
INVESTING

MR. A. C. BEDFORD is chairman of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. He is also, among other things, a director of "The Thrift," a building and loan association in Brooklyn. This institution was founded by Charles Pratt in 1889 "to promote habits of thrift, and to encourage people to become prudent and wise in the use of money and time."

He is of the firm opinion that the Liberty Loan campaigns are going to be of permanent value in promoting habits of thrift and in educating Americans in the use of capital. Mr. Bedford foresees the time when the public may be the bankers for the industries of the country.

"France became one of the greatest financial powers in the world because its people saved by instinct. The strength of that great nation exists not in its great banks, but in the capacity of the French peasant efficiently to manage his small affairs so as to contribute his small quota to the annual increase of national wealth.

"We have made much progress recently, however, and the Liberty Loan campaigns will continue to be our universities in investment education. When the necessity of financing our war requirements by appeals to the public is passed, and the effects of the educational campaigns remain, the public on a greater or less scale may continue to be the bankers of the industries of the country, instead of the bankers for the Government.

"And one may expect an interesting situation to develop some day by reason of the policy of many companies which encourage their employees to invest their savings in the securities of the company. In the course of years it might conceivably follow that a considerable percentage of a company's securities might be held by its employees, or by the estates of those who had previously been in its employ; and we would then have a condition which would strongly appeal to students of industrial democracy. It would not appeal to the extreme socialists, of course, because it would continue to be the thrifty and industrious and intelligent who would be multiplying wealth.

"Everyone should rea
Richard's Almanac.' It
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ago, it is as applicable t
if it were penned this ye
Franklin wrote it, the na
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conclusion — 'I am glad
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"The young man of t
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self besides."

Fighting Germany's Spies

VI

A TALE TOLD IN TELEGRAMS

Bopp, the German Consul-General at San Francisco, Pays for Some Explosions and Lands in Prison

BY

FRENCH STROTHER

(Managing Editor of the World's Work)

ONE day in October, 1915, a good-looking young fellow wandered into the office of the United States Attorney at Detroit and inquired if the office was making any investigations into dynamite cases. His inquiry was odd enough of itself, but coupled with his personal appearance and his entirely unexpected arrival on the scene, it was doubly mysterious. Lewis J. Smith, as his name turned out to be, looked like a handsome, big, farmer's boy who had come to town and made a little money. He was well dressed in what he considered the style, and in conversation developed a winning smile and a very engaging and convincing personality. There was the fresh wholesomeness of country breeding about him that comported strangely with his guarded and mysterious talk of dynamite. The United States Attorney thought he must be a "little off," but referred him to the local agent of the Department of Justice in Detroit.

To this agent Smith told at first an incoherent story. But the agent was tactful and sympathetic and by asking a question now and then and even more by refraining from asking questions at embarrassing moments, he drew out from Smith most of the details of one of the most dangerous German plots, incidentally exposing the organization of the German spy system west of the Mississippi River.

The story revealed by Smith and by the corroborative testimony in the subsequent investigation was this: Consul-General Bopp discovered that the California Powder Mills at Pinole, across the bay from San Francisco, was manufacturing powder for the use of the Russians on the eastern front in Europe, *and that this powder* was being shipped from Tacoma and Seattle to Vladivostok. One particularly large shipment was under way and he wanted to stop it. He employed C. C. Crowley, who had been for many years head detective for the Southern Pacific Railroad but lately discharged for grafting, to undertake this job along with several others. Crowley lived in the Hotel Gartland in San Francisco, and bought his cigars at a little German stand across the street. Through this German, who was also patronized by Smith, Crowley learned that Smith had been employed recently in the California Powder Mills but was out of a job. Crowley introduced himself to Smith and first gave him the task of going back to the mill and finding out exactly how the powder for Russia was being routed. He gave Smith several hundred dollars, and the next day Smith's former fellow employees were astonished to see him ride up to the works in an automobile, completely outfitted in new clothes and flourishing a roll of bills big enough to make them gasp. Smith soon found how the powder was packed and marked and also that it was being loaded on a big scow and would be towed by sea to Tacoma for loading there on ships for Vladivostok.

A few days later Crowley told Smith to go to Tacoma and register at the Donnelly Hotel, and that he would join him there, going by another train. There they would manufacture bombs of a type which Smith had devised, and Smith was to place these bombs on the ships that would carry the powder to Russia.

Smith took his wife to Tacoma. They registered at the Donnelly Hotel, but as they soon discovered they would have to spend some time in the city,

Smith and Crowley were constantly meeting and between them surveyed all the shipping in the harbor and found out when the boats would sail and what they were carrying. The barge load of powder from California was towed into the harbor while they were there, and anchored in midstream to await the lightering of its cargo to the trans-Pacific ships. These ships proved to be the *Kifuku Maru* and the *Shinsei Maru* (Japanese), the *Hazel Dollar*, an American boat flying the British flag, and the *Talthybius*, a British ship. Smith undertook to place bombs on all of them.

What Smith actually did was to visit small stores in Tacoma and near Seattle and buy regular commercial 40 per cent. dynamite in sticks, telling the store keepers that he was clearing a farm and wanted the dynamite for use in blowing up stumps. He loaded a lot of it into an old suitcase and left Crowley one afternoon, telling him he was going to place this on one of the ships that night. Instead, he went out into the woods with it, cachéd it under a log, the position of which he fixed in memory by a big stump and a tree that had a big rock in its fork, then walked on down to the railroad track, carrying his suitcase, and later threw the suitcase away down an embankment. He reported to Crowley that he had not been able to get anything on the *Kifuku Maru*, which was the first to sail, but that he had "fixed" the *Hazel Dollar* and *Shinsei Maru* and the *Talthybius*.

Crowley in the meantime had been keeping in touch with the Germans in San Francisco. It had been arranged that all dealings with them were to be through Von Brincken. Crowley, on his part, kept in touch with his secretary, Mrs. Cornell, she communicating in person, or by telephone, with Von Brincken, and Von Brincken reporting to Bopp and getting further orders.

A good deal of the story from this point on is A Tale Told in Telegrams. The first of these telegrams which figured in the subsequent trial was dated Tacoma, May 13, 1915. It was addressed to Crowley who had not yet joined Smith. The message was:

> Fine weather Kaifuku Box 244 five days.
>
> S. Hotel Donnelly.

This message was, of course, from Smith and was in the crude code that had been agreed upon. "Fine weather," meant that everything was O. K. "Kaifuku" gave the name of the ship on which the po
be carried. "Box 244"
address through which Sm
and "five days" was the
of the *Kifuku*.

It so happened, howev
after Smith had sent th
arrived in Tacoma. C
full of fears that he would
was afraid of the message
He, therefore, immediat
Mrs. Cornell to go to th
San Francisco and get thi
graphed also to the hote
when she called.

Between one and two
ing of Sunday, May 30t
everybody in Tacoma an
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in the harbor. The sco
had disappeared in one
and cloud of smoke, carry
watchman who had been
hundred thousand dolla
glass in Tacoma and Se
and news of the explosion
the papers all over the
had got the main part of
quick stroke.

Here was good news
Crowley could not wait fo
it, so the next day he sen
gram to Mrs. Cornell:

> Work has been good. Ar
> nection with the big Circus
> the Elephant.

This cryptic message me
"Work has been good a
and Smith had had good
against the ships and th
placed on all of them. "
the big Circus it was an
phant," the "big Circu
ships for Vladivostok ar
was the scow—in other
had not interfered with
the ships.

Before Crowley got his
Mrs. Crowley had sent on
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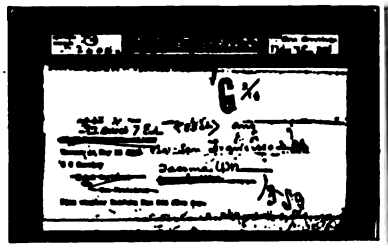
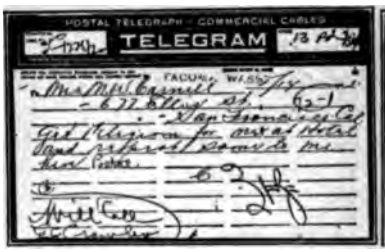
phoned her that Bopp ha
had been arrested and h
away, so she telegraphed:




POSTAL TELEGRAPH - COMMERCIAL CABLES
TELEGRAM
TACOMA, WASH.

POSTAL TELEGRAPH - COMMERCIAL CABLES
TELEGRAM
TACOMA, WASH.

Von learned your friend told all before leaving. Anxious. Answer.

M. W. C.

To this Crowley replied:

Show that telegram to him also say I do not credit report on S. he made good.

C.

"That telegram" meant his message about the circus. To this Mrs. Cornell replied:

Don't understand your message. Get letter Portland Postoffice on arrival.

M. W. C.

Crowley, she knew, was leaving immediately for San Francisco.

There were some grounds for the Germans' apprehension. Smith was arrested and charged with having caused the explosion on the scow. But after a little manœuvring he managed to get free of the charge and, with money wired to him at Tacoma by Crowley, went back to San Francisco where Crowley paid him first $300 and then $600 in currency.

The Germans, however, had been pretty well frightened and they thought it was about time to get both Smith and Crowley away. Smith and his wife were hustled off to Sacramento where they lived at a hotel for a little while and then Mrs. Smith was sent on ahead to New York, while Crowley and Smith arranged to meet in Chicago to carry out a new plan that the Germans had devised.

This plot was to use Detroit as headquarters for operations in Canada and there to blow up the stockyards at St. Thomas, Ontario, and trains carrying horses for shipment to Europe. Crowley and Smith got together in Chicago and visited the stockyards to spot the shipments of horses toward the Atlantic seaboard. They learned that a good many of these shipments were being routed through Canada by way of Detroit. In the meantime, however, the Germans in San Francisco were getting restless. They had expected almost every day that the ships for Vladivostok would be reported blown up or missing. They had heard neither, and they were beginning to suspect that they had been deceived. They had been deceived, but so had Crowley—and this explains the tenor of his replies in the second Tale Told in Telegrams. The first intimation of trouble he received was a telegram from Mrs. Cornell on June 21st to which she signed her middle initial:

Saw him noon gave message. He was astonished. Said We'll suspend judgment for a few days. Queer news this morning. He suspects you were interested in the failure.

W.

Meantime Crowley had gone on to Detroit and this message was wired to him at the Hotel Statler there. His reply is missing, but he evidently expressed astonishment at the message, giving some instructions for his office and asking for more particulars. To this message Mrs. Cornell replied:

Your instructions will be acted upon. Wired you first arrived.

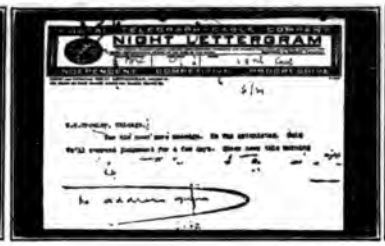
W.

The second sentence of this message meant

POSTAL TELEGRAPH - COMMERCIAL CABLES
TELEGRAM

POSTAL TELEGRAPH - COMMERCIAL CABLES
TELEGRAM

POSTAL TELEGRAPH - COMMERCIAL CABLES
TELEGRAM



that the first boat, the *Shinsei Maru*, had arrived safely at Vladivostok, despite Crowley's previous assurances that it had been "fixed." This was what the Germans could not understand, and what had aroused their suspicions that Crowley had been deceiving them, and that he had possibly even been in somebody else's pay to "double cross" them. Their suspicions were redoubled, as seems natural enough in the light of Mrs. Cornell's message of June 29th to Crowley:

All three arrived. I am waiting your advice. Something queer.

W.

In other words, the other two boats, the *Hazel Dollar* and the *Talthybius*, had safely made Vladivostok.

Meanwhile Crowley had been having other troubles with Smith. One day he called for him at the Briggs Hotel in Chicago and found that he had disappeared. He learned that he had gone on to New York, leaving as his forwarding address simply "Station L, General Delivery, New York." Smith had two causes for anxiety. In the first place he had not heard from his wife and did not know whether she had arrived safely. Consequently on June 18th he had telegraphed to a friend in New York:

"Can you give my wife's address. Important. Answer paid," and received a reply the same day giving the address. He left Chicago at once and telegraphed her from Buffalo the following evening:

On train 36 Grand Central Depot 703 Sunday morning.

LEWIS.

On Sunday afternoon
him from Chicago:

What is the matter? Wa
you had gone. Send me s
Hotel.

Smith did not reply until
he had learned that Crow
Chicago to Detroit. He t

From Tacoma at Chicag
Fiftieth St., New York City.

To Crowley the second
enough, but the first on
so he wired Smith:

Do not understand me
if you are coming here. Imp

Smith did not dare to
what the matter was, but
vinced that detectives w
that he had been follow
Tacoma to Chicago. H
cided to give them the sli
break his connection
Crowley should be at a s
get in touch with him aga
to "work" Crowley for
consequently his reply on

Cannot explain by wir
finances don't permit. Car

The latter part of this me
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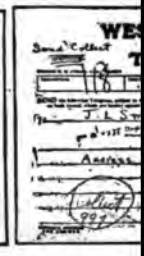
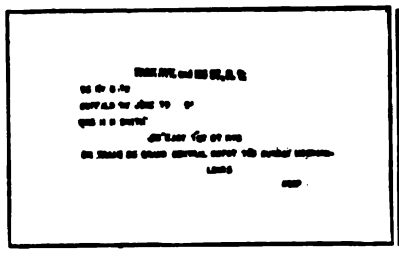
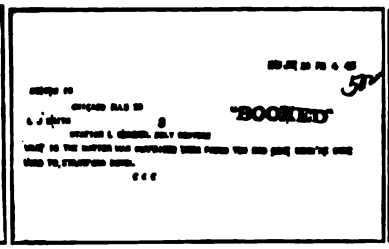
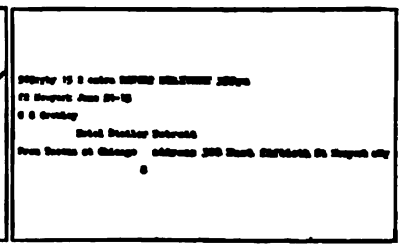
it served to excuse his ab









hook for more money. Crowley promptly bit and replied:

I wired you fifty dollars. Come W. U.

C.

Corroborating this message was a service message of the Western Union operator to their New York Office at 24 Walker Street:

Send notice to L. J. Smith, 308 East 50 St. Report delay of transfer payable at Grand Central Terminal.

M. T. A.

This telegram authorized the payment of $50.

At the same time Crowley undertook to satisfy his German employers and to divert their minds from their previous disappointment by promising them some results on the new venture. He telegraphed Mrs. Cornell on June 25th:

Tell him I expect S. by Sunday then action.

C.

The "him" was Von Brincken and the "S." was, of course, Smith. The promised "action" was action in the plot to dynamite the cattle trains at St. Thomas, Ontario. The next day Smith was on his way to Detroit, sending a message on the train to his wife to let her know he was all right:

Arrived at Toledo O. K.

L.

Smith met Crowley in Detroit the following day and Crowley immediately telegraphed Mrs. Cornell further reassuring news for his German friends:

He arrived and will be in action in day or two. Weather cool. All O.K. Give all clippings to him let me know if any word from Hazel and friend. Let him know of S.

C.

This message meant that Smith had arrived and would dynamite the stockyards in a day or two, that there was nothing exciting to report and everything was going well. The "action" referred to was the blowing up of the cattle trains and the St. Clair Tunnel at Port Huron. The "clippings" were newspaper reports of the explosion on the scow at Tacoma which he wanted Mrs. Cornell to give to "him"—that is to Von Brincken. "Let him know of S" meant, tell Von Brincken that Smith is here. "Let me know if any word from Hazel and friend," meant that Crowley had not given up hope that there was a mistake about the ships having made Vladivostok in safety and that he expected still to hear that Hazel (that is the *Hazel Dollar*) and "friend" (*Talthybius*) had been destroyed.

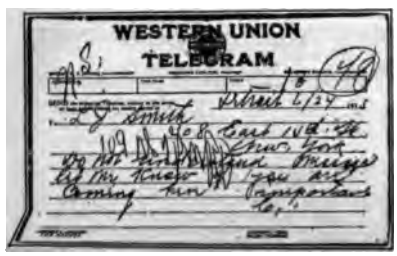
The promised "action" was now, so Crowley thought, about to be produced. He was going to take Smith into Canada and cause some explosions. Consequently he telegraphed Mrs. Cornell on June 29th:

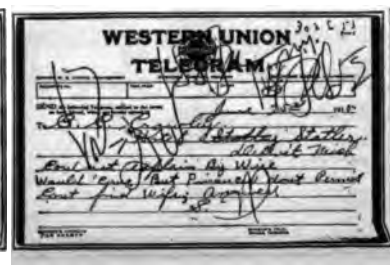
Night letter follows. Go to Toronto few days. Don't wire until Friday.

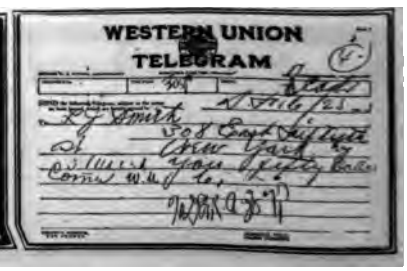
C.

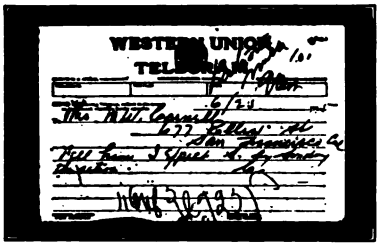
This announced the approaching trip for action.

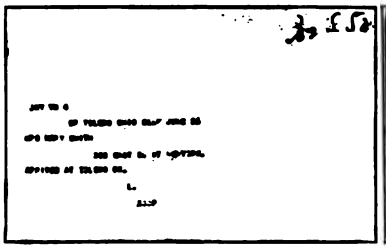
Crowley's scheme for "action" was this: Smith was to carry a suitcase full of dynamite and buy a ticket to St. Thomas, Ontario. Crowley was to carry a suitcase very similar in appearance, containing his traveling things.

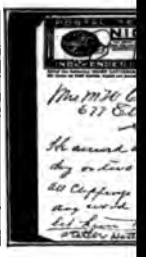












and was to buy a through ticket to Buffalo which would take him over the same route through Canada that Smith was to travel. This plan was actually worked out with one exception. Smith had a perfectly good imagination and a perfectly developed yellow streak in his courage. He still wanted the $300 monthly he was making and was determined to continue getting it, but he had no relish at all for the pictures conjured in his mind of what would happen to him if he were discovered in Canada with a suitcase full of dynamite. He showed the dynamite packed in the case to Crowley. Then he went out into the suburbs of Detroit, got rid of the dynamite and, from a night watchman on a brick building in course of construction, bought a half dozen bricks with which he filled the suitcase. This Irishman was afterward discovered and readily recalled both Smith and the circumstances, as he had been both puzzled and amused at the idea of anybody buying bricks when he could easily have stolen them.

As they had arranged, Smith boarded the Michigan Central train at Detroit late Sunday afternoon on July the 4th, and took a seat in the day coach. Crowley, who did not walk with him but followed close behind, took the seat behind Smith. Each, of course, stowed his suitcase at his feet. In a few minutes Smith walked to the front end of the car for a drink of water, whereupon Crowley stepped out on the platform at the rear. Smith came back and took Crowley's seat. Crowley returned and took Smith's seat. Shortly after, the customs inspector came through the train with the conductor. His presence was the reason for this exchange of seats.
through ticket to Buffa
leave the train, the custo
open his suitcase but sim
through ticket label bv
identified by the other cu
would board the train at
the train was about to
States at Buffalo. Henc
taining the supposed dyna
and this was Crowley's p
suitcase, now in the seat
course, opened and exa
tained nothing but Crowl
ings. An hour or so late
repeated and Smith and C
original seats and got pos
inal baggage. Smith dro
St. Thomas at about eleve
and Crowley went on

Smith's nerve was no b
it had been before. In St.
the bricks out of his su
traveling things to replace
train on to New York.
Crowley had been having
anxious and irritated Ge
cisco. There was an inte
based on his need for mon
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very unhappy by Bopp a
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and had made his life so n
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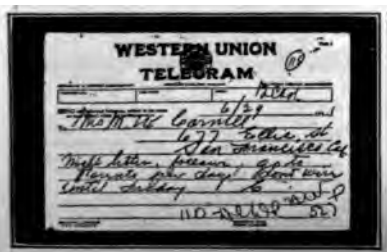
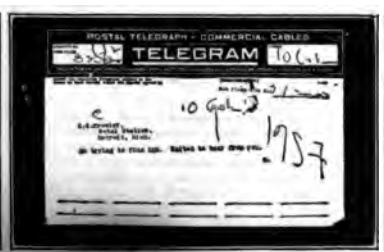
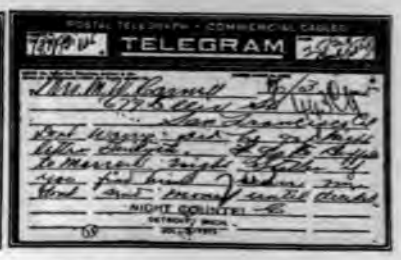




POSTAL TELEGRAPH - COMMERCIAL CABLES
TELEGRAM
DAY COUNTER

POSTAL TELEGRAPH - COMMERCIAL CABLES
TELEGRAM


POSTAL TELEGRAPH - COMMERCIAL CABLES
TELEGRAM
NIGHT COUNTER

The immediate occasion he made for his leaving was an opportunity he had to go to Tia Juana, Mexico, just across the border from California. As both Crowley and his representative Mrs. Cornell had been positively forbidden to communicate with Bopp, Crowley was at the moment considerably embarrassed by his inability to get in touch with headquarters. This explains the meaning of Mrs. Cornell's message of July 2nd, addressed to Crowley at Detroit:

Am trying to find him. Waited to hear from you. W.

She did manage to reach Von Brincken just before he left for Mexico late the same day, again telegraphing Crowley:

He said: If you have plans go ahead with them. State amount required. Have been looking for results.

W.

Crowley replied the next morning:

Tell him have planned action for within a week. No doubt able to make showing. Ans.

C.

His reply, however, was too late. Von Brincken had gone to Mexico, hence Mrs. Cornell telegraphed:

Cannot get in touch with him. Have tried everything. Wired you last night state amount required. Advise me.

W.

To this message Crowley replied:

Don't worry. Did he get night letter thirtyth? Go to Buffalo to-morrow night. Statler. If you find him wire me. Don't send money until decided.

C.

The following day was the Sunday on which Crowley and Smith left Detroit together. Smith dropped off at St. Thomas and Crowley proceeded to Buffalo. The following evening Crowley again telegraphed Mrs. Cornell from Buffalo:

Nothing from you. Send me long letter to-night.

C.

Her reply was:

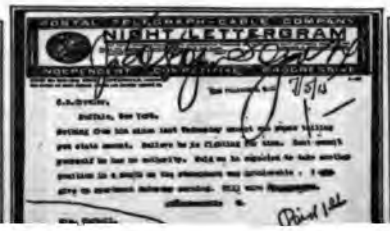
Nothing from him since last Wednesday except one phone telling you state amount. Believe he is fighting for time. Don't commit yourself he has no authority. Told me he expected to take another position in a month as the atmosphere was intolerable. I give up apartment Saturday morning. Will wire.

W.

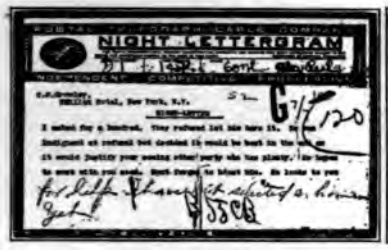
Mrs. Cornell had been unable to reach Von Brincken for the very good reason that he was out of town. Her quotation of his remark that he "expected to take another position within a month" referred to Von Brincken's untenable position in the Consulate in San Francisco, and to his manœuvres to get himself transferred to the New York end of the German spy system with his friend Von Papen with whom he had become quite chummy on a recent visit of Von Papen's to the Pacific Coast.

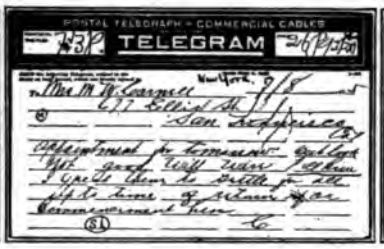
Two days later, however, Von Brincken had come back to San Francisco and Mrs. Cornell had a talk with him. Following this

POSTAL TELEGRAPH - COMMERCIAL CABLES
TELEGRAM


POSTAL TELEGRAPH-CABLE COMPANY
NIGHT LETTERGRAM

POSTAL TELEGRAPH - COMMERCIAL CABLES
TELEGRAM





talk she telegraphed to Crowley, who was now in New York, stopping at the Wallick Hotel:

> Manager informed Bradford that experiences made were discouraging that outlook of lawsuit was too poor to justify advances for appeal. He is willing to offer lawyer contingent fee depending upon success only. Bradford privately advises see his friend in New York at once. Will send night letter.
>
> W.

In this message Mrs. Cornell dropped into the code they had agreed to use before Crowley left San Francisco. "Manager" was Bopp, the head German in San Francisco. "Bradford" was Von Brincken. The "lawsuit" was the plot. The "lawyer" was Smith. "Bradford's friend in New York" was Von Papen.

In her promised night letter Mrs. Cornell said:

> I asked for a hundred. They refused let him have it. He was indignant at refusal but decided it would be best in the end as it would justify your seeing other party who has plenty. He hopes to work with you soon. Don't forget to boost him. He looks to you for help. I have not selected a home yet.
>
> W.

The latter part of this message urges Crowley to recommend Von Brincken very strongly to Von Papen when he sees him in New York so that Von Papen will be sure to transfer Von Brincken to the eastern territory so he can get away from Bopp. The next day Crowley telegraphed Mrs. Cornell from New York:

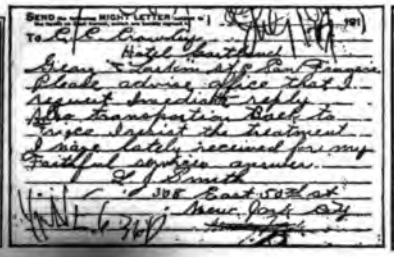
> Appointment for to-morrow. Outlook not good. Will wire. Tell him I expect them to settle for all up to time of return or commencement here.
>
> C.

The appointment, of c
Papen, but Crowley was n
it as he seemed to have be
to get anywhere, and he ha
criticised from San Franc
fearful that Bopp would
money. Mrs. Cornell no
getting action. On July
him:

> Wasting time trying get the
> municate direct. He knows
> see me. Moved 305 A Stein

Crowley in desperation tel
from his personal bank ac
a telegraphic order from M
He divided with Smith
ticket for San Francisco s
direct with Bopp. Follov
suggestion he told Smith
and see Von Papen, and
money from him. Smith
Club, on Central Park S
message to Von Papen to v
reply that Von Papen d
anybody from San Francis
been informed by Von B
was a man he could use.

Smith, who was now ver
all discretion to the winds,
and directly to the Germa
Francisco, addressing th
Shack on the theory that
approaches to Bopp and
would go after the one n
be reached:



Why don't you answer?

SMITH.

Three days later Smith telegraphed to Crowley who he knew would now be in San Francisco:

Please advise office that I request immediate reply also transportation back to Frisco. I resist [resent] the treatment I have lately received for my faithful service. Answer.

L. J. SMITH.

A few days later, telegraphing from an office on the Exposition Grounds, in San Francisco, Crowley sent a message to Smith in New York:

Two hundred to-morrow one hundred Tuesday both Postal. Come. C.

Crowley had now managed to restore some degree of confidence in his work and Smith's, and had adopted his favorite method of diverting attention from past failures by setting forth a glowing prospectus of a new scheme. For a third time the Germans "bit." In his eagerness Crowley thereupon sent a rush message to Smith:

Come to San Francisco at once.

C.

Smith promptly replied:

Enroute tonight. S.

He arrived in San Francisco six days later, telephoned to Crowley at the Gartland Hotel and Crowley in turn telephoned to Bopp that Smith was on hand. That evening Crowley and Smith got together in Crowley's room and made out a statement of Smith's expenses. This statement was a work of art. At Crowley's suggestion Smith carefully "padded" the account so that they both made a handsome profit on that besides their salaries. They met Bopp in the Palace Hotel the following morning and he there paid the amount of the expense account, $845, in bills.

Bopp and Crowley told Smith that they would probably have more work for him to do and for him to go back East. He left San Francisco on July 28th, telegraphing when he started to his wife at Cedarhurst, L. I.:

Remain one more week then meet me at Detroit. Answer at once.

L. OCCIDENTAL HOTEL.

She replied that she would meet him as directed. Smith went on to Detroit and stopped first at the Normandie Hotel and then moved out to a boarding house.

In a couple of weeks Crowley had got further orders from Bopp and wrote a letter to Smith in Detroit, saying that Bopp would give $500 apiece for blowing up the powder works outside Gary, Ind., and Ishpeming, Mich., besides paying his salary of $300 a month and expenses. Before Smith had time to get the letter he got another telegram from Crowley:

The matter in my letter is off. Write me letter.

C.

What had happened was, Bopp had decided that Smith could get better results by working in California where he was more familiar with the powder plants and where he would be more closely under his direction and not under Von Papen's direction. After a discussion

with Crowley, Bopp had agreed to a plan to have Smith return to California and get a job again in the California Powder Mills at Pinole, now owned by the Hercules Powder Company, and cause an explosion there. Following this agreement Crowley telegraphed Smith on August 30th:

> Delay in information you want also in getting Consent on other matter will know in few days and will advise you. Will recommend if you can get good title to place here and the one north you be given an amount. Round trip transportation be furnished no other expense allowed.
>
> GARRETT.

Crowley had used the name of Garrett several times and often received mail under this name at his hotel in San Francisco. The meat of this message was: "if you can, get good title to the one here" and "the one north." The "place here" was the California Powder Mills and "the one north" was a powder mill of the Ætna Explosive Company outside Tacoma with which Smith was familiar as a result of his trip there at the time of the explosion on the scow.

On September 7th Crowley telegraphed Smith:

> They cannot decide on matter. C.

Smith waited a week for
wired Von Shack again:

> I expect immediate and s
> you. Crowley has my lette

The satisfactory answer
Germans in San Francisc
were willing to spend wi
sult. Smith got a job i
tory in Detroit, and his
vocation as a *masseuse*
Pretty soon they both beg
Mrs. Smith in particular
she saw Crowley followi
the street one night. Sn
also that they were being
in the employ of the Ge
feared both bodily harm
possibility of the Americ
ing gotten wind of some
dogging his steps to arr
decided that the safe thi
State's evidence, and her
the office of the United
started various trains o
ultimately sent Bopp, Cr
and Von Shack to two yea
Cornell to one year. Sm
given immunity for turn

German Codes and Ci

The Bolo Pasha Messages—How the Hindus, Recently Convicted Communicated with One Another—The Cohalan and Devoy Mess the Roger Casement Revolution in Ireland—Enciphered Co Direct German Cruiser Operations in the West Ind

SECRECY is, of course, the most important consideration in the German plots in this country. When Bernstorff wished to arrange with Berlin to give Bolo Pasha 10 million francs to betray his country, he naturally did not write out his messages in plain English for every wireless station on both sides of the Atlantic to read them as they went through the air. He did, to be sure, write the messages in English, and they looked plain enough—and innocent enough—but they meant something very different from what they seemed to mean. And when it got down to the actual transfer of the money, another German agent in New York signed the
wise were not what they s

Those messages were
reproduced and explained

Now *code* should not be
When some Hindus in N
by Berlin, wished to writ
other Hindus in San F
their common purpose of
against British rule in I
messages that consisted
of Arabic numerals.

Those messages were

To any one but an exp
sages look simple and h

gible and sus-
e cipher mes-
ake out. In-
the code, code
e translated,
ge can almost
expert, if you
al. Hence, by
d nobody has
he Germans)
phers are used
and to *delay*
y any chance,
of a copy of

re, are usually
n, then coded,
cipher. Such
de.
o make sense,
d then decode
her them—in
ery different

German code
been trans-
vill be well to
ral.
y which two
ng messages,
ds or symbols
. Thus, they
ns:

umber
with a fraction
spy in New
mless message

York to-day for

in wording:

ton to-day for

be exchanged
Street and a

broker in Amsterdam, and, by the additi of a few more words, could be infinitely vari and would look like perfectly legitimate cor mercial correspondence. In fact, most inte national business before the war (the Gover ment now requires that all messages appe in plain English) was carried on by cod cables which turned long messages into sho groups of words that of themselves ma gibberish. Several code books, for busine use, were on the market, containing hundre of pages of these arbitrary substitutions, whi were useful, not for secrecy, but for econom A dozen words could be made to say wh normally would require five hundred words.

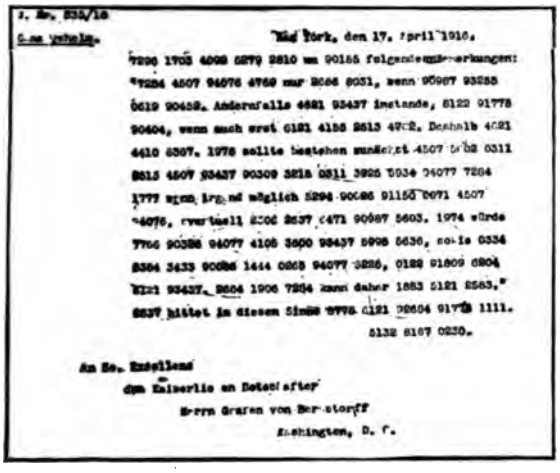
Ciphers, however, have almost always be resorted to when secrecy was desired. Th sounds like a contradiction. But people wl are not experts use them because they thir they are more secret, since they look so. Ar experts use them when they are concern only with *temporary* secrecy. They use ther then, because cipher messages can be writt and translated (by one's correspondent) wit out any equipment, like a code book, ar much more rapidly than code. Thus, if general in the field wishes to send a messa ordering a colonel to advance in two hou he sends it in cipher, because it would tal the enemy more than two hours to deciph the message even if he intercepted it imm diately, and because after the two hours ha elapsed the information in the message wou be of no value to him.

A *cipher* is the substitution of some symb for a letter of the alphabet. The substitut symbol may be another letter—as writing when you mean *a*. Or it may be a figure- as using 42 when you mean *m*. Or it may l an arbitrary sign—as * to mean *c*. In ciphe then, every word is spelled out, but the wo *Washington* might be spelled x=|½?!∧:° if you had agreed that

w = x	n = !
a = —	g = ∧
s = |	t = :
h = ½	o = °
i = ?	n = B

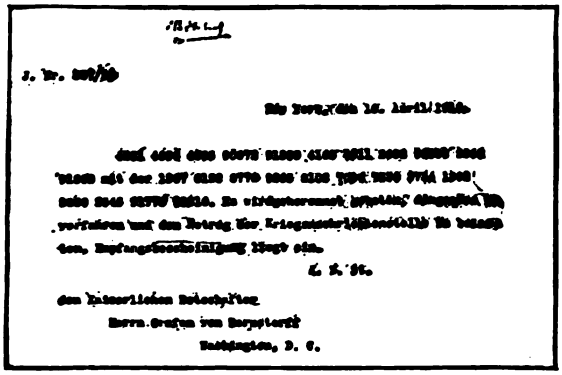
That is called a *substitution* cipher, becau some other letter or symbol is arbitrari substituted for every letter.

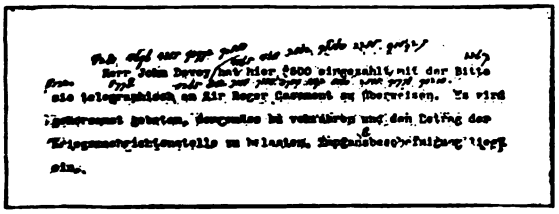
But another kind is called a *transpositi* cipher, because in this the letters of the alph bet are simply transposed by agreement—t

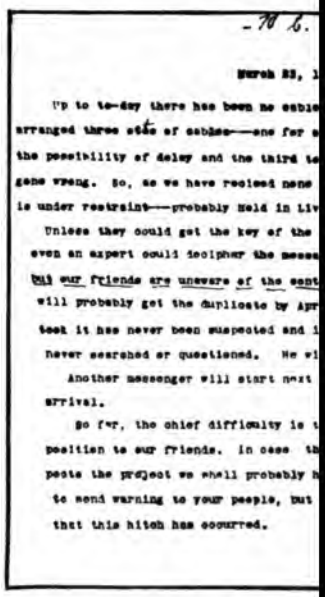


THE COHALAN-IRISH REVOLUTION MESSAGE

To the left is the code message from Von Papen's office in New York to Bernstorff, transmi
tice Cohalan, of the Supreme Court of New York, advising the Germans upon the best means to m
revolution in Ireland a success. On the right is the message written out and coded for transmis
as follows: "No. 335—16 *very secret* New York, April 17, 1916. Judge Cohalan requests th
ing remarks: 'The Revolution in Ireland can only be successful if supported from Germany. C
able to suppress it, even though it be only after hard struggles. Therefore, help is necessary
marily of aërial attacks in England and a diversion of the fleet simultaneously with Irish revolu
landing of troops, arms, and ammunition in Ireland, and possibly some officers from Zeppelins
Irish ports to be closed against England and the establishment of stations for submarines on the I
off of the supply of food for England. The success of the revolution may therefore decide the w
gram to this effect be sent to Berlin. 5132 8167 0230 *To His Excellency Count von Bernsto
Washington, D. C.*"







CODE MESSAGE [LEFT] TRANSMITTING MONEY TO SIR ROGER CASE

In English it reads: "Embassy. 307-16, New York, April 10, 1916. Mr. John Devoy h
the request that they be transmitted telegraphically to Sir Roger Casement. You are respect
accordingly and to charge the amount to the Military Information Bureau. Receipt enclosed.'
On the right, a letter from John Devoy, an Irish-American, exposing his hand in a plot wit
revolution in Ireland

ample being
z stands for
osition cipher

i j k l m n o p
x y z
s r q p o n m l
c b a

dzbsrmtglm.
osition cipher
t the British
vertheless has
—is the very
t a square is
way. This
paces, to con-
I and *J* being
ould never be
would not be
is needed to
ner letters are

—and herein
licity of this
key word is
the alphabet
d is *Gardenia.*
res:

E

ere must not,
he keyboard.
s written into
ence:

E
F
D
U
Z

The method

The message is written out in plain te
for example:

DESTROY BRIDGE AT ONCE

(Only capital letters are commonly used
cipher work). This message is now divid
into groups of two letters, in the same ord
so that it reads:

DE ST RO YB RI DG EA TO NC EX

(The X is added to complete the group and
called a *null.*) These groups of twos are n
ciphered from the keyboard into oth
groups of twos, by the following method:

Where two joined letters of the origin
message appear in the same *horizontal* r
on the keyboard, the next letter to the rig
is substituted for each. Thus, the first t
letters of our message are DE. They occ
in the same horizontal row on our keyboa
Consequently, for D we write E, and for
we go "on around the world" to the rig
or back to the other end of the row, and wri
G for E. This gives us DE enciphered as E

Where two joined letters of the origin
message appear in the same *vertical* row on t
keyboard, the next letter below is substitut
for each.

Where two joined letters of the origin
message appear neither in the same horizont
nor the same vertical row on the keyboa
we imagine a rectangle with the two lett
at the opposite corners, and in each case su
stitute the letter found on the key board
the other corner of the same horizontal ro
This sounds complicated, but in reality is ve
simple. For example, take the third tw
letter group of our message—RO. The re
tangle in this case is

R D E
B C F
L M O

and for R we substitute E, and for O we su
stitute L.

Substituting our whole message by t
system, it reads:

Original DE ST RO YB RI DG EA TO NC EX
Cipher EG TU EL XC AB EA GR UM IF RZ

As telegraph operators are accustomed
send these gibberish messages in groups
five letters (so that they can check erro
knowing that when only four appear in a grou
for example, something has been left ou
these enciphered groups of twos are now co
bined into groups of fives, so that the finish
cipher reads:

EGTUE LXCAB EAGRU MIFRZ

The foregoing sounds extremely complicated, but the truth is that anybody, after half an hour's practice, can put a message into this kind of cipher ("Playfair" cipher) almost as fast as he can print the straight English of it in capital letters. And unless the person who reads it knows the key word which determined the pattern on his keyboard, he would have to be an expert to decipher it, and even he could do it only after a good deal of work.

Another ingenious cipher is called the "Chess Board." First, a sheet of paper is ruled into squares exactly like a chess board—that is, a square divided into eighths each way. This arrangement gives, of course, sixty-four small squares. Then, by agreement between the people who intend to use this cipher, sixteen of these squares are agreed upon and are cut out of the sheet with a knife. Suppose for example, this pattern is chosen:

and the squares showing in white are cut out.

Next, another sheet of paper is ruled into a chess board, of exactly the same size as the first. The perforated sheet is now laid on top of the second sheet, so that the squares on the one exactly cover the squares on the other. Now, with a pen or pencil, the plain text of the secret message is printed on the under sheet by writing through the perforations of the upper sheet, only one letter being written in each square. This, of course, permits the writing of sixteen letters of the message.

Suppose the complete message is to be: "Authorize payment ten million dollars to buy copper for shipment to Germany." Then the lower sheet, after we have written through the perforations, will look like this:

	A		U				
		T		H			
			O		R		
I		Z				E	
			P				
A							Y
	M	E					
	N						T

The perforated sheet is now turned to the right through one-fourth of a complete revolution, so that the top of it is at the right side of the lower sheet and so that the two chess boards again "match up." This operation exposes, through the perforations, a new set of sixteen open squares on the lower sheet. The writing of the message is continued, and the lower sheet now looks like this:

	A	D	U	L			
A	L	T		H			T
	L		O	I	R	Z	
I		Z	Z		I	E	E
			P			M	
A					L		Y
	M	E		O			
R	N	O					T

Again the perforated sheet is turned to the right, and sixteen more letters are written.

Once more, and the whole sixty-four squares are utilized, looking like this:

S	A	D	U	L	R	R	Y
A	L	T	O	H	O	F	T
R	L	N	O	I	R	N	E
I	M	Z	N	P	I	E	E
I	P	E	P	G	O	M	C
A	P	Y	T	U	L	A	Y
H	M	E	B	O	O	M	N
R	N	O	T	T	E	S	T

These letters are now put upright, like this

S	A	D	U	L	R	R	Y
A	L	T	O	H	O	F	T
R	L	N	O	I	R	N	E
I	M	Z	N	P	I	E	E
I	P	E	P	G	O	M	C
A	P	Y	T	U	L	A	Y
H	M	E	B	O	O	M	N
R	N	O	T	T	E	S	T

These letters are now read from left to right and from the first line down, like ordinary reading matter. They are then grouped into fives for telegraphic transmission, and an *X* added at the end to make an even five-group there. Thus the message, as transmitted, reads:

SADUL RRYAL TOHOF TRLNO IRNEI MZNPI EEIPE PGOMC APYTU LAYHM EBOOM NRNOT TESTX

When this message is received, it can, of course, be quickly deciphered by printing it *out on a chess board* and placing over it a sheet perforated according to the prearranged pattern.

This survey of codes and ciphers does not more than scratch the surface of the subject, nor more than suggest the almost infinite variations that are possible—in ciphers especially. It simply gives a groundwork for an understanding of the German secret messages now to be described.

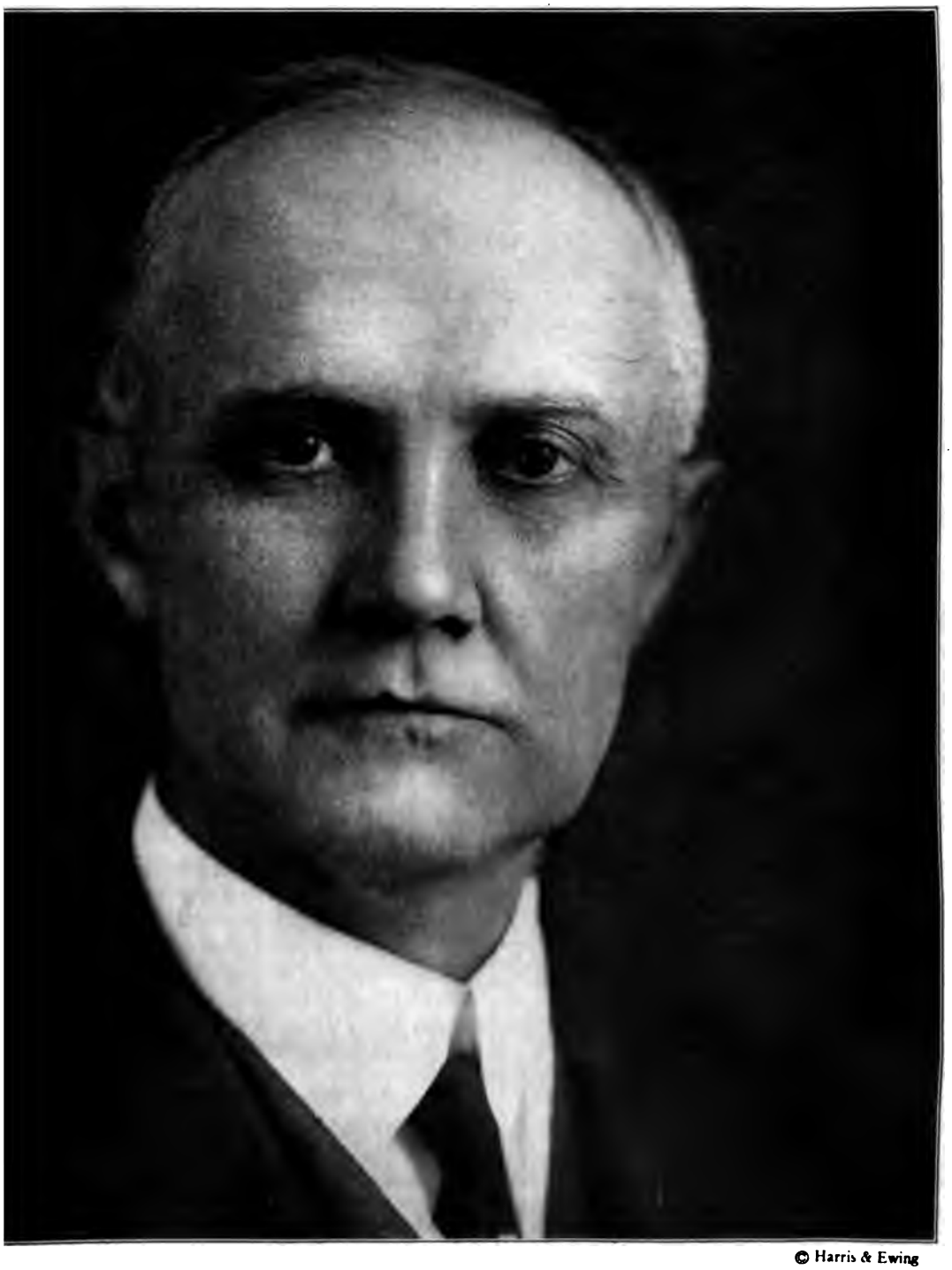
THE BOLO PASHA CODE

Among the most interesting of these secret messages is the series of wireless telegrams by means of which the German money was paid to Bolo Pasha for the purchase of the Paris *Journal*—one of the principal episodes in the treasonable intrigue for which Bolo was recently executed by a French firing squad. These messages were in English, and meant exactly what they said, except for the proper names and the figures, which were *code*. To decode them, it was necessary only to make the following substitutions:

William Foxley = Foreign Office
Charles Gledhill = Count Bernstorff
Fred Hooven = Guaranty Trust Company (New York)
$500 = $500,000

and to all other figures add three ciphers to arrive at the real amount. For example, one of these messages read: "Paid Charles Gledhill five hundred dollars through Fred Hooven." This meant: "Paid Count Bernstorff five hundred *thousand* dollars through Guaranty Trust Company."

The story of these messages is briefly this: Marie Paul Bolo started life as a barber, became an adventurer and, in the service of the Khedive of Egypt, received the title of Pasha for a financial service which he rendered him. Returning to France as Bolo Pasha, he married two wealthy women and lived in grand style on their money. He became an intimate of Charles Humbert, another adventurer, who achieved political power by questionable methods and became a member of the French Senate. In the meantime, the Khedive had been deposed by the British on account of his pro-Turkish (and hence pro-German) activities after the Great War began. Abbas Hilmi joined the colony of ex-rulers in Switzerland, and there became a part of the German system of intrigue. He received money from the Germans and, after he [illegible] his



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ATTORNEY GENERAL THOMAS W. GREGORY
has directed the nation-wide work of arresting and prosecuting German plotters and of interning dangerous enemy aliens

MR. A. BRUCE BIELASKI

Who, as chief of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, has organized and managed the vastly increased body of Government agents who unravel the German plots and capture the plotters

"squeeze" (which sometimes amounted to half the total), he paid over the rest to Bolo, to be used by Bolo, Humbert, and ex-Premier Caillaux in an effort to restore Caillaux to power and then to further the propaganda for an early and hence inconclusive peace.

Either this method of supplying the French traitors with funds became too dangerous, or the Germans preferred to keep their gold and wished to use their credit in the United States to get American gold for this purpose. In any event, Bolo Pasha appeared in New York early in March, 1916. Strangel enough, this French subjec bore letters of introduction t several Germans. The mos important was addressed t Adolf Pavenstedt, who wa senior partner in G. Amsincl & Company and for many years a chief paymaster of th German spy system in thi country. Through Pavenstedt, Bolo met Hugo Schmidt, a director of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, a Government institution, who had been sent to this country soon after the war broke out to provide complete coöperation between the older representatives of the Deutsche Bank here and the management in Berlin.

Through Pavenstedt as messenger, Bolo also got in touch with Bernstorff, and arranged the final details of the plan by which Bolo was to receive 10 million francs from the German Government. He was to use this money to buy the Paris *Journal*, which would then be edited by Senator Humbert, who agreed to change its editorial policy to favor an immediate peace. As the *Journal* is one of the most powerful dailies in France, with a circulation among more than a million and a half readers, the sinister possibilities of this scheme are readily seen.

Bernstorff committed the financial details to Hugo Schmidt. He, in turn, wirelessed Berlin for suitable credits in American banking houses. These were arranged with the Guaranty Trust Company and the National Park Bank—for many years American correspondents of the Deutsche Bank. These credits were then credited to G. Amsinck & Company, of which Pavenstedt had long been senior partner. He, in turn, placed them, with the New York branch of the Royal Bank of Canada, to the account of Bolo Pasha.

As the exchange rate at the time ran in favor of American dollars and against French francs, the 10 million francs (normally equal to about 2 million dollars) which Bolo got, required only $1,683,500 of American money—which is just the sum of the amounts named in the wireless messages.

The *Journal* was actually bought by Bolo and Humbert, but before they could do much damage with it, they were arrested, and Bolo has already been executed.

The Hindus in this country, who were plotting with the Germans the revolution that should destroy the British rule in India, used two systems for their secret messages. The first was this *substitution cipher:*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
2	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
3	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U
4	V	W	X	Y	Z		

The message, "Leave San Francisco" would be written, in this cipher, as follows:

25 15 11 41 15 35 11 27 16 34 11 27 13 22 35 13 31

by giving each letter of the message the number to the left of it combined with the number above it.

The other system used by the Hindus was a *book code.* They agreed upon a small English dictionary of a certain edition, and wrote from it messages that were also groups of numbers, after this fashion: 625-2-11 27-1-36 45-2-20 and so on. The first figure in each group was the number of the page on which the word would be found, the second figure gave the column, and the third figure was the number of the word in the column, counting from the top of the page.

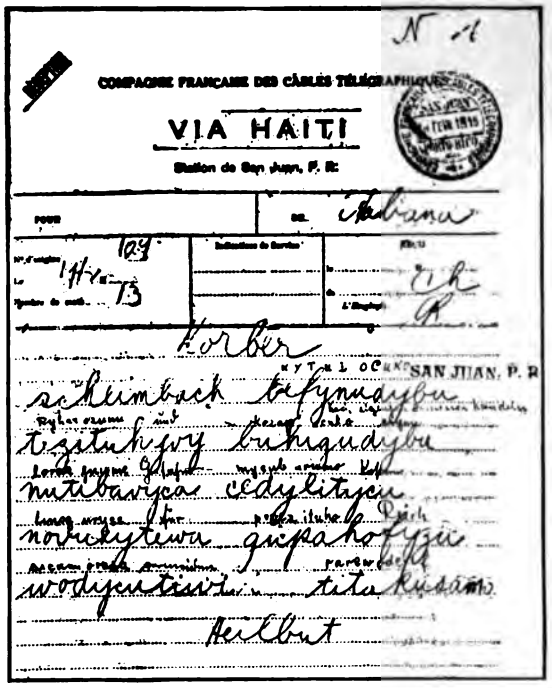
The case of the *Odenwald* reveals an example of German *enciphered code.* The *Odenwald* was a German steamer, requisitioned on March 17, 1915, by the German Government for service as a naval auxiliary. Our Government detected the *Odenwald* engaging to go to sea periodically with supplies to be delivered to the German cruiser *Prinz Eitel Friedrich,* whereupon our officers interned her at Ponce, Porto Rico, which had been her headquarters. In the process of unearthing her illegal activities, our Government intercepted nearly one hundred secret wireless messages and cablegrams. One of these messages, with its translation from code and

LEWIS J. SMITH

Hired by Consul General Bopp, of San Francisco, to place bombs on ships, dynamite munition trains, and destroy powder mills

C. C. CROWLEY

Who hired Smith for Bopp and who directed the work of destroying munition ships, trains, and factories for the German consul


COMPAGNIE FRANÇAISE DES CÂBLES TÉLÉGRAPHIQUES

VIA HAITI

Station de San Juan, P. R.

POUR — DE

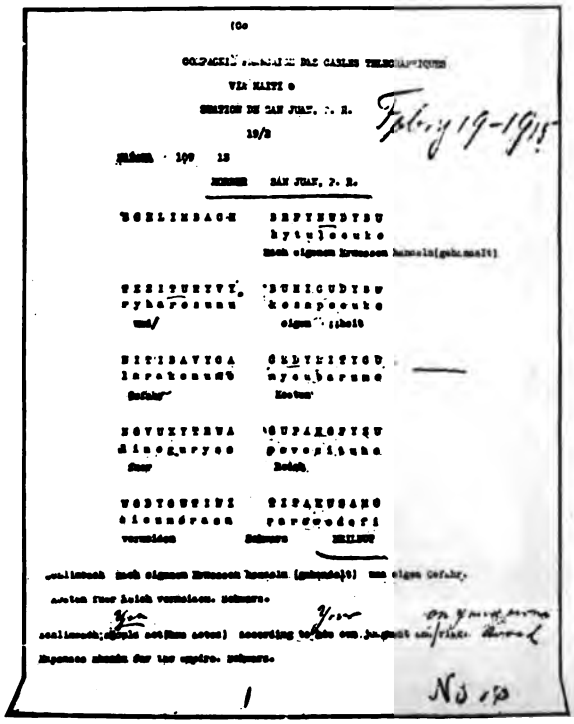
SAN JUAN, P. R.

Schlimbach befynudybu
tegstuhgy buhugudybu
nutibavyca ccdylitajcu
nodycytiwa gucpahofyjcu
wodycutiwi tita kusamo

Heilbut

A GERMAN ENCIPHERED CODE MESSAGE

One of the *Odenwald* messages that revealed the German operations in the West Indies. Above is the cablegram, in "ten letter" enciphered code; and below is the same message, first deciphered and then decoded into German and English


VIA HAITI

SAN JUAN, P. R.

SCHLIMBACH BEFYNUDYBU

Nach eigenem Ermessen handeln (gehandelt)

TEGSTUHGY BUHUGUDYBU

eigene Gefahr

NUTIBAVYCA CCDYLITAJCU

Kosten

NODYCYTIWA GUCPAHOFYJCU

Reich

WODYCUTIWI TITA KUSAMO

vermeiden Schwere HEILBUT

Schlimbach Nach eigenem Ermessen handeln (gehandelt) mit eigen Gefahr.

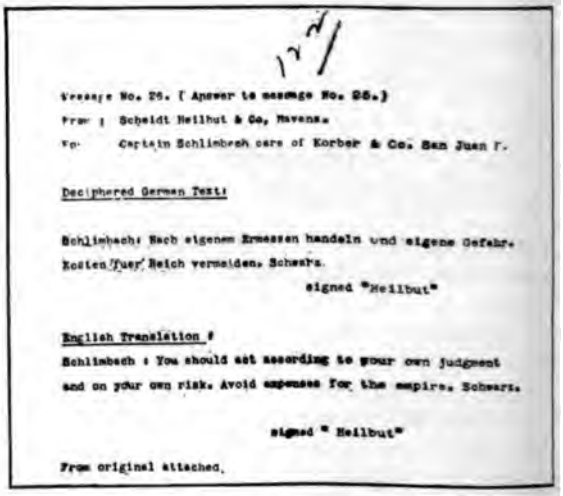
Kosten Fuer Reich vermeiden. Schwere.

Schlimbach; handle according to your own judgment and

Expense avoid for the empire. Schwere.

1

No. 10


Message No. 26. (Answer to message No. 25.)

From : Scheidt Heilbut & Co, Havana.

To: Captain Schlimbach care of Korber & Co. San Juan P.

Deciphered German Text:

Schlimbach: Nach eigenem Ermessen handeln und eigene Gefahr. Kosten Fuer Reich vermeiden. Schwere.

signed "Heilbut"

English Translation :

Schlimbach : You should act according to your own judgment and on your own risk. Avoid expenses for the empire. Schwere.

signed " Heilbut"

From original attached.

THE ENGLISH OF A GERMAN MESSAGE

The *Odenwald* cablegram translated into straight German text and then translated into plain English

cipher, is reproduced as an illustration on this page, and is a good example of one of the favorite German methods.

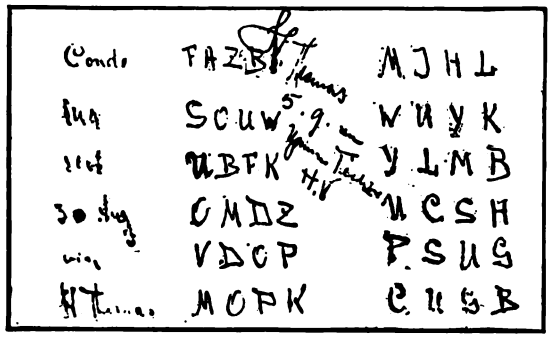
The *Odenwald* was one of several German vessels that happened to be in the West Indies when the war broke out. They were all set at the task of supplying, at sea, the German commerce raiders and squadrons of cruisers, like Von Spee's. They acted under the local orders of Captain Schlimbach, of the *Praesident*, which was anchored in the harbor at Ponce. Schlimbach kept in touch with his superiors in the United States through Körber & Company, a German banking house in Ponce. The head of this concern was a typical example of the German business agent charged by his Government with the task of carrying German commerce to every part of the world and of becoming, not merely an emissary of trade, but also a permanent agent of the German Government in any work, military or otherwise, that it should have to do. After the universal custom of these men, he made his outlying post his permanent home. He married a Porto Rican woman, and became, to all appearances, an integral part of the life of Ponce. When his son was in his early teens, he sent him to Germany to finish his education under the *kultural* aegis of the Fatherland, and then to New York for a few years of experience in American commercial methods in a commission house in Wall Street. Several members of the staff of the World's

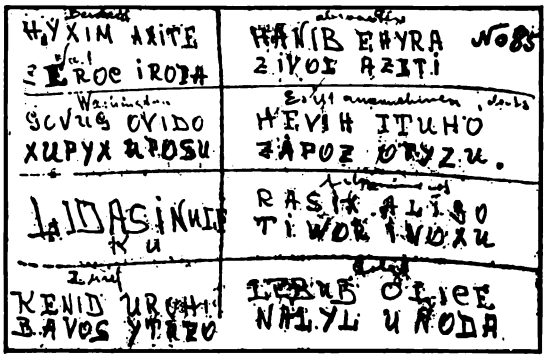
WORK (including the writer of this article) very well remember little blond "Willie" Körber, when he boarded in the same house with them at 128 East Sixteenth Street, in New York, in 1903 and 1904. His English was still broken, but he was learning rapidly, and every evening, after his day's work was done, he climbed to his little room at the fourth floor, front, and delved into his books in English. They were chiefly books of travel and books on business methods, but he had, besides, an excellent knowledge of standard English literature. He, too, was doubtless preparing to do his part in the worldwide spread of *Deutschtum*.

The method by which Körber kept Captain Schlimbach in touch was this: Karl Boy-Ed, the German naval attaché at Washington, had moved to an office in New York. Here he worked out his orders for the German ships, basing them upon his own instructions from Berlin. These orders were cabled to a German firm in Havana—Scheidt-Heilbut & Company—and signed with the name of Schwarz. The company in Havana then cabled the messages on to Körber, in Ponce, and Körber passed them on to Schlimbach. To cover up the military character of the ships' operations, open messages were sent to Körber, from time to time, by the agency of the Hamburg-American Line at St. Thomas, which was then a possession of Denmark (now part of the United States and re-named as the Virgin Islands).

The *Odenwald*, the *Praesident*, the *Gladstone*, and the *Farn*, at one time or another, were under German orders to coal and otherwise upply the *Kronprinz Wilhelm*, the *Eitel Friedrich*, the *Karlsruhe*, and the *Dresden* in South Atlantic waters, besides reporting information concerning the movements of French and British cruisers patrolling this region. The intercepted messages, when unraveled, not only put a stop to the German naval operations, but disclosed the chain of German agents in the West Indies whom we needed to beware of for the protection of our own interests in the war, and after. Körber's position, for example, became quite clear, despite his long-time surface enthusiasm for American control of Porto Rico, and he is now interned, and will be carefully watched the rest of his life.

But perhaps the most dramatic of all the intercepted messages (except the Luxburg and Zimmerman notes, of which the story cannot yet be told) were those which revealed the part played by well known Irish-American leaders in the ill-fated Casement revolution in Ireland. These messages are reproduced on page 145, and are good examples of German Government code experts' work. The story of the Casement expedition is too familiar to need to be retold. And comment upon the political morals of Justice Cohalan and John Devoy becomes superfluous in the light of these messages. American citizens (one of them signally honored with public office in New York), both held their Irish blood superior, in their duty of loyalty, to the United States, using their citizenship as a cloak under which to strike at Great Britain, which has been for a quarter century the chief bulwark of this country against Germany's plan to conquer us and to impose upon our country the most hateful tyranny in the history of the world.





EXTRACTS FROM A GERMAN CODE EXPERT'S BLOTTER

Showing the use of capital letters in the actual work of enciphering a message, and the combined use of cipher and code

AMBASSADOR MORGENTHAU'S STORY

How Germany Drove a "Wedge" between Russia and the Allies and Caused the Russian Collapse—The High-Handed and Corrupt Methods by Which Germany Forced Turkey into the War—Wangenheim's Account of the Potsdam Conference at Which Germany Decided to Begin a War

BY

HENRY MORGENTHAU

(Formerly American Ambassador to Turkey)

SECOND ARTICLE

IN READING the August newspapers which described the mobilizations in Europe, I was particularly struck with the emphasis which they laid upon the splendid spirit that was overnight changing the civilian populations into armies. At that time Turkey also was mobilizing—not for definite hostilities but merely as a precautionary measure; yet the daily scenes which I witnessed in Constantinople bore few resemblances to those which were taking place in Europe. The martial patriotism of men and the sublime patience and sacrifice of women may sometimes give war an heroic aspect; in Turkey, however, the prospect was one of general listlessness and misery. Day by day the miscellaneous Ottoman hordes passed through the streets; Arabs, bootless and shoeless, dressed in their most gaily colored garments, with long linen bags, containing five days' rations, thrown over their shoulders, shambling in their gait and bewildered in their manner, touched shoulders with equally dispirited Bedouins, evidently suddenly snatched from the desert. A motley aggregation of Turks, Circassians, Greeks, Kurds, Armenians, and Jews, showing signs of having been summarily taken from their farms and shops, constantly jostled one another. Most were ragged, many looked half-starved; everything about them suggested hopelessness and a cattle-like submission to a fate which they knew that they could not avoid. There was no joy of approaching battle, no feeling that they were sacrificing themselves for a mighty cause; day by day they passed, the unwilling children of a tatterdemalion empire that was making one last despairing attempt to gird itself for action.

These wretched marchers little realized what was the power that was dragging them

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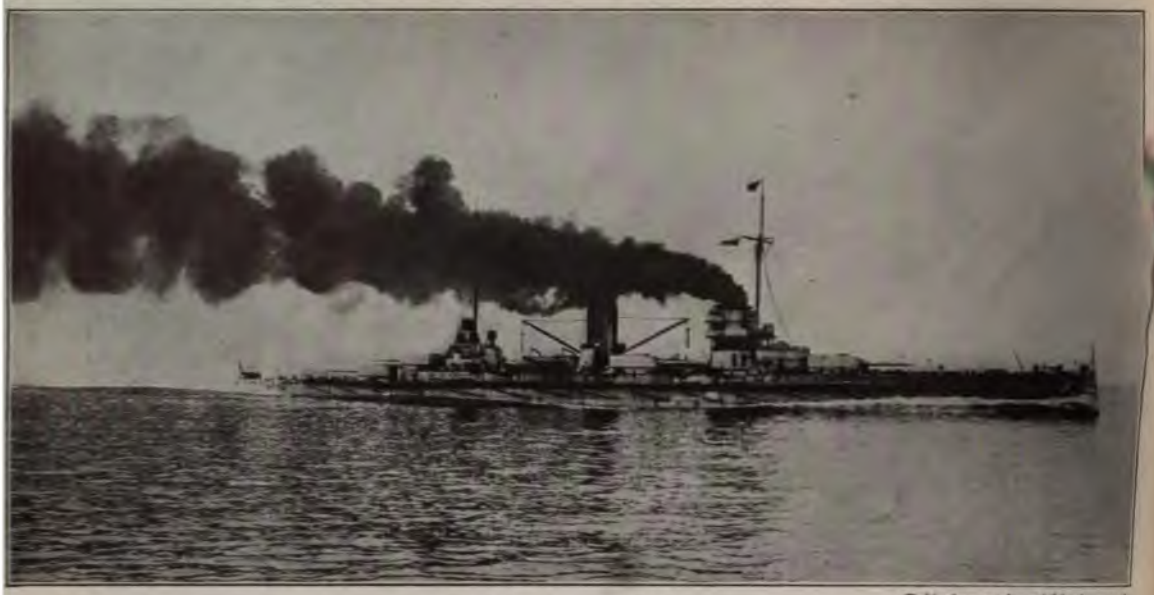
THE BOSPHORUS, THE KEY TO THE BLACK SEA

The narrowest part of the Bosphorus. The photograph is taken from the Asiatic side. Robert College stands on the hill on the European shore, on the extreme left of the picture. For more than half a century this American institution, incorporated by New York State, has been the main centre of enlightenment and civilization in Turkey. Ambassador Morgenthau persuaded Enver Pasha to make a ceremonious visit to this College at a critical moment and in this way probably saved it from destruction



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THE "GOEBEN"

One of the two swift and powerful war vessels which Germany, by breaking international law, succeeded in getting into the Dardanelles when the war began. This move enabled Germany to close the Dardanelles, and so cut Russia's best line of communication with the Allies. The Russian military collapse was a result

THE GOLDEN HORN, THE HARBOR OF CONSTANTINOPLE,

German battleship *Breslau*—at extreme left—safely anchored in the Golden Horn. The other vessels are Turkish Embassy by Mr. Henry Morgenthau,

THE "SCORPION"

The small American warship stationed at Constantinople. All nations had little *stationnaires* of this kind, as international law prohibited warships from passing through the Dardanelles. Germany succeeded in breaking this law, however, when she smuggled through the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*

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IN THE FIRST MONTHS OF THE GREAT WAR

warships. The large building in the foreground is the Ministry of Marine. This picture was taken from the American Jr., son of the Ambassador

largely explains Russia's military failure and so much of the history of the last three years. The Turkish officials told Mr. Morgenthau that they had nothing to do with closing the Dardanelles. "It's all a surprise to us," said the Minister of Finance. Of course, Germany had about as much legal right to close the Dardanelles as she would have had to close the Port of New York.

THE DOCKS AT CONSTANTINOPLE

Through the Bosphorus nine-tenths of Russia's exports reached the outside world. Through this narrow channel she received almost all her imports, including munitions. On September 27th—six weeks before Turkey declared war—the Germans closed the Dardanelles and so bottled up Russia. This act

from the four corners of their country. Even we of the diplomatic group had not then clearly grasped the real situation. The signal for this mobilization had not come originally from Enver or Talaat or the Turkish Cabinet; the General Staff in Berlin and its representatives in Constantinople, Liman von Sanders and Brounsart, were really directing the variegated operation. There were unmistakable signs of German activity. As soon as the German armies crossed the Rhine work was begun on a mammoth wireless station a few miles outside of Constantinople. The materials all came from Germany by way of Rumania; the mechanics, industriously working from daybreak to sunset, were unmistakably Germans. Of course, the neutrality laws would have prohibited the construction of a wireless station for a belligerent in a neutral country like Turkey; it was therefore officially announced *that a German company* was building this heaven-pointing structure for the Turkish Government and on the Sultan's own property. But this story deceived no one. Wangenheim, the German Ambassador, spoke of it freely and constantly as a German enterprise.

"Have you seen our wireless yet?" he would ask me. "Come on, let's ride up there and look it over."

He proudly told me that it was the most powerful in the world—powerful enough to catch all messages sent by the Eiffel Tower in Paris! He said that it would put him in constant communication with Berlin. So little did he attempt to conceal its German ownership that several times when ordinary telegraphic communication was suspended, he offered to let me use it to send my telegrams.

This wireless plant was an outward symbol of the close though unacknowledged association which then existed between Turkey and Berlin. It took some time to finish such an

GEN. LIMAN VON SANDERS

This is the head of the military mission sent by the Kaiser to Constantinople in the latter part of 1913, to reorganize the Turkish army in preparation for the coming war. He really directed the Turkish mobilization in August, 1914—three months before Turkey declared war

DJEMAL, MINISTER OF MARINE

On the right, and Enver, Minister of War—on the left. Popular report said that Djemal was pro-Entente. When news came that the Germans, in command of Turkish warships, had bombarded Odessa, and so had pushed Turkey into war, Djemal was playing cards at the Cercle D'Orient. He expressed his surprise and declared that he had issued no orders for the bombardment. The Germans simply did it on their own responsibility in order to make war inevitable between Turkey and the Entente

extensive station and in the interim Wangenheim was using the apparatus on the *Corcovado*, a German merchant ship which was lying in the Bosphorus opposite the German Embassy. For practical purposes, Wangenheim had a constant telephone connection with Berlin.

German officers were almost as active as the Turks themselves in this mobilization. They enjoyed it all immensely; they gave every sign that they were having the time of their lives. Brounsart, Humann, and Lafferts were constantly at Enver's elbow, advising and directing the operations. German officers were rushing through the streets every day in huge automobiles, all requisitioned from the civilian population; they filled all the restaurants and amusement places at night and celebrated their joy in the situation by consuming large quantities of champagne—also requisitioned. A particularly spectacular and noisy figure was that of Von der Goltz Pasha. He was constantly making a kind of viceregal progress through the streets in a huge and madly dashing automobile, on both sides of which flaring German eagles were painted. A trumpeter on the front seat blew loud, defiant blasts as the conveyance rushed along; woe to any one, Turk or non-Turk, who happened to get in the way! The Germans made no attempt to conceal their conviction that they owned this town. Just as Wangenheim had established a little Wilhelmstrasse in his Embassy, so had the German military men established a sub-station of the Berlin General Staff. They even brought their wives and families from Germany; I heard Baroness Wangenheim remark that she was holding a little court of her own.

The Germans, however, were about the only people who were enjoying this proceeding. The requisitioning that accompanied the mobilization really amounted to a wholesale looting of the civilian population. The Turks took all the horses, mules, camels, sheep, cows, and other beasts that they could lay their

"ICH MIT DIE DEUTSCHEN"

Talaat Pasha, the masterful but blood-stained Boss of Turkey. He was convinced that Germany would win the war, and would punish Turkey severely if the Sultan's Empire did not assist the Kaiser in winning this victory. So, as he said to Mr. Morgenthau in his broken German, "Ich mit die Deutschen."

Etappen-Kommando
Konstantinopel.
874

Therapia, den 29. September 1914.

№

Received
Replied 8/10/14

Die in Ihrem Schreiben vom 26. d. Mts. genannte Ladung des Dampfers „Derindje" ist von mir für die deutsche Regierung requiriert.

Usmann

Korvettenkapitän und Kommandant.

Le lot par s/s. Derindje" dont vous parlez dans votre lettre du 26 cte. a été requisitionnée par moi pour le gouvernement Allemand. oil cake

II.

Firma

Gilchrist, Walker & Co. Ltd

Constantinopel.

A GERMAN REQUISITION FOR TURKISH SUPPLIES

[illegible] as soon as the European war started, though she did not enter [illegible] intervening three months, the Sultan was nominally a [illegible]

would enter a retail shop, take practically all the merchandise on the shelves, and give a piece of paper in acknowledgment. As the Government had never paid for the supplies which it had taken in the Italian and Balkan Wars, the merchants hardly expected that they would ever receive anything for these latest requisitions. Afterward many who understood officialdom, and were politically influential, did recover to the extent of 70 per cent.—what became of the remaining 30 per cent. is not a secret to those who have had any experience with Turkish bureaucrats. Thus for most of the population, requisitioning simply meant financial ruin. Judging from the war materials which the Turkish offic

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GERMAN AND TURKISH OFFICERS ON BOARD THE "GOEBEN"

All the men, except the ones at the extreme left and extreme right, are Germans. Two months before Turkey entered the European war, Admiral Souchon—the central figure in this group—controlled the Turkish Navy. All this time the German Government maintained that it had "sold" the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* to Turkey

thing in many other cases. The prevailing system was to take movable property wherever available and convert it into cash; where the money ultimately went I do not know; but that many private fortunes were made I have little doubt. I told Enver that this ruthless method of mobilizing and requisitioning was destroying his country. Misery and starvation soon began to afflict the land. Out of 4,000,000 adult male population more than 1,500,000 were ultimately enlisted; about a million families were left without breadwinners, all of them in a condition of extreme destitution. The Turkish Government paid its soldiers 25 cents a month, and gave the families a separation allowance of $1.20 a month. As a result thousands were dying from lack of food and many more were enfeebled by malnutrition; I believe that the Empire has lost a quarter of its Turkish population since the war started. I asked Enver why he permitted his people to be destroyed in this way. But sufferings like these did not distress him. He was much impressed by his success in raising a large *army with practically* no money—something, he boasted, which no other nation had ever done before. In order to accomplish this Enver had issued orders which imposed the death penalty for evading military service, and also adopted a scheme by which any Ottoman could obtain exemption by the payment of about $190. Still Enver regarded his accomplishment as a notable one. It was really his first taste of unlimited power and he enjoyed the experience greatly.

A GROUP OF AMERICANS IN CONSTANTINOPLE

Reading from left to right: Dean Wallace, of the Constantinople College for Women, Ambassador Morgenthau, Dr. Mary Mills Patrick, President of Constantinople College, Prof. Isabelle Dodd, of the same institution, Mrs. Morgenthau, and at the extreme right Dr. Gates, President of Robert College

That the Germans directed this mobilization is not a matter of opinion but of proof. I need only instance that the Germans were requisitioning materials in their own name for their own uses. I have a photographic copy of such a requisition made by Humann, the German naval attaché, for a shipload of oil cake. This document is dated September 26, 1914—about a month before Turkey had declared war. "The lot by the steamship *Derindje* which you mentioned in your letter of the 26th," this paper reads, "has been requisitioned by me for the German Government." While the Germans were thus exercising the powers of sovereignty at Constant

nople, the ambassadors of the other powers stood aside. The cards had been stacked against them.

On August 10th, I went out on a little launch to meet the *Sicilia*, a small Italian ship which had just arrived from Venice. I was especially interested in this vessel because she was bringing to Constantinople my daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Maurice Wertheim and their three little daughters. The greeting proved even more interesting than I had expected. I found the passengers considerably excited, for they had witnessed, the day before, a naval engagement in the Ionian Sea. "We were lunching yesterday on deck," my daughter told me, "when I saw two strange-looking vessels just above the horizon. I ran for the glasses and made out two large battleships, the first one with two queer exotic-looking towers and the other one quite an ordinary-looking battleship. We watched and saw another ship coming up behind them and going very fast. She came nearer and nearer and then we heard guns booming. Pillars of water sprang up in the air; there were many little puffs of white smoke; it took me some time to realize what it was all about, and then it burst upon me that we were actually witnessing an engagement. The ships continually shifted their position but went on and on. The two big ones turned and rushed furiously for the little one; then apparently changed their minds and turned back. Then the little one turned around and calmly steamed in our direction. At first I was somewhat alarmed at this, but nothing happened. She circled around us with her tars excited and grinning and somewhat grimy. They signalled to our captain many questions, and then turned and finally disappeared. The captain told us that the two big ships were Germans which had been caught in the Mediterranean and which were trying to escape from the British fleet. He says that the British ships are chasing them all over the Mediterranean, and that the German ships are trying to get into Constantinople. Have you seen anything of them? Where do you suppose the British fleet is?"

A few hours afterward I happened to meet Wangenheim. When I told him what Mrs. Wertheim had seen, he displayed an agitated interest. Immediately after lunch he called with Pallavicini, the Austrian Ambassador, and asked for an interview with my daughter.

The two ambassadors sole
selves in chairs before M
subjected her to a most r
polite, cross examination
important in my life," sh
They would not permit her
detail; they wished to kn
had been fired, what di
ships had taken, what eve
said—and so on. The v
these allied ambassadors
satisfaction; they left the
jubilant mood, behaving
weight had been taken of
certainly they had good
tion. My daughter had
giving them the news whi
to hear above everything e
and the *Breslau* had esca
and were then steaming ra
of the Dardanelles.

The next day official b
the German Embassy.
animated manner soon di
no interest in routine ma
seen him so nervous and s
not rest in his chair more
at a time; he was constant
ing to the window and lo
toward the Bosphorus wh
less station, the *Corcovad*
quarters of a mile away.
was flushed; his eyes wer
stride up and down the ro
a recent German victory
little forecast of German
stalk to the window again
the *Corcovado*.

"Something is seriousl
I said, rising. "I will go a
other time."

"No, no!" the Ambassa
"I want you to stay ri
This will be a great day fo
will only remain for a fe
hear a great piece of ne
has the utmost bearing
tion to the war."

Then he rushed out on th
over the balustrade. At
saw a little launch put ou
toward the Ambassador's
hurried down, seized an e
the sailors and a mome
into the room again.

"We've got them!" he shouted to me.

"Got what?" I asked.

"The *Goeben* and the *Breslau* have passed through the Dardanelles!"

He was waving the wireless message with all the enthusiasm of a college boy whose football team has won a victory.

Then, momentarily checking his enthusiasm, he came up to me solemnly, humorously shook his forefinger, lifted his eyebrows and said, "Of course, you understand that we have sold those ships to Turkey!"

"But Admiral Souchon," he added with another wink, "will enter the Sultan's service!"

Wangenheim had more than patriotic reasons for this exultation; the arrival of these ships was the greatest day in his diplomatic career. It was really the first diplomatic victory which Germany had won. For years the Chancellorship of the Empire had been Wangenheim's laudable ambition, and he behaved now like a man who saw his prize within his grasp. The voyage of the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* was his personal triumph; he had arranged with the Turkish Cabinet for their passage through the Dardanelles and he had directed their movements by wireless in the Mediterranean. By safely getting the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* into Constantinople, Wangenheim had finally clinched Turkey as Germany's ally. All his intrigues and plottings for three years had finally succeeded.

I doubt if any two ships have exercised a greater influence upon history than these two German cruisers. Not all of us at that time fully realized their importance, but subsequent developments have fully justified Wangenheim's exuberant satisfaction. The *Goeben* was a powerful battle cruiser of recent construction, the *Breslau* was not so large a ship, but she, like the *Goeben*, had the excessive speed that made her extremely serviceable in those waters. These ships had spent the few months preceding the war cruising in the Mediterranean, and when the declaration finally came they were taking on supplies at Messina. I have always regarded it as more than a coincidence that these two vessels, both of them having a greater speed than any French or English ships in the Mediterranean, should have been lying not far from Turkey when war broke out. The selection of the *Goeben* was particularly fortunate, as she had twice before visited Constantinople and her officers and men knew the Dardanelles perfectly. The behavior of these crews, when the news of war was received, indicated the spirit with which the German Navy began hostilities; the men broke out into song and shouting, lifted their Admiral upon their shoulders and held a real German jollification. It is said that Admiral Souchon preserved, as a touching souvenir of this occasion, his white uniform bearing the finger prints of his grimy sailors! For all their joy at the prospect of battle, the situation of these ships was a precarious one. They formed no match for the large British and French naval forces which were roaming through the Mediterranean. The *Goeben* and the *Breslau* were far from their native bases; with the coaling problem such an acute one, and with England in possession of all important stations, where could they flee for safety? Several Italian destroyers were circling around the German ships at Messina, enforcing neutrality and occasionally reminding them that they could remain in port only twenty-four hours. England had ships stationed at the Gulf of Otranto, the head of the Adriatic, to cut them off in case they sought to escape into the Austrian port of Pola. The British Navy also stood guard at Gibraltar and Suez, the only other exits that apparently offered the possibility of escape. There was only one other place in which the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* might find a safe and friendly reception. That was Constantinople. Apparently the British Navy dismissed this as an impossibility. At that time, early in August, international law had not entirely disappeared as the guiding conduct of nations. Turkey was then a neutral country, and, despite the many evidences of German penetration, she seemed likely to maintain her neutrality. The treaty of Paris, signed in 1856, provided that war ships should not use the Dardanelles except on the special permission of the Sultan, which permission could be granted only in times of peace. In practice the Government had seldom given this permission except for ceremonial occasions. In the existing conditions it would have amounted virtually to an unfriendly act for the Sultan to have removed the ban against war vessels in the Dardanelles; and to permit the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* to remain in Turkish waters for more than twenty-four hours would have practically been a declaration of war. Depending as usual upon the sanctity of

international regulations, the British Navy had shut off every point through which these German ships could have escaped to safety—except the entrance to the Dardanelles. Had England rushed a powerful squadron to this vital spot, how different the history of the last three years would have been!

"His Majesty expects the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* to succeed in breaking through!" Such was the wireless that reached these vessels at Messina at five o'clock in the evening of August 4th. The twenty-four hours' stay permitted by the Italian Government had nearly expired. Outside, in the Strait of Otranto, lay the force of British battle cruisers, sending false radio messages to the Germans instructing them to rush for Pola. With bands playing, and flags flying, the officers and crews having had their spirits fired by speeches and champagne, the two vessels started at full speed head on toward the awaiting British fleet. The little *Gloucester*, a scout boat, kept in touch, wiring constantly the German movements to the main squadron. Suddenly, when off Cape Spartivento, the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* let off into the atmosphere all the discordant vibrations which their wireless could command, jamming the air with such a hullabaloo that the *Gloucester* was unable to send any intelligible messages. Then the German cruisers turned south and made for the Ægean Sea. The plucky little *Gloucester* kept close on their heels, and as my daughter had related, had even once audaciously offered battle. A few hours behind the British squadron pursued, but uselessly, for the German ships, though far less powerful in battle, were much speedier. Even then the British admiral probably thought that he had spoiled the German plans. The German ships might get first to the Dardanelles; but at that point stood international law across the path and barring the entrance!

Meanwhile Wangenheim had accomplished his great diplomatic triumph. From the *Corcorado* wireless station in the Bosphorus he was sending the most agreeable news to Admiral Souchon. He was telling him to hoist the Turkish flag when he reached the Strait, for Admiral Souchon's cruisers had suddenly become parts of the Turkish Navy, and therefore, the usual international prohibitions did not apply! These cruisers were no longer the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*, like an oriental magician Wangenheim had [illegible]ly changed them into the *Su[illegible] Medilli*. The fact was t[illegible] Ambassador had cleverly t[illegible] the existing situation to ma[illegible] As I have already told, Turk[illegible] naughts under construction [illegible] the war broke out. Thes[illegible] exclusively governmental [illegible] represented a great popula[illegible] Turkish people. They were [illegible] through which Turkey was [illegible] and win back the islands o[illegible] in a burst of patriotism t[illegible] had raised the money to bui[illegible] subscription. Agents had [illegible] to house, painfully colle[illegible] subscriptions; there had be[illegible] and fairs; in their eagern[illegible] Turkish women had sold [illegible] benefit of the common [illegible] vessels thus represented a[illegible] burst of patriotism that was [illegible] so unusual, indeed, that m[illegible] that the government ha[illegible] At the very moment whe[illegible] Turkey had made her las[illegible] English shipyards and th[illegible] had arrived in England pre[illegible] finished vessels home. The[illegible] the time set to deliver [illegible] Government stepped in a[illegible] these dreadnaughts for t[illegible]

GERMANS SERENADE T[illegible]

There is not the slight[illegible] England had not only a [illegible] right to do this; there is als[illegible] her action was a perfectly [illegible] that, had she been dealing [illegible] other nation, it would not [illegible] resentment. But the Turk[illegible] nothing for distinctions [illegible] they saw was that they [illegible] England, which they had [illegible] themselves to purchase, a[illegible] had now stepped in and ta[illegible] without external pressure [illegible] resented the act; but exte[illegible] exerted in plenty. The [illegible] Wangenheim the greatest [illegible] life. Violent attacks upon [illegible] lated by the German Emb[illegible] the Turkish press. Wang[illegible] stantly discoursing to the T[illegible] English perfidy. He now

Germany, Turkey's good friend, was prepared to make compensation for England's "unlawful" seizure. He suggested that Turkey go through the form of "purchasing" the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*, then wandering around the Mediterranean perhaps in anticipation of this very contingency—and incorporate them in the Turkish Navy in place of the appropriated ships in England. The very day that these vessels passed through the Dardanelles, the *Ikdam*, a Turkish newspaper published in Constantinople, had a triumphant account of this "sale," with big headlines calling it a "great success for the Imperial Government."

Thus Wangenheim's manœuvre accomplished two purposes; it placed Germany before the populace as Turkey's friend, and it also provided a subterfuge for getting the ships through the Dardanelles, and enabling them to remain in Turkish waters. All this beguiled the more ignorant part of the Turkish people, and gave the cabinet a plausible ground for meeting the objection of Entente diplomats, but it did not deceive any intelligent person. The *Goeben* and *Breslau* might change their names, and the German sailors might adorn themselves with Turkish fezzes, but we all knew from the beginning that this sale was a sham. Those who understood the financial condition of Turkey could only be amused at the idea that she could purchase these modern vessels. Moreover, the ships were never incorporated in the Turkish Navy; on the contrary, what really happened was that the Turkish Navy was annexed to these German ships. A handful of Turkish sailors were placed on board at one time for appearance sake, but their German officers and German crews still retained active charge. Wangenheim, in his talks with me, never made any secret of the fact that the ships still remained German property. "I never expected to have such big checks to sign," he remarked one day, referring to his expenditures on the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*. He always called them "our" ships. Even Talaat told me in so many words that the cruisers did not belong to Turkey. "The Germans say they belong to the Turks," he remarked with his characteristic laugh. "At any rate it's very comforting for us to have them here. After the war, if the Germans win, they will forget all about it and leave the ships to us. If the Germans lose, they won't be able to take them away from us!"

The German Government made no real pretension that the sale had been *bona fide*; at least when the Greek Minister at Berlin protested against the transaction as unfriendly to Greece—naïvely forgetting the American ships which Greece had recently purchased—the German officials soothed him by admitting, *sotto voce*, that the ownership still resided in Germany. Yet when the Entente Ambassadors constantly protested against the presence of the German vessels, the Turkish officials blandly kept up the pretence that they were integral parts of the Turkish Navy!

The German officers and crews greatly enjoyed this farcical pretence that the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* were Turkish ships. One day the *Goeben* sailed up the Bosphorus, halted in front of the Russian Embassy and dropped anchor. Then the officers and men lined the deck in full view of the enemy Ambassador. All solemnly removed their Turkish fezzes and put on German caps. The band played "Deutschland über Alles," the "Watch on the Rhine" and other German songs, the German sailors singing loudly to the accompaniment. When they had spent an hour or two serenading the Russian Ambassador, the officers and crews removed their German caps and again put on their Turkish fezzes. The *Goeben* then picked up her anchor and started south to her station, leaving in the ears of the Russian diplomat the gradually dying strains of German war songs as the cruiser disappeared down stream.

I have often speculated on what would have happened if the English battle cruisers, which pursued the *Breslau* and *Goeben* up to the mouth of the Dardanelles, had not been too gentlemanly to violate international law. Suppose that they had entered the Strait, attacked the German cruisers in the Marmora, and sunk them. They could have done this, and knowing all that we know now, such an action would have been justified. Not improbably the destruction would have kept Turkey out of the war. For, as I shall show, the arrival of these cruisers made it inevitable that Turkey should join her forces with Germany's when the proper moment came. I am convinced that when the judicious historian reviews this war, and its consequences, he will say that the passage of the Strait by these German ships sealed the doom of the Turkish Empire. There were men in the Turkish cabinet who perceived this, even then. The story was told in Constantinople—though

THE DARDANELLES AND THE BLACK SEA

The entrance to the Black Sea which was absolutely essential to Russia as an economic and military power. When Germany closed this, September, 1914, she made possible Russia's military collapse in 1915, and her final elimination from the war

I do not vouch for it as authentic history—that the cabinet meeting at which this momentous decision had been made was not altogether harmonious. The Grand Vizier and Djemal, it was said, objected to the fictitious "sale," and demanded that it should be made a real one. When the discussion had reached its height Enver, who was playing Germany's game, announced that he had already completed the transaction. In the silence that followed his statement this young Napoleon pulled out his pistol and laid it on the table.

"If any one here wishes to question this purchase," he said quietly and icily, "I am ready to meet him."

A few weeks after the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* had taken up permanent headquarters in the Bosphorus, Djavid Bey, Minister of Finance, happened to meet a distinguished Belgian jurist, then in Constantinople.

"I have terrible news for you," said the sympathetic Turkish statesman. "The Germans have captured Brussels."

The Belgian, a huge figure, more than six feet high, put his arm soothingly upon the shoulder of the diminutive Turk.

"I have even more terrible news for you," he said, pointing out to the stream where the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* lay anchored. "The Germans have captured Turkey."

II

But there was one quarter in which this transaction produced no appreciable gloom. This was the German Embassy. This great "success" fairly intoxicated the impressionable Wangenheim, and other happenings now aroused his *furor Teutonicus* to a fever heat. The *Goeben* and the *Breslau* arrived at just about the time that the Germans captured Liége, Namur, and other Belgian towns. Then followed the German sweep into France and the apparently triumphant rush to Paris. In all these happenings Wangenheim, like the militant Prussian that he was, saw the fulfilment of a forty-years' dream. We were all still living in the summer em-

bassies along the Bosphorus. Germany had a sumptuous palace, with elaborate buildings and a beautiful park, the gift of the Sultan; but for some reason Wangenheim did not seem to enjoy his headquarters during these summer days. Directly in front of his embassy, on the street, within twenty feet of the rushing Bosphorus, stood a little guard house, and in front of this was a stone bench. This bench was properly a resting place for the guard, but Wangenheim seemed to have a strong liking for it. I shall always keep in my mind the figure of this German diplomat, in those exciting days before the Marne, sitting out on this little bench, now and then jumping up for a stroll back and forth in front of his house. Everybody passing from Constantinople to the northern suburbs had to pass this road. Even the Russian and French diplomats frequently went by, stiffly ignoring, of course, the triumphant ambassadorial figure on his stone bench. I sometimes think that Wangenheim sat there for the express purpose of puffing his cigar smoke in their direction. It all reminded me of the scene in Schiller's Wilhelm Tell, where Tell sits in the mountain pass, with his bow and arrow at his side, waiting for his intended victim, Gessler, to go by:

"Here through this deep defile he needs must pass;
There leads no other road to Küssnacht."

Wangenheim would also buttonhole his friends, or those whom he regarded as his friends, and have his little jollifications over German victories. I noticed that he stationed himself there only when the German armies were winning; if news came of a reverse, Wangenheim was utterly invisible. This led me to remark that he reminded me of a toy weather prophet, which is always outside the box when the weather is fine but which retires within when storms are gathering. Wangenheim appreciated my little joke as keenly as the rest of the diplomatic set.

In those early days, however, the weather for the German Ambassador was distinctly favorable. The good fortune of the German armies so excited him that he was sometimes led into indiscretions, and his exuberance one day caused him to tell me certain facts which, I think, will always have great historical value. He disclosed precisely how and when Germany had precipitated this war. To-day his revelation of this secret looks like a most monstrous indiscretion, but we must remember Wangenheim's state of mind at the time. The whole world then believed that Paris was doomed; Wangenheim kept saying that the war would be over in two or three months. The whole German enterprise was evidently progressing according to programme.

THE KAISER'S COUNCIL VOTES FOR WAR

I have already mentioned that the German Ambassador left for Berlin soon after the assassination of the Grand Duke, and he now revealed the cause of his sudden disappearance. The Kaiser, he told me, had summoned him to Berlin for an imperial conference. This meeting took place at Potsdam on July 5th. The Kaiser presided; nearly all the ambassadors attended; Wangenheim came to tell of Turkey and enlighten his associates on the situation in Constantinople. Moltke, then Chief of Staff, was there, representing the army, and Admiral von Tirpitz spoke for the navy. The great bankers, railroad directors, and the captains of German industry, all of whom were as necessary to German war preparations as the army itself, also attended.

Wangenheim now told me that the Kaiser solemnly put the question to each man in turn. Was he ready for war? All replied "Yes" except the financiers. They said that they must have two weeks to sell their foreign securities and to make loans. At that time few people had looked upon the Sarajevo tragedy as something that was likely to cause war. This conference took all precautions that no such suspicion should be aroused. It decided to give the bankers time to readjust their finances for the coming war, and then the several members went quietly back to their work or started on vacations. The Kaiser went to Norway on his yacht, Von Bethmann-Hollweg left for a rest, and Wangenheim returned to Constantinople.

In telling me about this conference, Wangenheim, of course, admitted that Germany had precipitated the war. I think that he was rather proud of the whole performance; proud that Germany had gone about the matter in so methodical and far-seeing a way; especially proud that he himself had been invited to participate in so momentous a gathering. The several blue, red, and yellow books which flooded Europe the few months following the outbreak, and the hundreds of documents which were issued by German propaganda

attempting to establish Germany's innocence, never made any impression on me. For my conclusions as to the responsibility are not based on suspicions or belief or the study of circumstantial data. I do not have to reason or argue about the matter. I know. The conspiracy that has caused this greatest of human tragedies was hatched by the Kaiser and his imperial crew at this Potsdam conference of July 5, 1914. One of the chief participants, flushed with his triumph at the apparent success of the plot, told me the details with his own mouth. Whenever I hear people arguing about the responsibility for this war or read the clumsy and lying excuses put forth by Germany, I simply recall the burly figure of Wangenheim as he appeared that August afternoon, puffing away at a huge black cigar, and giving me his account of this historic meeting. Why waste any time discussing the matter after that?

This Imperial Conference took place July 5th; the Serbian ultimatum was sent on July 22nd. That is just about the two weeks interval which the financiers had demanded to complete their plans. All the great stock exchanges of the world show that the German bankers profitably used this interval. Their records disclose that stocks were being sold in large quantities and that prices declined rapidly. At that time the markets were somewhat puzzled at this movement; Wangenheim's explanation clears up any doubts that may still remain. Germany was changing her securities into cash, for war purposes. If any one wishes to verify Wangenheim, I would suggest that he examine the quotations of the New York stock market for these two historic weeks. He will find that there were astonishing slumps in quotations, especially on the stocks that had an international market. Between July 5th and July 22nd, Union Pacific dropped from 155½ to 127½, Baltimore and Ohio from 91½ to 81, United States Steel from 61 to 50½, Canadian Pacific from 194 to 185½ and Northern Pacific from 111⅜ to 108. At that time the high protectionists were blaming the Simmons-Underwood tariff act as responsible for this fall in values; other critics of the Administration attributed it to the Federal Reserve Act—which had not yet been passed. How little the Wall Street brokers and the financial experts realized that an Imperial Conference held in Potsdam, presided over by the Kaiser, was the real force that was then depressing the market!

Wangenheim not only gave me the details of this Potsdam conference, but he disclosed the same secret to the Marquis Garroni, the Italian Ambassador at Constantinople. Italy was at that time technically Germany's ally.

FRANCIS JOSEPH KNEW WAR WAS COMING

The Austrian Ambassador, the Marquis Pallavicini, also practically admitted that the Central Powers had precipitated the war. On August 18th, Francis Joseph's birthday, I made the usual ambassadorial visit of congratulation. Quite naturally the conversation turned upon the Emperor, who had that day passed his 84th year. Pallavicini spoke about him with the utmost pride and veneration. He told me how keen-minded and clear-headed the aged Emperor was; how he had the most complete understanding of international affairs, and gave everything his personal supervision. To illustrate the Austrian Kaiser's grasp of public events, Pallavicini instanced the present war. The previous May, Pallavicini had had an audience with Francis Joseph in Vienna. At that time, Pallavicini told me, the Emperor had said that a European war was unavoidable. The Central Powers would not accept the Treaty of Bucharest as a settlement of the Balkan question, and only a general war, the Emperor had told Pallavicini, could ever settle that problem. The treaty of Bucharest, I may recall, was the settlement that ended the second Balkan war. This divided the European dominions of the Balkan states, excepting Constantinople and a small piece of adjoining territory, among the Balkan nations, chiefly Serbia and Greece. That treaty strengthened Serbia greatly; so much did it increase Serbia's resources, indeed, that Austria feared that it had laid the beginning of a new European state that might grow sufficiently strong to resist her own plans of aggrandizement. Austria held a large Serbian population under her yoke in Bosnia and Herzegovina; these Serbians desired, above everything else, annexation to their own country. Moreover, the Pan-German plans in the East necessitated the destruction of Serbia, the state, which, so long as it stood intact, blocked the Germanic road to the East. It had been the Austro-German expectation that the Balkan War would destroy Serbia as a nation—that Turkey would

simply annihilate King Peter's forces. This was precisely what the Germanic plans demanded, and for this reason Austria and Germany did nothing to prevent the Balkan wars. But the result was exactly the reverse; out of the conflict arose a stronger Serbia than ever, standing firm like a breakwater against the Germanic path. Most historians agree that the Treaty of Bucharest made inevitable this war. I have the Marquis Pallavicini's evidence that this was likewise the opinion of Francis Joseph himself. The audience at which the Emperor made this statement was held in May, more than a month before the assassination of the Grand Duke. Clearly, therefore, the war would have come irrespective of the calamity at Sarajevo. That merely served as the convenient pretext for the war upon which the Central Empires had already decided.

III

All through that eventful August and September Wangenheim continued his almost irresponsible behavior—now blandly boastful, now depressed, always nervous and high strung, ingratiating to an American like myself, spiteful and petty toward the representatives of the enemy powers. He was always displaying his anxiety and impatience by sitting on the bench, that he might be within two or three minutes quicker access to the wireless communications that were sent him from Berlin via the *Corcovado*. He would never miss an opportunity to spread the news of victories; several times he adopted the unusual course of coming to my house unannounced, to tell me of the latest developments and to read me extracts from messages he had just received. He was always apparently frank, direct, even indiscreet. I remember his great distress the day that England declared war. He always professed a great admiration for England, and especially for America. "There are only three great countries," he would say over and over again, "Germany, England, and the United States. We three should get together; then we could rule the world." This enthusiasm for the British Empire now suddenly cooled when that power decided to defend her treaty pledges and declared war. Wangenheim had said that the conflict would be a short one; Sedan day (September 2) would be celebrated in Paris. But on August 5th, I called at his embassy and found him more than usually agitated and serious. Baroness Wangenheim, a tall, handsome woman, was sitting in the room reading her mother's memoirs of the war of 1870. Both regarded the news from England as almost a personal grievance; what impressed me most was Wangenheim's utter failure to understand England's motives. "It's mighty poor politics on her part!" he exclaimed over and over again. His attitude was precisely the same as that of Bethmann-Hollweg with the "scrap of paper."

I was out for a stroll on August 26th, and happened to meet the German Ambassador. He began to talk as usual about the German victories in France; the German armies, he said, would be in Paris within a week. The deciding factor in this war, he added, would be the Krupp artillery. "And remember that this time," he said, "we are making war. And we shall make it *rücksichtslos* (without any consideration). We shall not be hampered as we were in 1870. Then Queen Victoria, the Czar, and Francis Joseph interfered and persuaded us to spare Paris. But there is no one to interfere now. We shall move to Berlin all the Parisian art treasures that belong to the state, just as Napoleon took Italian art works to France."

COALING STATIONS "EVERYWHERE"

It is quite evident that the battle of the Marne saved Paris from the fate of Louvain.

So confidently did Wangenheim expect an immediate victory that he began to discuss the terms of peace. Germany would demand of France, he said, after defeating her armies, that she completely demobilize and pay an indemnity. "France now," said Wangenheim, "can settle for $5,000,000,000; but if she persists in continuing the war, she will have to pay $20,000,000,000."

He told me that Germany would demand harbors and coaling stations "everywhere." At that time, judging from Wangenheim's statements, Germany was not looking so much for new territory as for great commercial advantages. She was determined to be the great merchant nation; and for this she must have free harbors, the Bagdad railroad, and extensive rights in South America and Africa. Wangenheim said that Germany did not desire any more territory in which the populations did not speak German; they had had all of that kind of trouble they wanted in Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, and other non-German countries. This

[illegible] statement certainly sounds interesting [illegible] view of recent happenings in Russia [illegible] not mention England in speaking of Germany's desire for making starters [illegible] We must have had England in mind, however, [illegible] what other nation could have given them to Germany "everywhere"?

If England attempted to starve Germany, said Wangenheim, Germany's response would be a simple one: she would starve France. At that time, we must remember, Germany expected to have Paris within a week, and she believed that this would ultimately give her control of the whole country. It was evidently the German plan, as understood by Wangenheim, to hold this nation as a pawn for England's behavior, a kind of hostage on a gigantic scale, and, should England gain any military or naval advantage, Germany would attempt to counterattack by torturing the whole French people. At that moment German soldiers were murdering innocent Belgians in return for the alleged misbehavior of other Belgians, and evidently Germany had planned to apply this principle to whole nations as well as to individuals.

GERMANY'S FOOT ON RUSSIA'S NECK

All through this and other talks Wangenheim showed the greatest animosity [illegible]

"We've got our foot on Russia's neck," he said, "and we propose to keep it there."

By this he must have meant the [illegible] had sent the Jews and the [illegible] Wangenheim and [illegible] Constantinople. [illegible] said Wangenheim [illegible] [illegible]

act, and I asked Wangenheim if there could be any objection from that source. His reply somewhat surprised me, though I saw through it soon afterward. "Not at all," he said, "Germany desires, above all, that Turkey shall remain neutral." Undoubtedly Turkey's policy at that moment precisely fitted in with German plans. Wangenheim was every day increasing his ascendency over the Turkish Cabinet, and Turkey was then pursuing the course that best served the German aims. Her policy was keeping the Entente on tenterhooks; it never knew from day to day where Turkey stood, whether she would remain neutral or enter the war on Germany's side. Because Turkey's attitude was so uncertain Russia was compelled to keep large forces on the Caucasus, England was obliged to strengthen her forces in Egypt and India, and to maintain a considerable fleet at the mouth of the Dardanelles. All this worked in beautifully with Germany's plans, for these detached forces just so much weakened England and Russia on the European battle front. I am now speaking of the period just before the Marne, when Germany expected to defeat France and Russia with the aid of her ally, Austria, and thus obtain a victory that would have enabled her to dictate the future of Europe. Should Turkey at that time be actually engaged in military operations, she could do no more toward bringing about this victory than she was doing now, by keeping idle and useless considerable Russian and English forces. But should Germany win this easy victory with Turkey's aid, she might find her new ally an embarrassment. Turkey could demand compensation—probably the return of Egypt, perhaps the recession of Balkan territories. Such readjustments would have interfered with the Kaiser's plans, and he wanted Turkey as an active ally, only in case he did not win his speedily anticipated triumph. If Russia should make great progress against Austria, then Turkey's active alliance would have great military value, especially if her entry should be so timed as to bring in Bulgaria and Rumania. Meanwhile Wangenheim was playing a waiting game, making Turkey a potential German ally, strengthening her army and navy, and preparing to use her, whenever the moment arrived for using her to the best advantage. If Germany could not win the war without Turkey's aid, Germany was prepared to take her in as an ally; if she could win without Turkey, then she would not have to pay the Turk for his coöperation. Meanwhile the sensible course was to keep her prepared in case the Turkish forces became essential to German success.

The duel that now took place between Germany and the Entente for Turkey's favor was a most unequal one. Germany had won the victory when she smuggled the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*, into the Sea of Marmora. The English, French, and Russian ambassadors well understood this, and they knew that they could not make Turkey an active ally of the Entente; they probably had no desire to do so; however, they did hope that they could keep her neutral. To this end they now directed all their efforts. "You have had enough of war," they would tell Talaat and Enver. "You have fought three wars in the last four years; you will ruin your country absolutely if you get involved in this one." On condition that Turkey should remain neutral, they offered to guarantee the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. So greatly did the Entente ambassadors desire to keep Turkey out of the war, that they did not press to the limit their case against the *Breslau* and the *Goeben*. It is true that they repeatedly protested against the continued presence of these ships, but every time the Turkish officials maintained that they were Turkish vessels.

GERMANY BRIBES THE TURKISH PRESS

"If that is so," Sir Louis Mallet would urge, and his argument was unassailable, "why don't you remove the German officers and crew?" That was the intention, the Grand Vizier would answer; the Turkish crews that had been sent to man the ships built in England, he would say, were returning to Turkey and would be put on board the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* as soon as they reached Constantinople. But days and weeks went by; these crews came home; and still Germany manned and officered the cruisers. These backings and fillings naturally did not deceive the British and French foreign offices. The presence of the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* was a standing *casus belli;* but the Entente ambassadors did not demand their passports, for such an act would have precipitated the very crisis which they were seeking to delay, and, if possible, to avoid—Turkey's entrance as Germany's ally. Unhappily the Entente's prom-

ise to guarantee Turkey's integrity did not win Turkey to their side.

"They promised that we should not be dismembered after the Balkan wars," Talaat would tell me, "and see what happened to European Turkey then."

Wangenheim constantly harped upon this fact. "You can't trust anything they say," he would tell Talaat and Enver, "didn't they all go back on you a year ago?" And then with great cleverness he would play upon the only emotion which really actuates the Turk. The descendants of Osman hardly resemble any people I have ever known. They do not hate, they do not love; they have no lasting animosities or affections. They only fear. And naturally they attribute to others the motives which regulate their own conduct. "How stupid you are," Wangenheim would tell Talaat and Enver, discussing the English attitude. "Don't you see why the English want you to keep out? It is because they fear you. Don't you see that, with the help of Germany, you have again become a great military power? No wonder England doesn't want to fight you!" He dinned this so continually in their ears that they finally believed it, for this argument not only completely explained the attitude of the Entente, but it flattered Turkish pride.

Whatever may have been the attitude of Enver and Talaat, I think that England and France were more popular with all classes in Turkey than was Germany. The Sultan was opposed to war; the heir apparent, Youssouff Izzadin, was openly pro-Ally; the Grand Vizier, Saïd Halim, favored England rather than Germany; Djemal, the third member of the ruling triumvirate, had the reputation of being a Francophile—he had recently returned from Paris, where the reception he had received had greatly flattered him; a majority of the cabinet had no enthusiasm for Germany; and public opinion, so far as public opinion existed in Turkey, regarded England, not Germany, as Turkey's historic friend. Wangenheim, therefore, had much opposition to overcome and the methods which he took to break it down form a classic illustration of German propaganda. He started a lavish publicity campaign against England, France, and Russia. I have described the feelings of the Turks at losing their ships in England. Wangenheim's agents now filled columns of purchased space in the newspapers with bitter attacks on England for taking over these v
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described how, in January, 1914, the Kaiser had taken over the Turkish Army and rehabilitated it in preparation for the European war. He now proceeded to do the same thing with the Turkish Navy. In August Wangenheim boasted to me that, "We now control both the Turkish army and navy." At the time the *Goeben* and *Breslau* arrived, an English mission, headed by Admiral Limpus, was hard at work restoring the Turkish Navy. Soon afterward Limpus and his associates were unceremoniously dismissed; not the most ordinary courtesies were shown them. The English naval officers quietly and unobservedly left Constantinople for England—all except the Admiral himself, who had to remain longer because of his daughter's illness.

GERMANY FORTIFIES THE DARDANELLES

Night after night whole carloads of Germans landed at Constantinople from Berlin; there were finally 3,800 men, most of them sent to man the Turkish Navy and to manufacture ammunition. They filled the cafés every night, and they paraded the streets of Constantinople in the small hours of the morning, howling and singing German patriotic songs. Many of them were skilled mechanics, who immediately got to work repairing the destroyers and other ships and putting them in shape for war. The British firm of Armstrong & Vickers had a splendid dock in Constantinople, and this the Germans now appropriated. All day and night we could hear this work going on and we could hardly sleep because of the hubbub of riveting and hammering. Wangenheim now found another opportunity for instilling more poison into the minds of Enver, Talaat, and Djemal. The German workers, he declared, had found that the Turkish ships were in a desperate state of disrepair, and for this he naturally blamed the English naval mission. He said that England had deliberately let the Turkish Navy go to decay; this was all part of England's plot to ruin Turkey! "Look!" he would exclaim, "see what we Germans have done for the Turkish Army, and see what the English have done for your ships!" As a matter of fact, all this was untrue: Admiral Limpus had worked hard and conscientiously to improve the Navy and had accomplished excellent results in that direction.

All this time the Germans were strengthening the fortifications at the Dardanelles. As September lengthened into October, the Sublime Porte practically ceased to be the headquarters of the Ottoman Empire. I really think that the most powerful seat of authority at that time was a German merchant ship, the *General*. It was moored in the Golden Horn, near the Galata Bridge, and a permanent stairway had been built, leading to its deck. I knew well one of the most frequent visitors to this ship; he used to come to the embassy and entertain me with stories of what was going on.

PROVOKING RUSSIA INTO WAR

The *General* was practically a German Club or Hotel. The officers of the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* and other German officers who had been sent to command the Turkish ships ate and slept on board. Admiral Souchon, who had brought the German cruisers to Constantinople, presided over these gatherings. Souchon was a man of French Huguenot extraction; he was a short, dapper, clean-cut sailor, very energetic and alert; to the German passion for command and thoroughness he added much of the Gallic geniality and buoyancy. Naturally he gave much liveliness to the evening parties on the *General*, and the beer and champagne which were liberally dispensed on these occasions loosened the tongues of his fellow officers. Their conversation showed that they entertained no illusions as to who really controlled the Turkish Navy. Night after night their impatience for action grew; they kept declaring that, if Turkey did not presently attack the Russians, they would force her to do so. They would relate how they had sent German ships into the Black Sea, in the hope of provoking the Russian fleet to some action that would make war inevitable. Toward the end of October my friend told me that hostilities could not much longer be avoided; the Turkish fleet had been fitted for action, everything was ready, and the impetuosity of these hot-headed German officers could not much longer be restrained. "They are just like a lot of boys with chips on their shoulders!" he said.

V

On September 27th, Sir Louis Mallet, the British Ambassador, entered my office in a considerably disturbed state of mind. The Khedive of Egypt had just left, and I began to talk to Sir Louis about Egyptian matters.

"Let's discuss that some other time," he said. "I have something far more important to tell you. They have closed the Dardanelles."

By "they" he meant, of course, not the Turkish Government, the only power which had the legal right to take this drastic step, but the actual ruling powers in Turkey, the Germans. Sir Louis had good reason for bringing me this piece of news, for this was an outrage against the United States as well as against the Allies. He asked me to go with him and make a joint protest. I suggested, however, that it would be better for us to act separately and immediately I started for the House of the Grand Vizier.

When I arrived a Cabinet conference was in session, and, as I sat in the ante-room, I could hear several voices in excited discussion. I could distinctly distinguish Talaat, Enver, Djavid, and other familiar members of the government. It was quite plain, from the tone of the proceedings, that these nominal rulers of Turkey were almost as worked up over the closing as were Sir Louis Mallet and myself.

The Grand Vizier came out in answer to my request. He presented a pitiable sight. His face was blanched and he was trembling from head to foot. When I asked him whether the news was true he stammered out that it was.

"You know this means war," I said, and I protested as strongly as I could in the name of the United States.

All the time that we were talking I could hear the loud tones of Talaat and his associates in the interior apartment. The Grand Vizier excused himself and went back into the room. He then sent out Djavid, the Minister of Finance, to discuss the matter with me.

"It's all a surprise to us," were Djavid's first words—this statement being a complete admission that the Cabinet had had nothing to do with it. I repeated that the United States would not submit to closing the Dardanelles; that Turkey was at peace; that she had no legal right to shut the straits to merchant ships except in case of war. I said that an American ship laden with supplies and stores for the American Embassy, was outside waiting to come in. Djavid suggested that I have this vessel unload her cargo at Smyrna and that the Turkish Government would pay the cost of transporting it overland to Constantinople. This proposa
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not improbable that they would soon cross the Carpathians into Austria-Hungary. In those days Pallavicini, the Austrian Ambassador, was a discouraged, lamentable figure; he confided to me his fears for the future. The German programme of a short, decisive war had clearly failed; it was now quite evident that Germany could only win, said Pallavicini, after a protracted struggle. I have described how Wangenheim, while preparing the Turkish army and navy for any eventualities, was simply holding Turkey in hand, intending actively to use her forces only in case Germany failed to crush France and Russia in the first campaign. The time had now come to transform Turkey from a passive into an active ally, and the closing of the Dardanelles was the first step in this direction. Few Americans realize, even to-day, what an overwhelming influence this act had upon future military operations. I may almost say that the effect was decisive. The map discloses that enormous Russia has just four ways of reaching the seas. One is by way of the Baltic, and this the German fleet had already closed. Another is Archangel, on the Arctic Ocean, a port that is frozen over several months in the year, and which connects with the heart of Russia only by a long, single-track railroad. Another is the Pacific port of Vladivostok, also ice bound for three months, and reaching Russia only by the thin line of the Siberian railway, 5,000 miles long. The fourth passage was that of the Dardanelles; in fact, this was the only practicable one. This was the narrow gate through which the surplus products of 175,000,000 people reached Europe, and nine-tenths of all Russian exports and imports had gone this way for years. By suddenly closing it, Germany destroyed Russia both as an economic and a military power. By shutting off the exports of Russian grain, she deprived Russia of the financial power essential to successful warfare. What was perhaps even more fatal, she prevented England and France from getting munitions to the Russian battle front in sufficient quantity to stem the German onslaught. As soon as the Dardanelles was closed, Russia had to fall back on Archangel and Vladivostok, for such supplies as she could get from these ports. The cause of the military collapse of Russia in 1915 is now well known; the soldiers simply had no ammunition with which to fight. In the last few months Germany has attempted desperately to drive a "wedge" between the English and French armies—an enterprise which, up to the present writing, has failed. When Germany, however, closed the Dardanelles in late September, 1914, she drove such a "wedge" between Russia and her allies.

In the days following this bottling up of Russia, the Bosphorus began to look like a harbor suddenly stricken with the plague. Hundreds of ships from Russia, Rumania, and Bulgaria, loaded with grain, lumber, and other products, arrived, only to discover that they could go no further. There were not docks enough to berth them, and they had to swing out into the stream, drop anchor, and await developments. The waters were a cluster of masts and smoke stacks; the crowded vessels became so dense that a motor boat had difficulty in picking its way through the tangled forest. The Turks held out hopes that they might reopen the water way, and for this reason these vessels, constantly increasing in number, waited patiently for a month or so. Then one by one they turned around, pointed their noses toward the Black Sea and lugubriously started for their home ports. In a few weeks the Bosphorus and adjoining waters had become a desolate waste. What for years had been one of the most animated shipping points in the world was now ruffled only by an occasional launch or a tiny Turkish caïque. And for an accurate idea of what this meant, from a military standpoint, we need only call to mind the Russian battle front in the next year. There the peasants were fighting German artillery with their unprotected bodies, having no rifles and no heavy guns, while mountains of useless ammunition were piling up in their distant Arctic and Pacific ports, with no railroads to send them to the field of action.

VI

Another question, which had been under discussion for several months, now became involved in the Turkish international situation. That was the matter of the capitulations. These were the treaty rights which for centuries had regulated the position of foreigners in the Turkish Empire. Turkey had never been admitted to a complete equality with European nations; in reality she had never been an independent sovereignty. The Sultan's laws and customs differed so radically

from those of Europe and America that no non-Moslem country could think of submitting its citizens in Turkey to them. In many matters, therefore, the principle of ex-territoriality had always prevailed. Most European countries as well as the United States had their own consular courts and prisons for trying and punishing crimes which their nationals committed in Turkey. We all had our schools, subject, not to Turkish law and protection, but to that of the country which maintained them. Thus Robert College and the Constantinople College for Women, those wonderful institutions which American philanthropy has erected on the Bosphorus, practically stood on American territory and looked upon the American Embassy as their guardian. Several nations had their own post offices, as they did not care to submit their mail to the Ottoman postal service. Turkey likewise did not have unlimited power of taxation over foreigners. It could not even increase their customs taxes without the consent of the foreign powers. In 1914 it could collect only 11 per cent. in tariff dues, and was attempting to secure the right to increase the amount to 14. We have always regarded England as the only free-trade country; yet this limitation in Turkey's customs dues practically made the Ottoman Empire an unwilling follower of Cobden. Turkey was thus prohibited by the Powers from developing any industries of her own; instead, she was forced to take large quantities of inferior articles from Europe. Against these restrictions Turkish statesmen had protested for years, they declaring that they constituted an insult to their pride as a nation and also interfered with their progress. However, the agreement was a bi-lateral one and Turkey could not change it without the consent of all the contracting powers. Yet certainly the present moment, when both the Entente and the Central Powers were cultivating Turkey, furnished a valuable opportunity to make the change. And so, as soon as the Germans had started on their march toward Paris, the air was filled with reports that Turkey intended to abrogate the capitulations. Rumor said that Germany had consented as part of the bargain for Turkish coöperation; and that England had agreed to the abrogation, as part of her payment for Turkish neutrality. Neither of these reports was true. What was manifest, however, was the panic which the mere suggestion of abrogatio foreign population. The i subject to the Turkish laws a thrown into Turkish prisons creep—and with good reason

THE HOME OF THE WOULD

About this time I had a lon Enver. He asked me to cal as he was laid up with an infe of a surgical operation. I th ating glimpse of the Minister Certainly this humble ma had risen in the world. His of the quietest and most ari the city; it was a splendid c large and very elaborate. through a series of four or fiv by one door the Imperial wife, slightly opened it and at me. Farther on anoth opened her door and also o glimpse of the Ambassadori finally escorted into a beauti Enver lay reclining on a semi- a long silk dressing gown and h hung languidly over the edge c looked much younger than i was an extremely neat and wel with a pale, smooth face, striking by his black hair, a white hands, and long tape might easily have passed for fact, he was not much over t at hand a violin, and a pi testified to his musical taste splendidly tapestried; perha spicuous feature was a daïs u a golden chair; this was the of Enver's imperial wife. As at all this luxury, I must a uncharitable thoughts came I could not help pondering was then being generally as tinople. Where did Enver g this expensive establishment? tune of his own—his parents edly poor, and his salary as a was only about $8,000. His erate allowance as an impe she had no private resour never engaged in business— revolutionist, military leader, his life. But here was Enve that demanded a very large

ways Enver was giving evidences of great and sudden prosperity: his investments in real estate, for example, were also the talk of the town.

Enver wished to discuss the capitulations. He practically said that the cabinet had decided on the abrogation and he wished to know the attitude of the United States. He added that certainly a country which had fought for its independence as we had would sympathize with Turkey's attempt to shake off these shackles. We had helped Japan free herself from similar burdens; wouldn't we now help Turkey? Certainly Turkey was as civilized a nation as Japan?

I answered that I thought that the United States might consent to abandon the capitulations in so far as they were economic. It was my opinion that Turkey should control her customs duties and be permitted to levy the same taxes on foreigners as on her own citizens. So long as the Turkish courts and Turkish prisons maintained their present standards, however, we could never agree to give up the judicial capitulations. Turkey should reform these judicial abuses; after they had established European ideas in the administration of justice, then the matter could be discussed. Enver then said that Turkey would be willing to have mixed tribunals and to have the United States designate some of the judges. I suggested that, inasmuch as American judges did not know the Turkish language or Turkish law, his scheme involved great practical difficulties. I also told him that the American schools and colleges were very dear to Americans and that we would never consent to subjecting them to Turkish jurisdiction.

Despite our protests the cabinet issued its notification to all the Powers that the capitulations would be abrogated on October 1st. England's position was about the same as ours; they would consent to the modification of the economic restrictions, but not the others. Wangenheim was greatly disturbed; I think that his foreign office reprimanded him for letting the abrogation take place, as he blandly asked me to announce that I was the responsible person! As October 1st approached, the foreigners in Turkey were in a high state of apprehension. The Dardanelles had been closed, shutting them off from Europe; and now they were to be left at the mercy of Turkish courts and Turkish prisons. Inasmuch as it was the habit in Turkish prisons to herd the innocent and the guilty, and to place in the same room with murderers, people charged—not convicted—of minor offenses, and to bastinado recalcitrant witnesses, their fears may well be imagined. The educational institutions were also apprehensive, and in their interest I appealed to Enver. He assured me that the Turks had no hostile intention toward Americans. I replied that he must show in unmistakable fashion that Americans would not be harmed.

"All right," he answered. "What would you suggest?"

"Why not ostentatiously visit Robert College on October 1st, the day the capitulations are abrogated?" I said.

ENVER VISITS ROBERT COLLEGE

The idea was rather a unique one. In all the history of this institution an important Turkish official had never entered its doors. I knew enough of the Turkish character to understand that an open, ceremonious visit by Enver would cause a public sensation. News of it would reach the farthest limits of the Turkish Empire; the Turks would interpret it as meaning that one of the two most powerful men in Turkey had taken this and other American institutions under his patronage. Such a visit would exercise a more protecting influence over American colleges and schools in Turkey than an army corps. I was therefore greatly pleased when Enver promptly adopted my suggestion.

On the day that the capitulations were abrogated Enver appeared at the American Embassy; he had two autos, one for himself and me, and the other for his adjutants, all dressed in full uniform. I purposely made the proceeding as spectacular as possible, as naturally I wished it to have the widest publicity. On the ride up to the college I told Enver all about these American institutions and what they were doing for Turkey. He really knew very little about them; like most Turks he had suspected that they concealed a political purpose. "We Americans are not looking for material advantages in Turkey," I said. "We merely demand that you treat kindly our children, these colleges, for which all the people in the United States have the warmest affection." I told him that Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge, President of the trustees of Robert College, and Mr. Charles R. Crane, President of the trustees of the Women's College, were intimate friends of President Wilson. "These,"

I added, "represent what is best in America and the fine altruistic spirit which in our country accumulates wealth and then uses it to found colleges and schools. In establishing these institutions in Turkey they are trying, not to convert your people to Christianity, but to help train them in the sciences and arts and so prepare to make them better citizens. Americans feel that the Bible lands have given them their religion and they wish to repay with the best thing America has—its education." I then told him about Mrs. Russell Sage and Miss Helen Gould, who had made large gifts to the Women's College.

Enver was immensely impressed, especially at my statement that the institutions had not converted—or attempted to convert—a single Mohammedan to Christianity. He went through all the buildings and expressed his enthusiasm at everything he saw, and he even suggested that he would like to send his brother there. He took tea with Mrs. Gates, wife of President Gates, discussed most intelligently the courses, and asked us if we could not introduce the study of agriculture. The teachers he met seemed to be a great revelation.

"I expected to find these missionaries as they are pictured in the Berlin newspapers," he said, "with long hair and hanging jaws, and hands clasped constantly in a prayerful attitude. But here is Dr. Gates, talking Turkish like a native and acting like a man of the world. I am more than pleased, and thank you for bringing me."

We all saw Enver that afternoon in his most delightful aspect. My idea that this visit in itself would protect the Colleges from disturbance proved to have been a happy one. The Turkish Empire has been a tumultuous place in the last four years, but the American Colleges have had no difficulties, either with the Turkish Government or with the Turkish populace.

This visit was only an agreeable interlude in events of the most exciting character. Enver, amiable as he could be on occasion, had deliberately determined to put Turkey in the war on Germany's side. Germany had now reached the point where she no longer concealed her intentions. Once before, when I had interfered in the interest of peace, Wangenheim had encouraged my action. Hearing that I was still attempting to restrain the Turkish authorities, he became angry. "I thought that you were a neutral?" he now exclaimed.

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gate of ours. "These people are relapsing into the Middle Ages," said Sir Louis, "when it was quite the thing to throw ambassadors into dungeons," and I think that he anticipated some such demonstration. I at once went to the Grand Vizier and informed him of the situation; and said that nothing less than a visit from Talaat to Sir Louis, assuring him of safety, would satisfy his many friends. I could make this demand with propriety, as we had already made arrangements to take over British interests when the break came. Within two hours Talaat made such a visit. Though one of the Turkish newspapers was printing scurrilous attacks on Sir Louis he was personally very popular with the Turks, and the Grand Vizier expressed his amazement and regret—and he was entirely sincere—that such threats had been made.

"ICH MIT DIE DEUTSCHEN"

But we were all there in a highly nervous state, because we knew that Germany was working hard to produce a *casus belli*. Souchon frequently sent the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* to manœuvre in the Black Sea, hoping that the Russian fleet would attack. There were several pending situations that might end in war. Turkish and Russian troops were having occasional skirmishes on the Persian and Caucasian frontier. On October 29th, Bedouin troops crossed the Egyptian border and had a little collision with British soldiers. On October 29th I had a long talk with Talaat. I called in the interest of the British Ambassador, to tell him about the Bedouins crossing into Egypt. "I suppose," Sir Louis wrote me, "that this means war; you might mention this news to Talaat and impress upon him the possible results of this mad act." Already Sir Louis had had difficulties with Turkey over this matter. When he had protested to the Grand Vizier over Turkish troops near the Egyptian frontier, the Turkish statesman had pointedly replied that Turkey recognized no such thing as an Egyptian frontier. By this he meant, of course, that Egypt itself was Turkish territory and that the English occupation was a temporary usurpation. When I brought this Egyptian situation to Talaat's attention he said that no Ottoman Bedouins had crossed into Egypt. The Turks had been building wells on the Sinai peninsula to use in case war broke out with England; England was destroying these wells and the Bedouins, said Talaat, had interfered to stop this destruction. At this meeting Talaat frankly told me that Turkey had decided to side with the Germans and to sink or swim with them. He went again over the familiar grounds, and added that if Germany won—and Talaat said that he was convinced that Germany would win—the Kaiser would get his revenge on Turkey if Turkey had not helped him to obtain this victory. Talaat frankly admitted that fear—the motive, which, as I have said, is the one that chiefly inspires Turkish acts—was driving Turkey into a German alliance. He analyzed the whole situation most dispassionately; he said that nations could not afford such emotions as gratitude, or hate, or affection; the only guide to action should be cold-blooded policy. "At this moment," said Talaat, "it is for our interest to side with Germany; if, a month from now, it is our interest to embrace France and England we shall do that just as readily."

"Russia is our greatest enemy," he continued; "and we are afraid of her. If now, while Germany is attacking Russia, we can give her a good strong kick, and so make her powerless to injure us for some time, it is Turkey's duty to administer that kick!"

And then turning to me with a half melancholy, half defiant smile, he summed up the whole situation.

"Ich mit die Deutschen," he said in his broken German.

Because the cabinet was so divided, however, the Germans themselves had to push Turkey over the precipice. The evening following my talk with Talaat, most fateful news came from Russia. Three Turkish torpedo boats had entered the harbor of Odessa, sunk the Russian gunboat *Donetz*, killing a part of the crew, and damaged two Russian dreadnaughts. They also sank the French ship *Portugal*, killing two of the crew and wounding two others. They then turned their shells on the town and destroyed a sugar factory, with some loss of life. German officers commanded these Turkish vessels; there were very few Turks on board, as the Turkish crew had been given a holiday for the Turkish religious festival of *Bairam*. The act was simply a wanton and unprovoked one; the Germans raided the town deliberately, simply to make war inevitable. The German officers on the *General*, as my friend had told me, were constantly threatening to

commit some such act, if Turkey did not do so; well, now they had done it. When this news reached Constantinople, Djemal was playing cards at the Cercle d'Orient. As Djemal was Minister of Marine, this attack, had it been an official act of Turkey, could have been made only on his orders. When some one called him from the card table to tell him the news, Djemal was much excited. "I know nothing about it," he replied. "It has not been done by my orders." On the evening of the 29th I had another talk with Talaat. He told me that he had known nothing of this attack beforehand; that the whole responsibility rested with the German, Admiral Souchon.

THE GRAND VIZIER IN TEARS

Whether Djemal and Talaat were telling the truth in thus pleading ignorance I do not know; my opinion is that they were expecting some such outrage as this. There is no question that the Grand Vizier, Saïd Halim, was genuinely grieved. When Monsieur Bompard and Sir Louis Mallet called on him and demanded their passports, he burst into tears. He begged them to delay; he was sure that the matter could be adjusted. The Grand Vizier was the only member of the cabinet whom Enver and Talaat particuarly wishad to placate. As a prince of the royal house of Egypt and as an extremely rich nobleman, his presence in the cabinet gave it a popular standing. This probably explains the message which I now received. Talaat asked me to call upon the Russian Ambassador and ask what amends Turkey could make that would satisfy the Czar. There is little likelihood that Talaat sincerely wished me to patch up the difficulties; he merely wished to show the Grand Vizier that he was attempting to meet his wishes, and, in this way, to keep him in the cabinet. I saw M. Giers, but found him in no submissive mood. He said that Turkey could make amends only by dismissing all the German officers in the Turkish army and navy; he had his instructions to leave at once and should do so. However, he would wait long enough in Bulgaria to receive their reply; if they accepted his terms, he would come back.

"Russia, herself, will guarantee that the Turkish fleet does not again come into the Black Sea," said M. Giers, grimly. Talaat called on me in the afternoon, saying that he had just had lunch with Wangenh

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made final arrangements with Sir Louis for taking over British interests. Distressing in many ways as was this collapse of British influence in Turkey, the honor of Great Britain and her Ambassador was still secure. Sir Louis had not purchased Turkish officials with money, as had Wangenheim; he had not corrupted the Turkish press, trampled on every remaining vestige of international law, fraternized with a gang of political desperadoes, and conducted a ceaseless campaign of misrepresentations and lies against his enemy. The diplomatic game that had ended in England's defeat was one which English statesmen were not qualified to play. It called for talents such as only a Wangenheim possessed—it needed that German statecraft which, in accordance with Bismarck's maxim, was ready to sacrifice for the Fatherland "not only life but honor."

AND THE GRIM JOB

some Personality—His Task of Creating a War Machine —His Qualifications and His Limitations

BY

HARD WASHBURN CHILD

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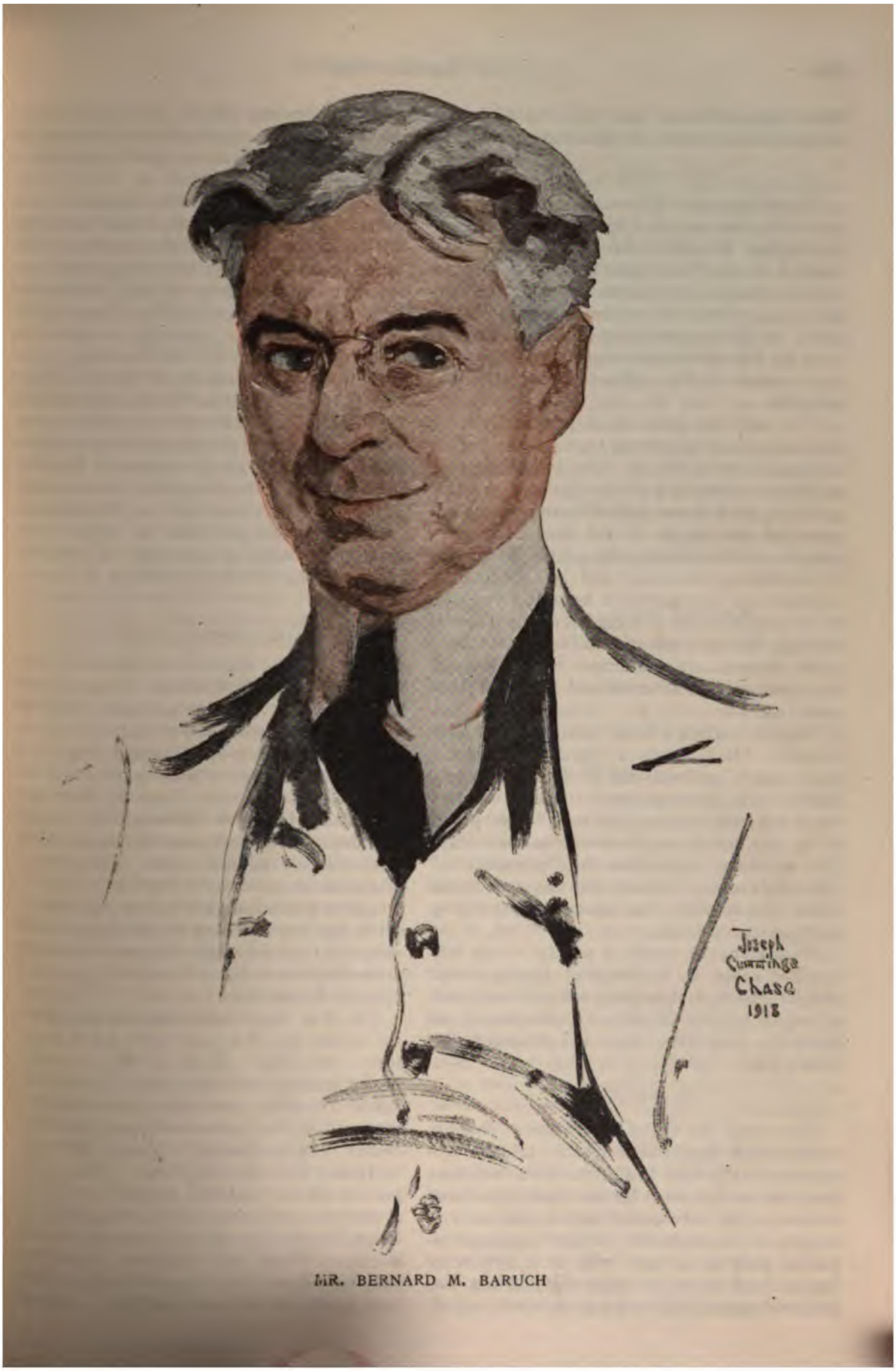
together into a workable war machine. No one with the facts—all the facts and a steady eye to meet the glad or reproachful eyes of facts.

Not a war cabinet to which England and France have been driven for plans and decisive action! Not a general management—not even one experienced eye to see all at one time.

If America has not done enough, the trouble is there. Ask any business man summoned by the President to help him with the Grim Job. Ask even Secretary Baker, for even he is coming to the conclusion that it is better for us all to know facts, to face truth, and put all our roosterism into what has been done rather than in what we would like to do, and finally are going to do. There is nothing more unintentionally pro-German than a fool's paradise; nothing more dangerous than a brand of chloroform which would make us think we are getting ships and airplanes or anything else if we are not. As England and France will tell us, there is nothing more useful



MR. BERNARD M. BARUCH

an light, blinding light, and ruthless insis-
nce on having the job well done and quickly.

"THE GENERAL EYE"

When President Wilson in appointing Ber-
ırd M. Baruch as Chairman of the War
ıdustries Board—which now means that
aruch *is* the War Industries Board with ad-
sors around him—called Baruch "the gen-
al eye," there was not an able organization
ind in Washington that did not recognize
at the President was feeling his way along the
st stretch of the right road to a real War
achine.

The job—the grim, hard job, assigned to
ıruch is more important than the personality
the man who fills it. The important part
this job is that it is the most hopeful creation
all the past moves and shifts to produce one
sential element in a real War Machine—
at is, an office which is the centre of foresight
mobilizing resources, and in making pro-
ction and transporation keep in step, and,
the man who fills it is big enough and strong
ough, he can make the military and naval
ıns become articulate and ready to speak
coherently in advance and say what they
ınt and why.

Baruch is nearly a War Planning Board all in
nself. He is nearly a Munitions Director.
: is nearly an Industrial Dictator. Hopeful
ɔect! He is an approach to these things—
ese essential things. His is a limited power
be sure, but if the President had not made
n anything more than the "general eye,"
who are eager to see the war won would
ow that necessity was squeezing out a drop
organization essence.

Men in that assembly of ability, which Wil-
ı has called to Washington, having tasted
: bitterness of their personal endeavor gone
ong in a maze of advisory tail-chasing, all
ow the evolution which has produced Ba-
:h's job.

THE BEGINNING

First came the Council of National Defense
ıde up of department heads—cabinet offi-
's who could spill little time from their own
:cutive assignments for any conferences and
:isions, and who pulled and hauled, as any
ıds of departments in an organization
rtly political always will, in a *conference*
dy. And a part of that organization was
great flood of dollar-a-year advisory boards
where advice was all the ingredients of
meal with no one who could mix, cook, or c
it. Out of that situation grew the clamo
more centralization.

Of what? Power? The Council an
Advisory Commission had no more power
the freshman class of a state college.
indeed, had the power to investigate and
its investigations over to the Presiden
what they were worth. The Council of
tional Defense by innocent deception
pressed the country as a war machine. E
lent work was done by it in its adv
capacity. It was fine to see men givin
they had to the collection of advice, an
giving of educated guesses and of inspirati
the business men of the country. But it
and is a scenic war-machine. Its produ
advice and there was in all of Washingto
central management office to which to
this advice when it came out of the d
room. Some of it is still spoiling on exec
doorsteps.

STILL MERELY ADVISORY

Out of this situation grew the Ge
Munitions Board of which Frank A.
was chairman. It was advisory—giving
vice on coördination and priority of purc
by Army and Navy. It rolled over a
later and its functions were taken by the
Industries Board with Frank A. Scott
chairman. He was followed by Wil
president of the Baltimore & Ohio R. R
was still an advisory job. Then can
clamor in Congress for a Munitions Direct
a central purchasing and priority authori
serve the war machine as the Munitions
rector in England serves the war machine
contest which is less a contest of men th
contest of materials.

The War Department met this clamor
the adroit use of a name with which to
jure. Stettinius—partner of Morgan—sk
in organizing and purchasing, indispen
aide of the Allies, was invited into a new
in the War Department—Supervisor of
chases. Magic name! Magic title!
Stettinius was only an adviser. They dr
him up like a Munition Director and let
appear on the balcony for a minute and
Chambers of Commerce representatives
a cheer. Then they took him in and,
they had shown him about the building,
him Assistant Secretary of War. Ever

function of adviser for the moment had faded and grown thin and stringy.

And when Stettinius as a Munitions Director lost color—a blood transfusion was going on. Life's liquid was running back into an old patient; in March the pallor of the War Industries Board, from which Willard had resigned, changed to pink. It was being revived. And then came the President's appointment of Baruch as its chairman.

THE NEXT STEP

More important than Baruch is his job; vastly more important than the country supposes is Baruch's job—to Baruch, the President, it appears on the surface, has passed on some real practical executive authority. The job is less of a scenic, papier-maché job than any of the jobs which, in our meandering course toward an industrial war management, have been the forebears of Baruch's grim hard job. To be sure the President's appointment of Baruch reads so that Baruch's job is just as advisory or just as executive as the interpretation of it may be which the President by skilled words had reserved the right to give it. It is not the clearly established executive power upon which Hoover insisted and which in the Directorship of Railroads went to Mr. McAdoo, but it has the sound of executive power. Looking toward the President, Baruch has an advisory job; he is an "eye" as the President says. Looking toward the industries of the United States Baruch has an executive job; he is more than an eye and a great deal more.

This is why Baruch himself is important!—his size, his own individual expression, his patience, his endurance, his command of the facts, will determine whether his job will grow lusty and strong with exercise of power or feeble and drooping and pallid as all advisory jobs in Washington grow.

THE PRESIDENT'S LIST

Of course the determination of this is wholly in the President's hands. If the President should say to Baruch as he might, consistently with the appointment, "You are an adviser, that's all"—Baruch would have to wilt as gracefully as if he were a Republican titled adviser, stuffed in a position of Authority Rampant by the skilful taxidermy of Washington, D. C. But if the President should whisper "Go ahead—act!" then Baruch and the War Industries Board would [illegible] of

news value in Berlin. The
captain of Baruch's job but
the first mate.

"Attend to these things,"
and he gave a list. Half t
papers on March sixth did
portance of this list. Re
now. It is—Open up ne
new industries, convert no
tion to essential production,
by economies using the ind
Government to commandee
of production and delivery,
"You are the Chairman
Say So," said the Presiden
Board is advisory; the pric
even when Hoover, Garfie
Hurley are called in, are a
fixing committee is advisory
take its advice. You sho
too, of everything going on;
general eye."

TOP-MANAGEMENT I

If Baruch is not to be
Scott, Willard, or Stettini
more than a Munitions D
Industrial Dictator. He is
trial Dictator, but almost
under one hat.

If the breath of the cou
away by this, it is because
thinks of successful war i
not include good top-manag
fortunately emotionalized b
Browning gun, a service flag
or any other symbol of A
spirit, and by clamor of grea
but unfortunately is bored
tion questions upon which
futurity will stand or fall and
less men and the wealth of
saved and used against Ge
away in a tragedy of loss b

So now this prospective
or War Cabinet Under One
Baruch—what of him?

The eager enemy of Baru
friendly commentator wil
necessary, to point out tha
in Baruch's before-the-war
to the outsider, which would
ative man than the Preside
as Industrial Dictator. It
to mention the daring of

Silence as to the outstanding facts about Baruch's degree of preparedness for his new job, and about who he is and where he came from, what he has done, and how the light of Administration pleasure and favor first fell upon him, would serve to emphasize rather than soften or shade.

WHO BARUCH IS

Baruch was a daring Wall Street speculator and plunger. He had come from the South, had been educated in New York City, and there is evidence that his training was a good one. It is of no consequence to trace his development from a studious youth and a gambling instinct to the days of being a millionaire. The financial district has never regarded him as being a creator of wealth. Some men who are bankers take properties and by "staying with them," giving financial and management aid, build them up. This is creating wealth. Other men "in the Street" treat the Street as if it were a roulette wheel or a racing book. They boost a property to sell it, or cut its throat to buy it. Their usefulness to Society has been thought of doubtful value. They are speculators and plungers. Some of them are most attractive men, whose word is good, whose heads are clear, and whose hearts are warm. It is said that Baruch, when greatness in another field loomed up, withdrew from a certain horse race the entries from his racing stable; if this were true it would be a complimentary fact, a sign of appreciation of fitness and of discrimination between the proprieties which attend being a speculative plunger and those which attend being a conspicuous public servant, chosen by a President of the United States, upon whose election one has bet thousands, or tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars.

WHILE OTHERS WANDERED OR FADED

In the year 1916—an election year—was registered the second outstanding fact in the history of Baruch. For Baruch it was perhaps the most momentous of his career. And now it appears that, for the history of the world and the destiny of mankind, it is quite within the range of possibility that this fact may be momentous also. Baruch, in that year, if not in amount, at least in timeliness of action, easy good nature, and response to suggestions from Henry Morgenthau and others, was the preëminent contributor to a re-election campaign which was made in large part upon the thought that careful and adroit management had kept us out of a war which was being fought for Liberty.

These are two facts which, without affectation, cannot be dismissed from mention or mind; and yet they are only the rather startling signs over the door. He who goes no further when he has read them, at least to the present chairman of the War Industries Board, does an injustice.

Baruch went to Washington as a member of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense and under the organization of the General Munitions Board and its advisory successors, descendents, heirs, assigns, and legatees, he was the active advisory head of the advisory Raw Materials Division. The other members of the Advisory Commission who were advisory "business men"—Willard, Coffin, Rosenwald—wandered or faded. Baruch stayed, sawing wood. Sometimes he became restless; for a long period of time between August, 1917, and his renaissance it is said that the President did not give him favor owing to an irritation which Baruch had, unintentionally, established in Secretary of War, Newton Diehl Baker. But if Baruch did not see the President, and if sweat stood out upon his forehead, none the less he carried on. Perhaps it was supposed to be a period of mortification; it ended with a dispensation of first magnitude when Baruch, no longer speculator and campaign contributor, came forth with a short record of a public servant whose services had been substantial, and not without indication that those who consider him unfitted for an Industrial Dictator are wont to overlook points of strength and character which without doubt belong to Baruch.

HIS REAL SERVICE NOT APPLAUDED

The public remembers of his record primarily the fact that when copper prices were climbing around 35 cents a pound, he succeeded in procuring for the Government forty-five million pounds at 16¾ cents—a theatrical arrangement at a theatrical price—obtaining a theatrical applause. If a price is below the cost of sound production it cannot be maintained or even used fairly in the long pull; the country needs the copper and prices which are too low will not bring copper. It was a good daring trade smoothly consummated and pleasing to the first thought of persons who uttered

glad cries because Baruch had squeezed the copper-barons, but a government in the business of making daring trades is a government which rocks the industrial boat. A government which with infinite pains and foresight treats prices as a means first to get the goods and only secondly to pay as little as it has to pay to get plenty of goods is the wise government. Just now we are paying 23½ cents for copper.

In the meantime Baruch's real service has remained unsung. His real service has been in establishing throughout the field of raw materials in which Baruch's division was interested a long list of working coöperative and advisory committees made up of industrial leaders. These committees were described early as follows:

MOBILIZING RESOURCES

"To facilitate the study of sources of supply production, and its increase, stocks on hand, probable demand, the possible substitution; coöperative committees were appointed from leading representatives of the following industries: alcohol, aluminum, anthracite and bituminous coal, asbestos, magnesia, and roofing, brass, cement, chemicals, copper, lead, lumber, mica, nickel, oil, rubber, steel and steel products, and zinc.

"As subordinate to these general committees, there were appointed also advisory committees to cover special constituent fields, as, for instance, in respect of the following steel and steel products: pig iron, iron ore, and lake transportation, tin plate, sheet steel, steel distribution, wire rope, malleable castings, ferro alloys, tubular products, cold-rolled and cold-drawn steel, pig tin, wire products, and scrap iron and steel.

"These committees were drawn from men in high standing in the respective industries, representing, generally speaking, the whole country, geographically and otherwise, and from representatives of federal departments, whose activities are relevant. They assisted the Committee on Raw Materials in assembling trade information and mobilizing sources of supply, as well as in facilitating the operations of the Government through conferences with departmental representatives. To the end that they be of maximum usefulness, several committees established headquarters in Washington, permanently maintaining representatives therein."

In addition to this work, valuable for its enlistment of industrial leaders in real coöperation with the Government's needs, Baruch has shown skill in obtaining the assistance of able men. He goes to their side or asks them to come to his. Associated with him in formal and informal relationship, I found Leland L. Summers, who formerly acted for the Morgans in buying munitions for the Allies; J. L. Replogle, formerly of the Cambria Steel; Eugene Meyer, Jr., banker and of Utah Copper; and Alexander Legge of the International Harvester Company. These are the names which Baruch mentions most often in discussing his work or in recounting the experiences which the group have had in learning that industrial production is not solved by contacts with producers alone, but that nearly every problem of purchasing or procurement involves transportation, fuel, housing, food, labor difficulties, priority in use, and sometimes purchasing ahead of government needs to keep production going, and sometimes a wizard's foresight in providing far ahead for importing certain raw materials, as for instance platinum from Russia at a time when political conditions in Russia allow one to get it out of the country.

Baruch speaks of these men, who are to be on his staff, with eager praise.

"If we get away with this new job, they and the other men I am going to have will deserve a lot of credit," said he. "It is better, however, not to say too much about that now. Most of us here in Washington are tempted to do too much talking about prospects and promises. I think it is wiser to wait for performances."

NOT THE ORDINARY TYPE

His is a tall, slender, graceful figure, and it and its motions express a certain confidence and ease and poise and absence of affectation, and presence of friendliness which gives to his personality the flavor of invitation rather than that of challenge. He is not of the bull-dog type. If he has vanity one would say it was of that glad and innocuous kind which never takes on the tiresome affectation of square-jawness, so tiresome and common among financiers and industrial kings. There is firmness in his face but one does not feel that he put it on after shaving as so many of our "two-fisted" captains do. There are none of the adamantine, hewn-from-the-granite clap traps in his manner. The truth of the matter

is that Baruch appears less of the industrial tyrant than of the temperamentalist.

"If he had to cut off a head, he would be polite," said one of his aides. "I watched him when one of the big industrial leaders came in one day and stormed at him outrageously—Baruch showed the gleam of fight in his eyes but he is always patient. He will take his time to win. He is skilled in getting men over to his side. He said on that occasion—"After all, these words were not addressed to me—they were addressed to the representative of the United States." Over and over again I have seen Baruch's patience and persistence draw conflicting forces together, win resistant personalities, save a situation."

His hands are indicative of these same qualities of flexible strength. One who is interested in men and their differences and similarities will observe these hands because they are more descriptive of Baruch than anything one can find in his eyes. His eyes look steadily and with constant searching into yours, and tell little unless a subject fails to interest him, whereupon an additional film of inexpressiveness drops over them.

His eyes are the eyes of Wall Street; his hands are the hands of an idealist.

In this combination there is not the slightest deception; the two characters—one that makes a man a plunger, the other which makes him a dreamer, eager for enlistment in a fight for an inspiring and humane principle—are both housed under Baruch's exterior. He may have bet on Wilson, but he also loved him. I have found no one who does not so estimate Baruch.

Something has been written of Baruch's careful study of industrial situations before he entered upon speculations. I do not believe it. Baruch depended upon "hunches." He is still using the word. He uses it constantly and, unless one knows also that Baruch feels less confident of "hunches" as a guide to a public servant than as a guide to rapid-fire investor, it will bring on a chill to hear that he has "hunches" about the Grim Job—his job in part, his job as a near Industrial Director. It will bring on a chill because coming after bad organization and lack of top-management in Washington, unwillingness to deal with facts, with all the facts, assembled in one place and made graphic and kept up to the minute, has been the tragedy of our failure to go at schedule rate toward victory. It has been the cause of hiding our delinquencies in ships, of our laggard airplane programme, of our failure to provide warehouse and storage facility and housing, of our glutting transportation with production, and of our cramming production and distribution into the most obvious transportation gullets and production corners.

TOP TROUBLES

Baruch, however, is awakened to the size of the problem, I think. He knows that his assignment is by its nature acres wider than even the President's language suggests. He has learned and he is learning that it was folly magnificent to scatter, as we scattered and are still trying to scatter, the details of the job without a top-planning, top-powerful top-management with top-wise and top-experienced authority. I think Baruch, if he were asked, would recommend a War Board with adequate authority to perform this missing vital part of a true War Machine; I know that he recognizes in his own job of procurement, purchase, priority, conservation, and conversion of resources a task which is bound to meet every day the inevitable problem of a thousand factors over which one who is not in control of all has no control.

Raw material is needed. It is in South America. Has Baruch ships? None. Go to someone else.

Production is held up by a labor controversy. Can Baruch settle it? No. Go to some other office.

Fuel is needed at a production point. Are there cars available? No. Go somewhere else—two places!

WAR OUR ONLY BUSINESS

So it goes. Washington is just learning that the nation is a fabric, social and economic, and if one thread is pulled the chances are that the pattern will begin to ravel way over there on the other end. A nation is not catalogued into production and transportation and shipping and food and so on, standing in their proper corners. War management would be simple if that were so. It would require no general direction, and the catalogued departmentalized direction we have given it without top-management would suffice. It is not so. Baruch knows it. And he knows that cognizance of the fact, even as it applies to his own new job is almost the first principle under which he must be guided.

Unfortunately, as Baruch points out in conversation, the sensitive interdependence and interweaving of economic and social details of our national life together with whatever Secretary Baker means when he talks about cosmos, are delicacies which must be disturbed either by painless evolution based on good top management, or by good stiff jabs and jolts justified by the bare fact that grim necessity is climbing up on the back of Waiting-too-Long.

Baruch is steeling himself to make some of these jolts and jabs if they are needed. He is prepared to do the things an industrial dictator must do. It will surprise me if he does not have to issue drastic orders—giving his reasons for them.

I said good-bye to him the other night after a short ride with him. I thought as I looked at his springy, tall, graceful figure and his genial but half-perplexed smile that he was an attractive, engaging, warm human personality with a profound desire that everyone in the world should be as successful a wringer of the hand of Fortune as he.

"There is only one business for America and Americans—war," he said.

"We must tell them
the business of America—
ness of Americans. War
business."

He said it over and over
somebody would come out
deny it and that he would
imaginary person down.

I gave a parting look a
peared into the lighted ent
ing. I thought to myself:
rope, you will try hard.
good qualities than good t
But if by any chance you
shortage of your own, yo
you, too, will not have e
you—because being the '
enough without scientific g
record of what we are d
And how could anything
management of our whole
have a picture of the whol
national fabric which m
unraveled and reknit for w

But I found myself wishi
and good luck. He is that

OUR NEW SUPPLY OF NITRA

How Germany Built Up Her Nitrogen Resources While Dwarfing
Nations—Why Von Spee's Fleet Operated off Chile—How C
Have Stripped German Patents of Camouflage—Our New
ment Plants—the Supply for War and for Agricult

BY

FRANK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

IN a previous article I pointed out how Germany, secure in the possession of the only commercially workable deposits of potash salts yet discovered, believed that it could dictate terms to humanity by withholding the supply of this essential fertilizing ingredient, and so bringing the rest of the world face to face with starvation. Even more essential to continued agricultural operations is nitrogen, in one form or another; moreover, the one condition without which Germany could not have begun the war and the Allies could not have defended themselves for a moment, was the possession of adequate supplies of nitrog
convertible form. For ni
of all explosives, without
fare would cease; at the sa
absolutely indispensable
for the growth of the world
of wheat, corn, and the
generally.

Germany does not c
available sources of nitrog
does those of potash—the
away, in Chile. For si
"*Der Tag*", however, G
building up its nitrogen re

to the point where, when its rulers decided the time had come to strike, it was the only nation equipped to fight without continuous renewal of its nitrogen supplies from overseas. And Germany had taken pains to make the establishment of new nitrogen sources slow and difficult for others, as well as, at the beginning of hostilities, trying to cut its enemies off from their accustomed supplies.

As in the case of potash, the German expectation has failed of realization because, as Guizot noted ninety years ago, "the peculiar character of all works in Germany is a non-acquaintance with the external world." Germany in this as in many other matters underestimated the intelligence and resourcefulness of its opponents. Nevertheless, there is a great deal of hard work to be done before the rest of the world catches up with Germany in the matter of nitrogen resources, and in the meantime agriculture is bound to suffer even more severely from this shortage than from lack of potash.

CROOKES FOCUSED ATTENTION ON NITROGEN SUPPLY

Just twenty years ago Sir William Crookes, in his presidential address to the British Association, made the startling statement that the world was rapidly approaching starvation, through the concentration of an increasing population into cities and the consequent multiplication of food demands upon each acre of tilled land. He pointed out that the grain-eating habit of mankind was rapidly robbing the soil of its nitrogen; that there was not enough available agricultural land to keep the race going for more than a very few years, and that nothing could avert world-wide famine, as a result of constantly dwindling productivity except the development of new sources of nitrogen and the discovery of new methods of compelling this universal but inert and intractable gas to combine in usable form for application to the land. While Sir William's gloomy forecast was unduly pessimistic—he foresaw general starvation within thirty-five years, or by 1933—it served its purpose by focussing the attention of economists and scientists sharply upon the immediate importance of what had been theretofore regarded as of merely academic interest—the problem of "fixing" atmospheric nitrogen. For the British scientist called particular attention to the inexhaustible store of this element, which comprises four-fifths of the atmospheric air, and suggested this as the most promising field for research.

Up to that time the world's main source of supply of nitrogen was, as it still is for all the world but Germany, the huge deposits of sodium nitrate found in the high, arid, desert plateau of Northern Chile and Peru and known commercially as "Chile saltpetre" or "Chile nitrates."

While the rest of the world, however, was thinking of nitrogen in terms of agriculture, Germany was already thinking in terms of gunpowder and high explosives. It is more than a coincidence that the government-subsidized experiments by Professor Doctor Adolph Frank and Doctor Nicodem Caro which resulted in the development of the cyanamid process for getting nitrogen out of the air began in 1898, following the direction of scientific attention to the problem by Sir William Crookes, and that as soon as this and other processes later developed were in full operation on a commercial scale, Germany set out to conquer the world. Besides its plants capable of turning out probably 60,000 tons of atmospheric nitrogen products annually, Germany had developed the production of by-product ammonia from coal to a very high annual output and was possessed of a cheap method of converting ammonia into nitric acid, the form in which nitrogen is required for the manufacture of explosives. With these resources fully developed and an accumulated supply of Chile nitrates greater than had ever before been assembled, Germany went to war.

VON SPEE'S FLEET HINDERED NITROGEN SHIPMENTS

No other nation, when the war began in 1914, had any considerable supply of nitrates on hand. It is fair to say that outside of Germany no nation was equipped to draw its nitrogen, either for war or for agriculture, from the inexhaustible reservoir of the air.

The first and imperative demand of the Allies was for nitrate for themselves and for ammunition from America, which meant that in this country, too, the nitrogen situation jumped into a position of prime importance with the invasion of Belgium. The immediate effect was to divert from agriculture a very large proportion of the stocks on hand of Chile nitrates, both in the countries of the

Entente and the United States. Germany made desperate efforts, in the beginning of the war, to cut off the Allies from fresh nitrate supplies from Chile. So rapidly have events moved in the world war, the naval engagement off the coast of Chile is almost forgotten. It was the battle off the Falkland Islands in which the British destroyed Von Spee's fleet that cleared the way for the uninterrupted flow of sodium nitrate from South America to civilized Europe and the United States. So little has agriculture, however, benefited from this increase in nitrate importations that it was with quite an air of triumph that Secretary Houston announced on January 5th that he had been able to obtain an allotment for 1918 of 100,000 tons of Chile nitrate for agricultural purposes which could be sold to farmers at $75 a ton, plus freight from the Atlantic seaboard. This was by grace of the War Department, which has commandeered the entire supply of Chile nitrates, and assumed control of the entire nitrogen situation for the duration of the war.

Somewhere around 600,000 tons may be taken as the normal peace-time requirement of American agriculture prior to this war. Yet only one-sixth of this amount could be spared for 1918 from war's requirements, in spite of the fact that our imports for 1918 from Chile will be larger than in 1917, which, in turn, exceeded the 1,365,000 tons imported in 1916. And still the War Department has not enough nitrogen for military purposes.

Plants for nitrogen fixation are being built at Sheffield, Alabama, on the Tennessee River, just below Muscle Shoals. Eventually water power obtained by damming the river at this point will be used; until the power project is in operation, a matter possibly of three years, steam power will be used. Agitation for the construction of a Government nitrogen-fixation plant began nearly three years ago. Congress appropriated $20,000,000 for such an enterprise, and the President signed the bill on June 3, 1916. It was not until September 6, 1917, however, that the Nitrate Supply Committee, named to determine the methods and processes to be used, made its report to the War Department, and the location was not finally selected until October 16, 1917. It must be admitted, however, that the committee faced an extremely difficult problem.

Definite knowledge of processes was lacking. The committee was made
whose names carry weight;
must be accepted as the
made to meet the requiren
scientific soundness, and th
of the Army.

THE PROGRA

This is the programme
committee decided, the p
expected eventually to in
trogenous independence, so
to provide ammunition fo
Boche:

First, to spend $3,000,00
tion of a plant for the prod
ammonia by a process
General Chemical Compan
of 60,000 pounds of ammon

Second, to spend $600,00
oxidation of ammonia—c
nitric acid—with a capacit
of nitric acid per day.

Third, to use $200,000
mentation with the Buch
production of sodium cya
through the fixation of at

Fourth, to appropriate $
mentation and investigatio

Fifth, to promote the pro
and toluol as by-products
priority be given in the p
and transportation of mat
ery for this purpose.

The carrying out of this
hands of the War Depart
John W. Joyes in direct c
What is being done, howev
the specific recommendatio
but has already gone far b
the formal programme. I
ment for the operation c
has gone on simultaneousl
work that has uncover
camouflaged German sec
promise for the future. In
nearer $100,000,000 is b
Nitrate Division is ca
$100,000,000. Out of it w
plenty of nitric acid and am
a surplus for agriculture bef
at least, as its probable dur
cial Washington now—and
of atmospheric nitrogen
nation's fertilizer needs w

The process of fixing atmospheric nitrogen by passing air and hydrogen gas, under a pressure of 1,500 pounds, through a chamber electrically heated to about 1,070° F., resulting in the nitrogen of the air combining with the hydrogen to form ammonia, is the method upon which Germany principally relies. It is called the Haber process, and a German subsidized trust carefully guarded the secrets of the process.

THE PROCESS

The General Chemical Company, however has developed a modified Haber process, and this is the method for which the $3,000,000 plant recommended by the committee is being constructed, under a contract with the General Chemical Company for the use of its process.

A corps of experts was set to work, however, to find out the original Haber process, and after nine months of solid work the secret was finally discovered and the process disclosed to the investigators. This is as pretty a story of scientific romance as could be told, but too long to tell here. The Haber process is, however, at last in the hands of our Government, and a small plant for its demonstration is about to be erected at Sheffield, alongside the larger one for the modified Haber process. Eventually, members of the Nitrate Supply Committee believe, we will be getting half or more of our fixed nitrogen from the air by this process, as Germany is believed to be doing today. Its successful operation on a large scale depends on the availability of a sufficient supply of hydrogen gas, but the Government officials interested anticipate little difficulty on that score. A single bleaching-powder works at Niagara, for example, discharges 600,000 cubic feet of hydrogen into the air daily; and many other industrial processes produce this gas.

THE CYANAMID PROCESS

For the immediate needs of war, however, little help can be expected this year from either of these processes, and the demand for nitrogen for munitions admits of no procrastination. So without waiting for an additional appropriation from Congress, the War Department has taken, out of emergency funds, $30,000,000 with which to finance the building by the American Cyanamid Company of a plant at Sheffield having a capacity of 100,000 tons of cyanamid a year, deliveries to begin by July 1, 1918. It is a big job, but the Ordnance Department believes it will be done. Cost is a secondary consideration. Priority orders for the necessary steel and machinery, both as to fabrication and transportation, have been given, and there is being erected down in Alabama a big plant for the extraction of nitrogen from the air.

The cyanamid process, the only one that has heretofore been successfully applied on this continent, is based upon the fact that calcium carbide may be induced with comparative ease, at a temperature of 2,000° F., to absorb nitrogen which has been liberated from liquid air. When the liquid air begins to rise above its normal temperature of 380° F., pure nitrogen boils off. This is pumped to the electric ovens and absorbed by the carbide, leaving the oxygen of the air as a by-product. The compound of calcium carbide and nitrogen, known commercially as cyanamid, is itself valuable as a fertilizer, and by treatment with superheated steam its nitrogen may be released to enter into combination with the hydrogen of the steam, forming ammonia. This is the process invented by Drs. Frank and Caro, and developed by the German electrical trust. From 400,000 to 600,000 tons of cyanamid are now being produced annually in Germany.

PROFESSOR BUCHER'S NEW AND SIMPLE METHOD

For the immediate war need the cyanamid process offers the most tangible and definite promise, while the future value to American agriculture of having a plant of this size located within the United States is of course very great, whether it is taken over by the Government bodily, operated on a subsidy basis, or allowed to lapse into private control. If the technical operation of the Haber process proves no more costly in other respects, however, it will have the definite advantage of requiring only about 10 per cent. of the power required for the cyanamid process, of consuming no raw materials other than those derived from air and water, and of yielding ammonia as a first product.

It takes about one continuous electrical horsepower to produce two tons of cyanamid annually. The American Cyanamid Company's Canadian plant uses about 30,000 horsepower from Niagara Falls and has a present output of about 64,000 tons of cyanamid a year. It is claimed for the Bucher process, for the development of which the Nitrate

Supply Committee set aside $200,000, that the power consumption is even less. This process is quite the newest thing in chemical marvels, the invention of Professor John E. Bucher of Brown University, and was first disclosed only a few months ago. The method devised by Dr. Bucher for obtaining usable nitrogen from the air is extremely simple. Soda ash and powdered coke are mixed with powdered iron or with iron ore—either will do—and heated in an ordinary furnace, through which air is passed. The result is cyanide of soda, with the iron uncombined, it having acted, as Professor Bucher phrases it, "as a chemical parson to unite the nitrogen of the air with the soda and the coke." This mysterious but effective chemical process by which the mere presence of a substance that does not in any way enter into the combination is nevertheless essential to the formation of the combination, known to chemists as "catalysis," forms an important part of most of the processes for fixing atmospheric nitrogen and converting the derived products into other chemical forms. Dr. Bucher has obtained several valuable derivatives and by-products from the sodium cyanide, as well as ammonia by steam treatment. The contract with the Nitrogen Products Company, which controls his patents, gives the Government full control of this process if it proves practicable on a large scale.

NORWEGIAN PLANTS SUBSIDIZED BY GERMANY

Every one of the processes with which our Government is working gives as its final product, not nitric acid, which is the form in which nitrogen is required for explosives, but ammonia, which is the nitrogen product most easily adaptable to fertilizing purposes. The conversion of ammonia to nitric acid is simple enough as a laboratory experiment, but to do it on a commercial scale is quite a different matter. So, too, nitric acid is of comparatively little value as a basis for fertilizer, because of the expensive manipulations necessary to make it usable. There is a process of nitrogen fixation that gives nitric acid as its finished product—the electric-arc method of decomposing air by passing it through an enormous flaming arc, best known through the Birkeland-Eyde plants in Norway. This process, which involves temperatures up to 6,000° F. at a power-cost quite prohibitive except in Norway, has been the best-advertised

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GERMANS CAMOUFLAGED

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converting it readily into nitric acid for war purposes, while in its ammonia form it is readily usable in a variety of combinations for fertilizer. Nor does all of the ammonia have to be oxidized to make it available for purposes of death and destruction. By using a part of the nitric acid in combination with ammonia, forming ammonium nitrate, we have a prime explosive of peculiarly deadly force. Much of the American supply of by-product ammonia, all of which has been commandeered by the War Department, is being utilized in this way, the nitric acid required being so far obtained from Chile nitrates. It is not permitted to indicate the extent to which this explosive is employed in munitions for our own army and navy and those of our allies, but it is no secret that the hand-grenades, which have figured so largely in trench warfare, derive their explosive quality from ammonium nitrate.

WHY GERMANY CUT PRICES IN COAL-TAR PRODUCTS

The remaining step in the nitrate programme, that of encouraging and stimulating the production of by-product ammonia, holds promise of early and rapidly increasing importance as a means of supplying both the military and the agricultural demands. Incidentally, it furnishes another illustration of the way in which the elements of the closely knit German industrial scheme dovetail into each other. Germany developed the coal-tar color industry, based on the discoveries of Sir William Perkin, as well as the coal-tar drug industry, and, by subsidized manufacture and price-cutting, discouraged the utilization of coal by-products in other countries. And in the process of saving the tar for these purposes, there is also recovered from coal a considerable volume of ammonia, either as such or as ammonium sulphate. The proportions of by-products per ton of coal coked by the modern retort process are around 20 pounds of ammonium sulphate or its equivalent in ammonia, 15 gallons of tar, and 2 gallons of benzol and toluol, the latter being the basis of the most powerful explosive yet devised, trinitrotoluol or, more familiarly, "T.N.T." Moreover, every ton of coal converted into metallurgical coke in the old-fashioned "beehive" coke ovens results in the waste of about 5,000 cubic feet of gas and the loss of 200 pounds of coke.

OTHER SOURCES WILL CONTINUE TO DECLINE

We have made great progress in by-product coking in this country since the Germans invaded Belgium. The end of this war will find the United States, from this by-product source alone, far more independent of other nations for its essential nitrogen supply than it probably would have become in a hundred years of peace.

There is no outlook for an increase, but rather for a continuing decrease in nitrogenous fertilizers derived from organic sources such as cottonseed meal, slaughterhouse tankage, fish scrap, etc. These are being increasingly used for feeding and figure only trivially as fertilizers. Where crop rotation and intensive farming can be successfully practised, nitrogen can be restored to the soil by the activities of certain bacteria which affect the roots of the leguminous crops, such as clover, alfalfa, and cowpeas, and have the property of converting atmospheric nitrogen into soluble nitrates.

The nitrogen situation in the United States, therefore, is one of present shortage of agricultural supply caused solely by the necessity of diverting all available nitrogenous products to war purposes. This shortage is tending to become less acute as new sources of nitrogen are developed, and when the war ends we shall be well on our way, as a nation, to complete independence, whether for war or peace, of all extraneous sources of nitrogen products. War, in this respect as in many others, will have added to our material wealth and given us a new resource.

MODERN ATHLETICS IN THE FA

Our Games Winning the Orient—Famous Men See in This a New
alization and for International Good Will—One Result of
Occupancy of the Philippines

BY

THOMAS GREGORY

THE oft-quoted remark that Waterloo was won on the athletic fields of Eton, does not give organized play a more important part in international affairs than it is now assuming in the Far East, where American games are not only forging a link of sympathy between the Orientals and us; but are giving the Japanese, the Chinese, the Filipinos, and the rest a means of learning to know and respect each other.

There have been many international diplomatic gatherings of less importance than the recent Far Eastern Olympic Meets, and many to which the rulers and leaders in the East have not paid as much attention—Marquis Okuma, Japan's Grand Old Man, was honorary president of the Association last year when the games were held at Tokyo. In addressing the athletes and the 20,000 spectators assembled for the opening of the meet, he said that he was indeed glad that a way had at last been found of bringing the young men from all parts of the Orient together, and of enabling them to get really acquainted and of making them understand each other better. The Honorable Manuel Quezon of the Philippines is another noted man who is interested. He is now president of the Far Eastern Athletic Association, and is
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CHINESE GIRLS GOING TO THE GAMES
A group of young ladies entering the grounds at Shanghai to watch the Second Far Eastern Meet

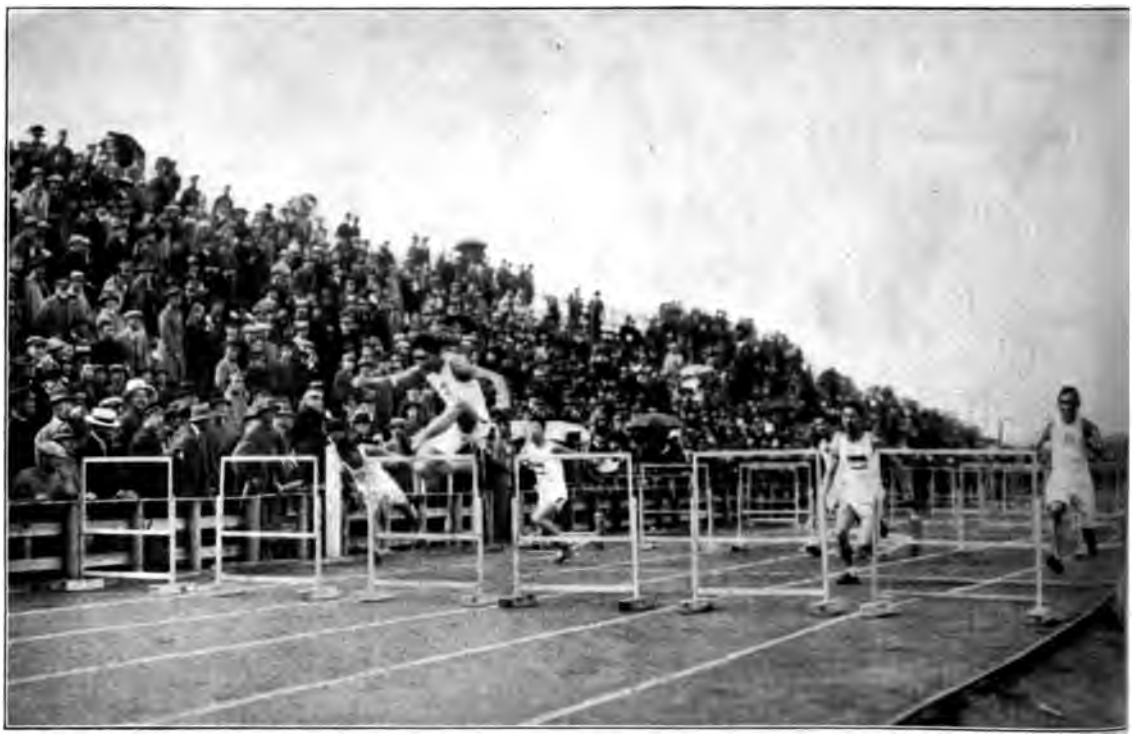
ARE ORIENTALS IMPASSIVE AND UNEMOTIONAL?
Possibly they are, but they cannot resist a home run any more than can Americans

BEFORE AND AFTER

Marquis Okuma did not miss an event during the week of the games. It was rumored that he had never been seen to smile until he watched this athletic meet

JAPAN'S GRAND OLD MAN ADDRESSING THE TEAMS

Ex-Premier Okuma was delighted to welcome the athletes, for he saw in this friendly competition an aid to better international acquaintance and mutual understanding and respect



A FILIPINO IN THE LEAD
Twenty thousand Orientals watched and cheered this international high hurdle race

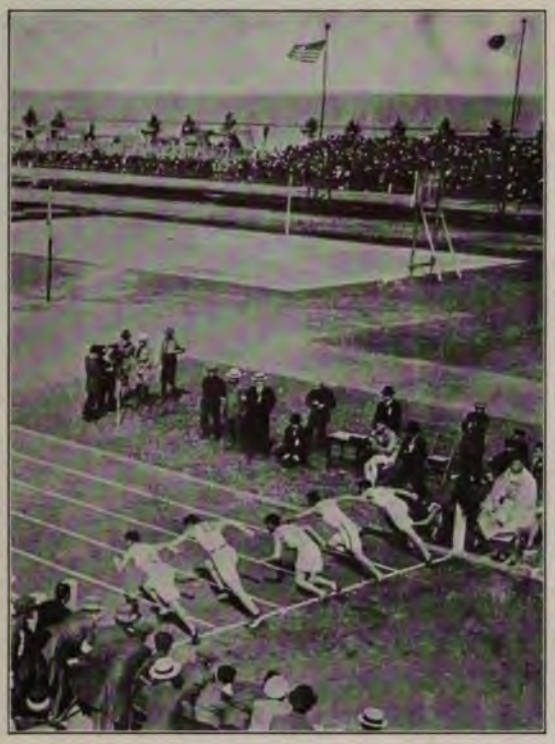
PLAYING "INDOOR"
Girls play indoor baseball out of doors in the Philippines. Here they have two strikes on the batter, and the catcher is signaling for a high one

A GAME THAT HAS CAPTURED THE ORIENT

In less than one decade after its introduction, Volley Ball is played all through the Orient. This picture shows China's team playing against the Japanese

THE UMPIRE

He wears a skirt, his toes are unprotected, he knows no English except baseball terms, but he is thoroughly competent



ON THE FIELD AT TOKYO
International athletic contests of this kind tend to prevent "superman" and "kultur" ideas from taking root in any nation

THE PARADE OF THE ATHLETES
The teams of various nations marching out for the opening of the Third Far Eastern Games

PLAY GROUND DAY AT MANILA
thousand Filipino children taking part in the annual exercises which are held on ground formed by filling in the old city moat

FOREIGN MINISTER MOTONO AT THE GAMES
his wife and son he watched the sport every day. "This is a great thing for any nation," he said, "and especially for Japan"

CHINESE GIRLS AT THE TOKYO GAMES
These patriotic young ladies cheered for the Chinese teams at the contests which were held in Japan in 1917

PRETTY GIRLS, ATHLETES, AND SPECTATORS
Between events the people in the grand stand behave just as American college students do

Director of Physical Education for the Islands —thus giving public play official recognition and a definite place in education.

BEATING US AT OUR GAME

In a number of ways, the Orientals are beating us at our own games. In untiring and vociferous rooting, for example, we are no match for the Orientals whom we have so long considered passive and unemotional. They are also keeping down professionalism which has brought down upon Western athletics the censure of thinkers from Euripides to President Eliot. In the Far East the principal effort is being directed toward getting everybody to playing. There are to-day, for instance, more than thirty thousand Philippine girls playing on regularly organized indoor baseball teams. The game is played in the open but is called "Indoor." More than eleven thousand volley balls had been sold in the Philippines last year. In a Manila newspaper which lies on my desk most of a page is devoted to schedules of various games which are being played in and about the city. Several large play grounds have been established on the space made available by filling in the old moat about the city, and last year five thousand children took part in the great play-day exhibition. Statistics are already available which show that this getting the populace to playing is greatly improving the health and the physique of the average citizen.

Chinese educators and statesmen see in athletics one of the greatest forces yet found for the nationalizing of all China. At the Second Far Eastern Games which were held at Shanghai in 1915, Dr. Chang Po Ling, president of the university at Tientsin, said, "To think that we should live to see Chinese from North and from South China applauding each other when an award is announced for 'China'!" The Chinese amazed themselves by their own excited cheering as the contests proceeded. This meet did much to popularize Western games in China, and it also awakened a determination in educators and other leaders to push group play and general athletics as rapidly as possible.

Another result of the games at Shanghai was that their success put Japan fully into the Far Eastern Athletic Association and squarely behind the new movement for a great physical renaissance in the Orient. Japanese business men underwrote the 1917 games, and a fine modern athletic fi
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before many weeks an order had to be issued that clerks must not come to work in the old scuffed garments that they wore on the play field. Governor Forbes's experiment proved a surprising success long before the summer was half over, and after the return to Manila an Inter-Bureau Athletic Association was formed. It is still in existence and flourishing. The Internal Revenue Office clerks, for example, now hold the Volley Ball Championship of the Islands. Thousands now play this game in the Orient, although the first Volley Ball was carried to Manila in Mr. Brown's suitcase in 1910.

Mr. Frank R. White of the Bureau of Education was quick to see the value of such group athletics, and so it was made a recognized part of Philippine education. A book of games and rules was prepared, and special training for the new work was provided for teachers. Competitive sport which had received previous attention was kept up, but the big group game and play idea was also pushed vigorously. The results were very gratifying. In 1917 more than thirty thousand boys were enrolled for health-building outdoor games. Ideas that make for public health are getting established among the populace. A window open at night in a native bedroom is a sign indicating here sleeps an athlete. He fears foul air, but not the night devils his fathers thought would enter windows opened at night.

LIKE THE OLD GREEK GAMES

The next step was the formation of the Philippine Amateur Athletic Federation in order to keep out professionalism. This made one big set of annual games possible for the islands. The international idea was gradually worked in at these annual meets. First the Japanese and Chinese were asked to send individual athletes and teams. Tennis players, track men, swimmers, baseball teams, etc., came. This worked so well that in 1913 it was decided to try holding Olympic Games for the Far East at Manila. The local federation bore the expense, and the meet was a complete success. Mr. Elwood Brown, the Y. M. C. A. secretary who had started the work and worked so untiringly to keep it growing, then went to China, Japan, Siam, Java, and various parts of Malaysia and secured coöperation which made possible the organization of the Far Eastern Athletic Association under the auspices of which the games have since been held.

Their success has been greater than the organizers hoped for, and the results are already very far reaching. Interest in athletics has been awakened all over the East. In remote villages one is now likely to find natives playing baseball and other Western games. Statesmen and educators are delighted at the improvement this interest in recreation is making in public health and efficiency. It makes for the general well being of the community. For example, cock fighting has almost disappeared in Philippine communities that have taken up athletics—only old men now patronize the pits.

There is abundant evidence that any nation that wishes to hold a place in the world as it is must recognize that the first great national asset is the people. Schools must enlighten and train people's minds, and thus fit them for life under modern conditions. But the human body is the foundation of the whole social and economic structure. The nation must concern itself with the promotion of public health, and it will do well to go further than this and consider the proper development and training of the body a matter of national importance. The Philippine plan of giving physical training a definitely recognized place in public education is worth while, and the idea of stressing the play-for-all plan, rather than merely striving to produce small teams of winners, is an important matter. The East is rapidly making long steps toward better physical development and training and the Occident can learn valuable lessons by watching Far Eastern Athletics.

This general athletic awakening is perhaps the most important effect that our occupation of the Philippines has had upon the Far East. Just as the old Olympic Games, begun by one village, grew to be the great recurring event at which all the Hellenic peoples could meet in peaceful competition, so this modern athletic movement, starting from Baguio, has spread to other Far Eastern peoples, and has given them not only a ground for friendly meeting but also a basis for genuine respect and mutual understanding.

THE CHIEFS OF THE AMERI
NAVY

Portraits painted from life by Joseph C. Chase, while the subjects were engaged in their daily tasks in the Navy Department

I

JOSEPHUS DANIELS

Secretary of the Navy

II

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

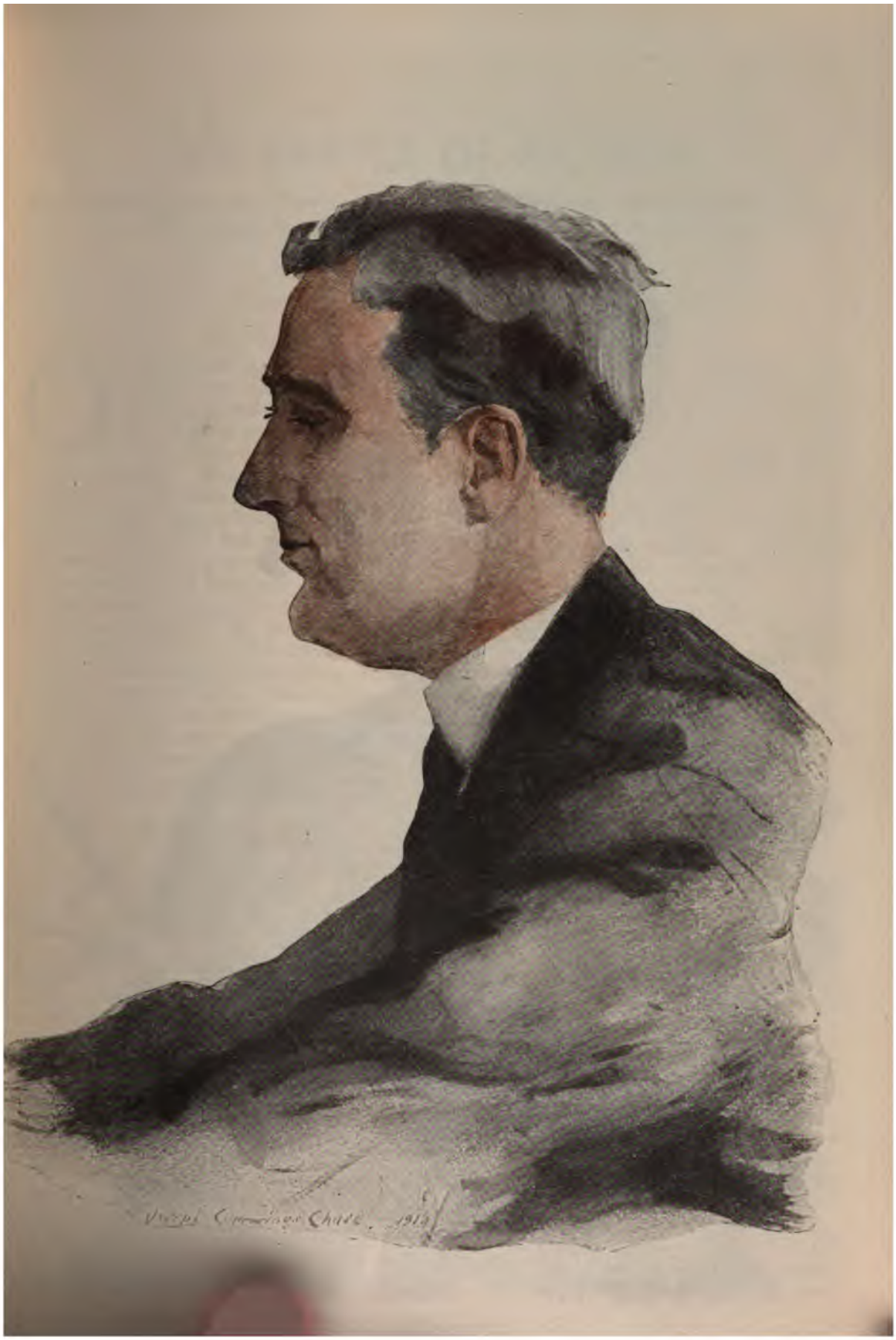
Assistant Secretary of the Navy

III

REAR ADMIRAL WILLIAM S. BENSON

Chief of Operations

Joseph
Cummings
Chase
1916



Joseph
Cummings
Chase

THE BATTLE OF PICARD

Why Germany Began the Offensive—Will it Decide the War?—Why
Than the French Were Attacked—The German Plan of
its Subsequent Modifications

BY

J. B. W. GARDINER

ON MARCH 21st, Germany opened the great engagement which will probably prove to be the decisive battle of the war. This designation has already, but not altogether correctly, been given to the Battle of the Marne. The Marne did decide that the Germans were not to capture Paris in their first great rush through Belgium and France. It did not only halt the German advance, but threw it back behind the Aisne, thus preventing Germany from winning the war in 1914. But it did not defeat the German army decisively. Nor did it make an ultimate German victory impossible. It left the German army still in the field, its strength practically unimpaired, still capable of strong defense, still with great striking power in attack. It made possible for the future a decisive Allied victory, but it did not achieve it. The German defeat at Verdun, indeed, did more harm to the German army, lessened to a greater extent its power of defense and its strength to attack than did the Marne, because through the French defense and counter-efforts, the German army lost nearly half a million men. But the battle now raging, which for convenience of reference is called the Battle of Picardy (although it embraces Picardy, Artois, and Flanders), will do more than did either the Marne or Verdun. It will place irrevocably and unmistakably upon Germany the laurel of victory or the thorny crown of defeat. It is, therefore, the decisive battle of the war. It is the final struggle of the civilized world against the domination of the beast. It is Germany's final effort, and, in order that this may be appreciated, it is necessary only to recount the conditions which impelled Germany to take the offensive at this time.

The developments in Russia, so entirely favorable to Germany, led many to believe that, having attained
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alone. Defeat may be averted by such means; but victory cannot be achieved. Germany, with the exception of a single incident south of Cambrai, had been on the defensive since the close of the battle of Verdun early in the summer of 1916. The necessity for offensive action at some time was therefore absolute if Germany was to win. But there were many considerations which made that time the present. Germany could not afford to wait.

THE OPPORTUNE MOMENT

The middle of March found Germany at the height of her man power. Never before since the outbreak of war had the opportunity been presented for the concentration on the western front of practically her entire effective strength in both men and guns. For this, of course, Russia was responsible. The divisions which were holding the Russian lines had been carefully picked over, and from men thus selected new divisions were formed and old ones filled up. All were sent to France as rapidly as possible, the movement occupying the time from September, 1917, to March of this year. Similarly, all available artillery was concentrated in the west, the eastern front being practically denuded. Germany then was in immediate danger of being diverted by activities of the Allies in other fields.

The Allies on the other hand were by no means at their full strength. America, who stepped into the war just in time to take Russia's place, still remained impotent, unable to place in Europe numbers in any way commensurate with the situation. But America was gathering impetus as she went. And while she was a negligible force in 1917—except in the matters of food and money—and would probably be a negligible force in 1918 subject to the same exception, in 1919 she was almost certain to turn the tide strongly against the Central Powers. Even in 1918 there could be expected a steady though small stream of men across the ocean, who being fresh, eager, and unwearied, might cause trouble. Germany then had the one chance to win, and that chance demanded that she strike with all her power before America reached the field. To delay meant not a drawn game but certain defeat. For if Germany is ever confronted in Europe with the full strength of America in men and in the machinery of war, she will be crushed.

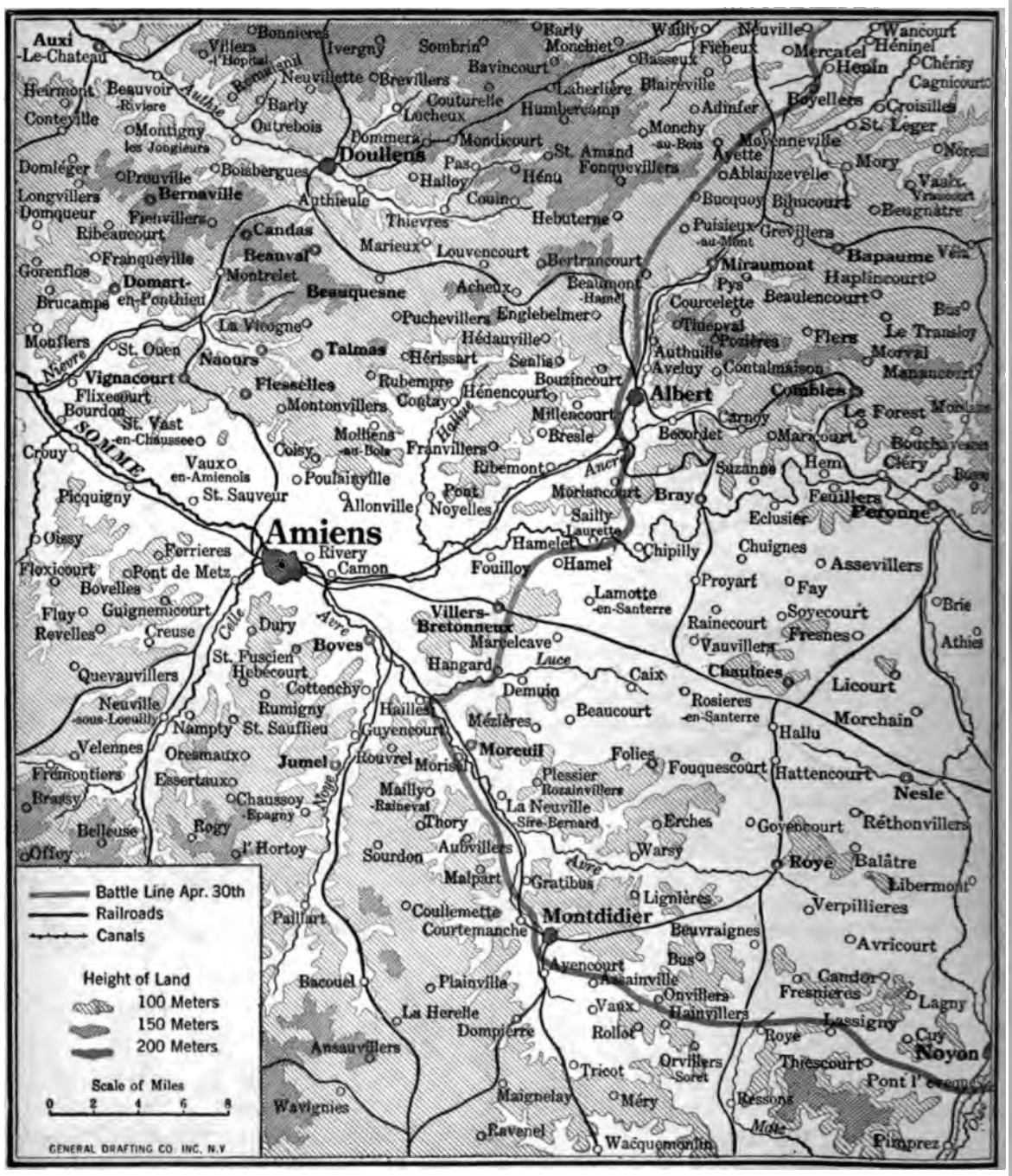
Finally, the situation in Russia boded ill

THE GERMAN BID FOR DECISION

The German drive beginning on March 21st had as a first geographical objective the city of Amiens.

Being held before Amiens the Germans attacked between Lens and Arras to widen the base of their wedge. Failing here they attacked at Armentiers. A larger success here might have opened the way to a flank attack on the hills opposite Lens terminating in Vimy Ridge. As it was the attack enabled the Germans to flank Ypres and threaten Dunkirk.

This northern attack, having failed to gain ground toward the west and south, has not materially aided the main German effort to separate the two armies, but has become an independent attempt at the channel ports



THE BATTLE OF PICARDY, TO MAY 1

The salient of the German advance in Picardy. The first geographical objective was Amiens, an important rail centre, the capture of which would badly disrupt the connections between the French and the British armies. The German onslaught, however, was stopped before Amiens. On the southern side of the German salient the French established a good line of defense on the hills behind the Avre and along the high ground south of Noyon to the junction of the old line. But the Germans have little to gain in an attack toward the south, for that would not separate the two armies. The French and British line from the Avre over the plateau by Hangard and Villers-Bretonneux, and along the high ground back of the Ancre brook past Albert—this part of the line would have to be pushed in before any further progress toward Amiens and the sea beyond would be made. But this part of the Allied line was established strongly on fairly high ground and the continued bitter struggles netted the Germans no gains

THE THIRD BATTLE OF YPRES BEFORE THE TAKING OF KEMMEL

When the main Picardy attack was stopped, the Germans attacked the Arras Sector in an effort to widen the base of their salient. When this failed they attacked north of Lens in an effort to flank the high ground which terminates near Arras from the north. This attack succeeded in pushing as far as St. Venant. The effort to move in the direction of Bethune failed. The salient was hardly wide enough to permit of further advance west. The German attack therefore centred on the line of hills Messines, Wytschaete, Kemmel, etc. A swift advance in this direction would have cut off the Ypres salient with many prisoners and large amounts of supplies. However, the advance was slow and the British withdrew their lines in front of Ypres to conform to the pressure from the south. This development of the battle has kept it from having any direct bearing on the Picardy attack, for the high ground which separates the two struggles has been completely defended by the British, and it is in no great danger from either German advance while it is a great obstacle to both

for Germany. Great rejoicing has taken place in Berlin and in Vienna over peace with Russia. But it is a peace which has not altered Germany's inability to keep faith with any Power. Her persistent worship of materialism and force has created a situation in Russia not at all to Germany's liking. Once the Russian border was absolutely undefended and the way to Petrograd and Moscow wide open, Germany could not resist the temptation to march on in continued aggression, regardless of treaty or promises or peace or morality. And Russia has furnished strong evidence that she is not at all complacent under such aggression.

TROUBLE AHEAD IN RUSSIA

The Russians are in a stage of transition, and are, therefore, unstable, mentally unsettled. They are completely dissatisfied at Germany's interpretation of the peace terms. They see themselves being starved that Germany may fatten on their granaries. They are reaching the point where organized resistance is the only answer of which the situation is capable. Steps have already been taken to form a new national army, to offer organized resistance to further encroachments. There are also large elements which have never accepted the unconditional surrender and which never will. At any moment in this land of instability, the fires which have been kindled by German bad faith and duplicity may break into a conflagration. There is no danger at the present time—there is danger that before the year is out public dissatisfaction and unrest may crystallize and Germany be faced with the most colossal guerilla war the world has seen; and while warfare of this kind cannot defeat Germany, it can neutralize many divisions of German troops and pin them down to the eastern front while the Allies make the finishing stroke in the west. This situation, out of which anything can grow, made it strongly advisable that Germany should act before the crystallization should take place.

Realizing that she could not wait without serious danger to herself, Germany mustered all her resources in the west for the great blow she was to deliver. The problem which confronted the German General Staff was to destroy one of the two great armies, that of France or that of England. Both could not be handled together. Germany did not have *the strength. The attack had to be delivered against one or the other.* Which should it be?

An attack against the French had certain advantages. The French army was unmistakably the weaker of the two. In the early days of the war, while the British army was being formed, it was the French who had to stand the brunt of the fighting. At Verdun it was the French who from February to July beat back the German assaults along the Meuse time after time in the most tremendous duel of the war. In the Battle of the Somme it was the French who fought their way forward south of the river to the outskirts of Péronne and Chaulnes. The French losses had, therefore, been very much greater than the British. As the populations of France and of the United Kingdom are about the same, the French people had, therefore, suffered much more than had the British, and were correspondingly less able to stand such a blow as Germany was able to deliver.

WHERE TO STRIKE

But there was one great disadvantage in attacking France. The blow could not be delivered against the front from St. Mihiel to the Swiss frontiers. This front is vulnerable only where the Vosges Mountains are broken by the great gaps at Belfort, Épinal, and Nancy; and these gaps are easy to defend and well backed up in rear by great bases of supply excellently served by many radiating railroad lines. It could not be delivered at Verdun, because France had not only retaken all the ground of military value which had been lost; but Verdun had become to France a religion, a fanaticism. To France it was a symbol of French love of country, of French patriotism. Verdun meant France. Germany, therefore, had no desire to test this fortified area again. This left only the Champagne line between the Argonnes Forest and Rheims.

If Germany had attacked this front, the British army, the stronger of her enemies, would soon have struck, and whether Germany so elected or not, she would nevertheless be running two major operations at the same time—one offensive in Champagne, the other defensive in Picardy or in Flanders. Again, suppose her army did bend the French line back, as it undoubtedly would, how far back would it have to go in order for Germany to reach a complete military decision? There would indeed be no such decision in sight, almost regardless of the depth of penetration. The lines might have to be rectified; Verdun

might have to be abandoned; the Vosges frontier line might have to be drawn in. But even so the French and British armies would both be intact; both biding their time when, with full force of their own and a million or more American troops, Germany could be beaten. In short, an attack against the French at any point, while promising new gains in territory, promised nothing in the way of a decision, and, be it remembered, this is Germany's last effort; it must reach either victory or defeat. The Battle of Picardy must and will produce a definite, positive result. It cannot end in indecision.

WHY THE STRONGER ARMY WAS ATTACKED

An attack against the British offered none of the disadvantages which attended an attack against the French. The British were stronger it is true. But this army, unlike that of the French, was trained for but one thing—trench warfare. If Germany could restore war in the open—a war of movement—this strength might be offset by a wider experience. In attacking the British, the French could be held in check by defensive tactics with not a great deal of difficulty; as in such operations the terrain was greatly in Germany's favor. To take a hurried glimpse of the French positions, we find them in the valley of the Ailette north of the Chemin des Dames facing the high slopes of the plateau on which is found Laon. In the Champagne they are facing a high rolling country, studded with good artillery positions and points of observation. In the Vosges, their problem is identical with that of the Germans—forcing the gaps in a barrier otherwise impassable. There would be then a minimum of danger from the French while Germany was engaged on the British front. Moreover, behind the British line was, first, Amiens, through which passed the great railroad systems from Calais, Boulogne, and Abbeville, binding together the British north of the Somme to the French in the south. With Amiens in German hands this connection would be badly ruptured. And farther on still was the sea, which, if Germany could reach it, would physically separate the great Allied army into two armies, without connection, each of which could be dealt with separately. And unlike an advance through Champagne, the farther the Germans pushed through, the closer the Allies came to total disaster and defeat. Germany, therefore, selected the British front
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this number the British, in the opening attack could oppose only 5,000 men to the mile. It is not surprising in view of this disparity in numbers that the British were completely overwhelmed. In spite of the rapidity of the initial German advance and the strength of the German attack, the hoped-for rupture of the Allied line at the Oise did not occur. The British and French, though retreating steadily, kept in close touch and preserved intact the continuity of their line.

EFFECT OF CROSSING THE SOMME

As the British section of the line withdrew, the French, in order to preserve this continuity, were necessarily affected. The French extreme left withdrew behind the Oise to throw this defensive screen before the German attack, gradually extending their left as the British retreat continued, passed Noyons and Pont l'Eveque. As the Allies in their retreat approached the Somme River, the German progress became slower, the efforts were labored. From this point indeed, the huge battle took on something of the nature of the battle of Verdun. It became a fight for limited objectives. Each village offered resistance and became the object of an independent battle. The German advance, however, though slow was not the less persistent and steady.

With the crossing of the Somme and the Somme-Aisne Canal on the front between Peronne and Noyons, the battle was automatically divided into two well defined areas by the east and west course of the Somme between Peronne and Amiens. In the southern area, the Allied line was held by both British and French in about equal proportions. But the French were not yet in great force. The Germans, having passed both the Somme and the Canal, fought their way westward step by step, in total disregard of losses, until the line of the Avre River was reached. Here the French, who held the line from the Luce River south and then east, made a position stand, and a series of pitched battles occurred for the river crossing. The first of these to fall was Montdidier at the head waters of the Avre. This enabled the German army to reach westward of the river and spread out after crossing to flank the defenses to the north. Gradually the left bank of the river was cleared as far north as Moreuil. Here the high ground on the left bank between Moreuil and the mouth of the Luce enabled the French to beat off all German attacks for several days. Finally, however, both Moreuil and Morisel were taken and later the village of Cassel, the Avre being thus cleared of the Allied troops as far north as the mouth of the Luce. From Cassel to the Somme, however, the German forces found themselves in serious difficulties. About Hangard, particularly, the fighting was exceptionally heavy; but after changing hands several times, the Germans were finally thrown across to the southern bank of the Luce and there held in place. From Hangard north to the Somme the result was the same. After struggling for days against the troops on the high plateau of which Villers-Bretonneux is the centre, the Germans were brought to a standstill in their attempts to approach Amiens by way of the Avre-Somme angle.

TO DESTROY AN ARMY

In the battlefield north of the Somme, the British retired slowly until they were safely behind the Ancre River, which figured so prominently in the battle of the Somme in 1916. Taking Albert, an important British base, the Germans tried desperately to push beyond and reach the railroad which runs along the lower Ancre from Amiens to Albert. Failing in this, they struck heavily in the angle between the Somme and the Ancre in order to flank the line north of Albert from the high ground north-east of Corbie. Here also they met with defeat, so that from Beaumont-Hamel southward the Allied line became stationary.

At this point in the battle the Germans found themselves in this situation: from Montdidier westward the French lines were firmly established first along a series of small but well defined heights as far as Noyons and thence along the southern bank of the Oise as far as the lower forest of Coucy. This side of the wedge was firmly fixed and capable of great resistance. Moreover, to expend time and men in an attack on this front would mean a serious departure from the German plan, as success here would mean an advance toward Paris instead of toward the sea. And at this stage of the war, peace cannot be obtained by the capture of any city, even the French capital. The price of peace is the destruction of an army, either that of the British or that of the French. This can be accomplished only

through reaching the sea at some central point such as Abbeville at the mouth of the Somme.

Therefore, the German problem had of necessity to find its solution north of Montdidier—between that town and Albert. There is not much doubt that by concentrating sufficient artillery and by the expenditure of sufficient men, the German leaders would be able to push their way farther westward, even beyond Amiens. But as the wedge deepened it would gradually draw down to a point so that the ultimate situation would be that the German lines would form an acute angle, the vortex of which would be on the Somme at or west of Amiens, one side passing through Albert, or possibly through the village of Bucquoy, the other through Montdidier. Such a formation would mean positive disaster. It would be worth a quarter of a million men to the Allies to strike both north and south across the base of this angle and snuff it out. It would mean to Germany the loss of a mass of artillery and tens of thousands of men. And the Allies would not be slow to see this opportunity and strike. The German High Command, therefore, did not dare to take the chance with matters as they then were.

THE ATTACK SHIFTED

In order that the German army might continue its march to the sea then, it was necessary that the line north of the Somme should advance, synchronizing its movement with the point of the wedge along the river. Thus only would the wedge be sufficiently wide to avoid disaster. But the entire northern wing of the British army was guarded by Vimy Ridge and the heights of Notre Dame de Lorete. It was impossible that the advance could be made, leaving these positions directly on the flank. The combination of these two heights forms a huge semicircle concave toward the south. The British batteries posted on these heights could continue to rake the German advancing troops in flank and rear with most destructive effect. Therefore, after the fighting in the south came to a halt, the Germans undertook to open the way by forcing these two positions. Using seven divisions—about 90,000 men—the Germans attacked on a front not exceeding ten miles from Arleux to Fampoux on the Scarpe. The attack continued for two days, but was an absolute failure. The German advance had to be made

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peared to have passed from German hands. The element of surprise, so essential to success even in trench warfare, was no longer possible. The gradual retirements of the British around Ypres were not costly nor did they "open a way" to the channel ports as the Germans hoped. The Germans had fixed the points of attack—and these were the only possible points: southern Flanders and from the Avre to the Scarpe. Germany had already used in the offense 130 divisions out of 204; and of these 50 had been in action twice—while the British had been heavily engaged from the outset, the French have had but few divisions in action. There was, therefore, apparently much greater reserve strength behind the Allies' battle line than Germany could possibly muster. And it is reserve strength which must ultimately decide the issue.

Germany has taken the great plunge—the concentration and utilization of her entire resources in man power in a final effort to win. It is Germany's last bid for victory before the peace propaganda is launched. Germany must win or go down to defeat. But Germany cannot stop. She must go on and on regardless of cost. She has expended literally hundreds of thousands of men, not for territorial conquest as the German press has pointed out and emphasized, but to destroy the British army. What figment of pretense is left if the battle remains indecisive? None the less, for the Allies as well the situation is serious though not critical. The crisis of the Great War is truly at hand. None can doubt the outcome who has any belief in honor and justice among civilized nations.

rs the progress of the Battle of Picardy down to April 25.
RLD'S WORK, *a similar analysis of later phases of the battle*

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

Ingenious Devices by Which Men Injured in the War Are Being Rendered Capable of Doing Useful Work

THE reconstruction of men injured in battle is one of the many problems which this war is forcing upon the nations engaged in the struggle. The question is not only economic; it is social as well. The work of the reconstructed man will increase the nation's economic production, but more important, perhaps, is the fact that the crippled man will not be condemned to languish in idleness because of his misfortune. Modern surgery and mechanical ingenuity are doing much to help the injured soldier hold his place in the world of useful toil.

One of the most interesting results is the great improvement that has been made in artificial limbs. The devices range from the simple hooks and swivel-mounted sockets which enable a laborer to use a spade or hoe, up to the hands with movable thumbs and fingers which are fairly good substitutes for real arms and hands. The substitutes for the hand are the most ingenious and doubtless most important. Four specimens of these are shown on page 223. At the top of the page, an English laboratory assistant is shown using the hook-and-grip type of hand, and one of the lower pictures on the same page shows a French veteran who has learned to write and draw with another kind of artifical hand. The last picture on that page shows the belts which make possible the control of each separate finger and thumb of the "Amar hand." A man who possesses high intelligence and sufficient patience can learn to do with the Amar replacements many things that seem almost impossible for an armless man. For example, one French officer has learned to operate a typewriter with his artificial arms and hands.

Dr. Jules Amar of the Paris Institute of Vocational Reëducation is the inventor of these articulated hands. This Institute is taking a leading part in the work of human reconstruction.

USED BY SKILLED WORKERS

The simple ring can also be used effectively by workers in the more skilled mechanical occupations. The picture is of a British "mutile" working on submarine fittings

THE SIMPLEST SUBSTITUTE FOR THE HAND

The plain hook, almost a ring. With its aid a surprising variety of manual operations can be performed. The photograph is of a French soldier who lost both arms at the Marne

SOCKETS FOR HOLDING TOOLS

This type, pivoted to swing between swivel-mounted jaws, will fit the handle of a spade, or almost any other agricultural implement

CLAMPS FOR HOLDING TOOLS

This photograph shows a French "mutilé" using a wood-carving tool held by an efficient spring clamp

ANOTHER TYPE OF CLAMP

Formed by light but strong steel jaws which can grip tools firmly. *This French soldier* earns full wages at his trade

A SUBSTITUTE FOREARM

When the arm is amputated above the elbow, the substitute forearm, a stiff steel rod, can be fitted with clamps for holding tools

A VISE HAND

A form of clamp similar to an ordinary hand vise is an excellent substitute hand for the skilled worker. These French cabinet-makers find themselves able to compete with their sound fellow-workmen

ALMOST A REAL HAND

In devices of this type, steel hooks are arranged to work in opposition, like the thumb and fingers of the real hand. The motion of the movable part is controlled by rods and springs attached to the upper arm

HAND WITH MOVABLE THUMB

The hand having the fingers fixed in a partially flexed position and a movable thumb, controlled by the muscles of the upper arm and shoulder, has been found very useful for professional workers

© Underwood & Underwood

HAND WITH MOVABLE FINGERS

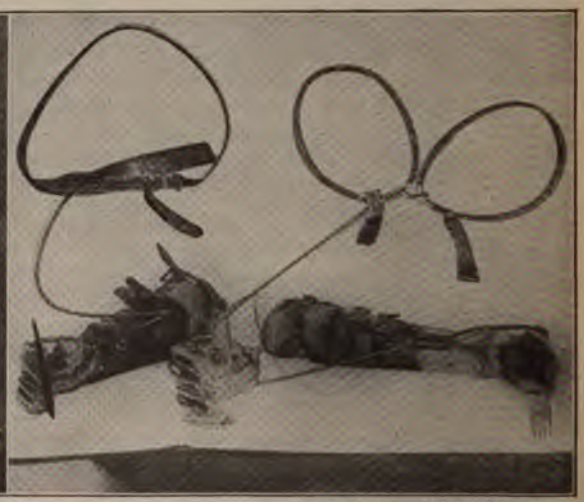
Most marvelous of all replacements are the artificial hands devised by Dr. Jules Amar of the Paris Institute for Vocational Re-education. The Amar hand has the thumb and fingers jointed

THE "KELLER KLAW"

The "Keller Klaw" is the invention of a one-armed German peasant. It enables the wearer to lift anything the hooks can surround, will grasp any tool from an axe to a penknife by tightening the straps, and can be repaired by any local blacksmith or harnessmaker

A POPULAR DEVICE

This is one of the most popular tool-holding devices adopted for the use of French "mutiles." The clamp which grips the tool can be set at varying angles



© Kadel and Herbert

THE "COSMETIC" HAND

© Underwood & Underwood

Substitute hands shaped like the natural member may be merely "cosmetic" devices, worn only for looks, or capable of actual service; solid blocks or having jointed fingers, which may or may not be movable by mechanical means. The photograph shows various types of such imitation hands, with implements adapted to be attached to them

The World's W

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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PREMIER WILLIAM M. HUGHES

Of Australia, whose visit to the United States has called renewed attention to the skill and devotion with which he has held that Commonwealth to the single purpose of defeating Germany

THE
WORLD'S WORK

JULY, 1918

VOLUME XXXVI

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

THE fourth of July, the day dedicated to political freedom, finds us this year arrayed in battle against the most formidable and ruthless enemy that has undertaken to trample out human rights since our forefathers wrenched the small beginnings of popular liberty from King John on the banks of Runnymede in England in the year 1215.

From that time to 1775 the principles of democracy developed so slowly, and their spread was so limited that they gave little indication of covering the world. But since the time of the establishment of the United States, practically every country in the world, by peaceful means or by bloodshed, has tried to join the ranks of democracy. Democracy as a world force is scarcely 150 years old. In that 150 years its superficial spread had been so rapid that we did not realize the strength of the forces that were being marshaled against us. We hoped that democracy would automatically spread in peace.

But unhappily most of the tenets which we accepted as true were not truths. The greater part of lation is not educated sufficie the vision of the advantages o have the ability to conduct a reap those advantages in full. fore, the easier made the dup

The war has been a rude The democratic countries are for their own freedom, but a to educate the world. It is in history to live. We are greatest struggle for huma recorded, and the first stru records in which many natio in an altruistic cause for free tion. We are fighting for ence all over the world, and accept Patrick Henry's in "Give me Liberty, or give cause can neither have death only alternative must be vict must not again lapse into German tutelage.

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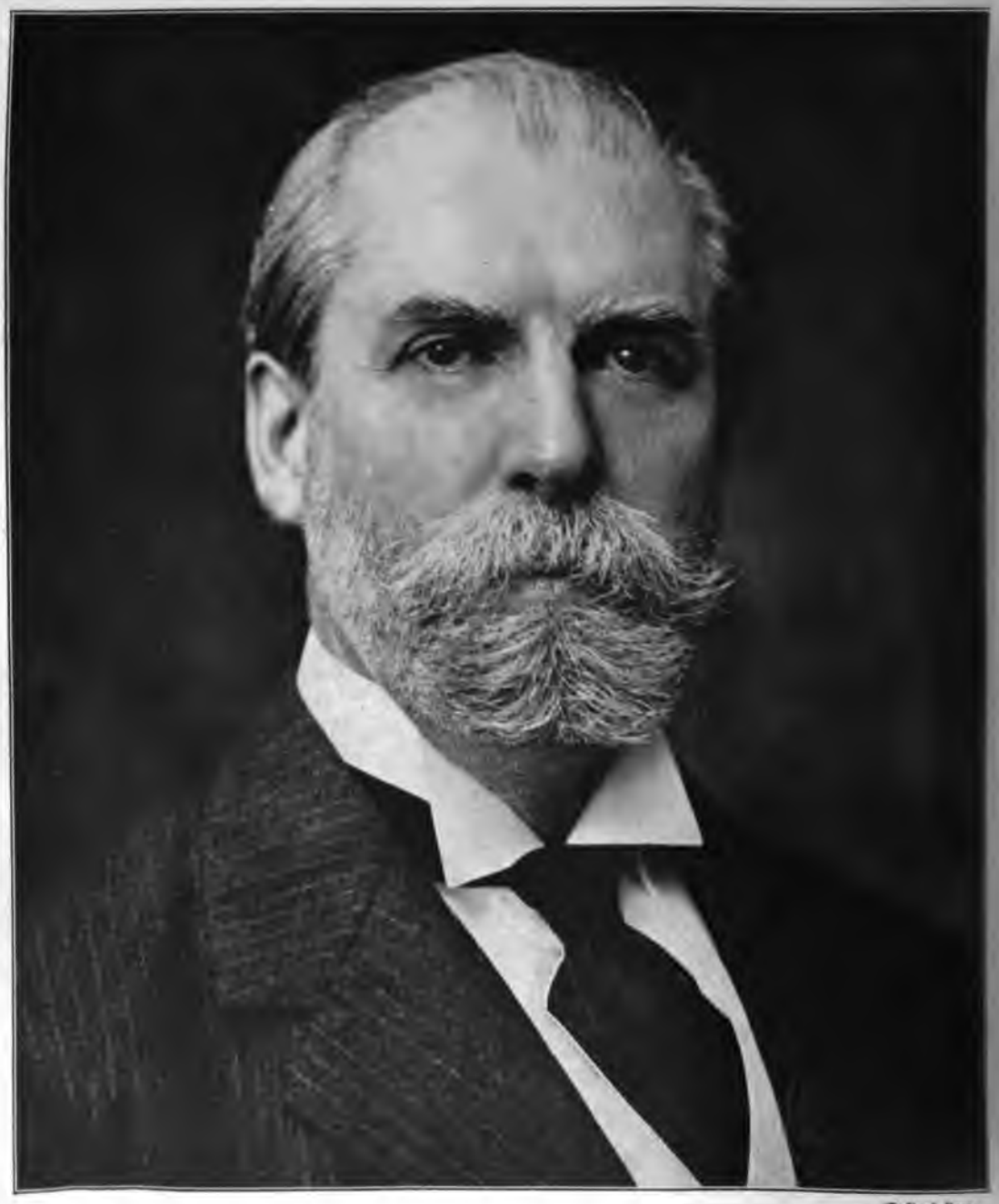
BRIG.-GEN. HENRY WORTH THORNTON

An American who was recently promoted to this rank from a colonelcy in the British Army for his success in transporting troops across the English Channel. General Thornton was formerly the Superintendent of the Long Island Railroad

BARON SHIMPEI GOTO

The new Foreign Minister of Japan who is trying to establish a firm basis in the East and to come to a fair understanding with China



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MR. CHARLES E. HUGHES

To whom President Wilson intrusted the investigation of the conduct of our air programme—a wise selection which gives the public complete confidence in the investigation

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MR. FELIX FRANKFURTER

Under Secretary Wilson of the Department of Labor, he is the head of the Government's labor policy. His single aim is to conduct his work so as to help win the war

© Harris & Ewing

COL. JOHN N. HODGES

In command of the American engineers in France and the first American to receive the Distinguished Service Order of Great Britain, awarded to him for effective coöperation with General Carey in closing the gap in the line during the first German offensive of this year

Men

IT HAS been authoritatively stated that on June first we had a little more than 2 million men under arms, that more than half a million were then in France, and that another million were sufficiently trained to go as fast as transport can be had to carry them. At present indications, at least a million and a half Americans should be in France by January 1, 1919.

At present a German division has about 12,000 men. Ours are larger, but, taking the German as a basis of estimate, a half million men would make about 41 divisions. But of the men we have in France a great number must be auxiliary troops, used for engineering, transportation, air service, etc., etc. In other words a half million men really represent nearer 25 than 41 divisions of 12,000 men. A million and a half represent nearer 75 divisions than 123. At the end of the 6th day of the German attack between Soissons and Rheims, 50 German divisions had been identified in this particular struggle. To match the numbers used in this attack would mean an army of about a million men. Altogether the Germans are credited with something more than 210 divisions on the western front.

Our allies have fewer than this. To change from a numerical inferiority, which has lost us the initiative and kept us on the defensive this spring, to a superiority must mean sending a very large army. This is merely on the basis of the numbers of the two opposing forces as they stood at the beginning of this spring. Since that time both British and French have been through terrific fighting. The Germans have also, but we shall do well not to comfort our minds too much with the German losses, for their use of gas has been very effective, and, in many places, their advance has been very rapid and, therefore, probably not terribly costly.

The problem of restoring a superiority in man power is, therefore, a large one.

The problem is further complicated by the question of time. The Germans have several possible methods of meeting our additions if we give them time to do it. It is not impossible that they would organize Russian soldiers for non-combatant duties and thus release more Germans to fight. The Russians presumably would not prefer this, but thousands of Russians are without food and clothing and men will do a good deal to escape nake

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To be certain, therefore,
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we must work upon a trem
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to further the particular ends of a minority without regard to the results on any one else. However the Sinn Feiners or Nationalists have hypnotized themselves by their real or fancied grievances, Americans know very clearly what the result of their policy is. For every Irishman that refuses to go three hundred miles overseas, we must send two of our men three thousand miles—one to take the place of the Irishman who won't go and one to take the place of the Englishman who must watch the Irishman who won't go.

The action of the Irish Sinn Feiners and Nationalists has already had one effect on the American mind. It has shown beyond a doubt that whatever other merits or demerits there are in the contentions of the southern Irish, they contain in an unbelievable measure the curse of pure selfishness. Rather than give up one jot or tittle of their contention or even admit of delay, they are willing to jeopardize the cause of Great Britain, France, Italy, America, and the many other defenders of civilization.

The more we see of the character of the Southern Irish in the white light of war, the more we begin to understand the apprehension of Ulster and the difficulties of the British Government. If Mr. Dillon and his followers really desire the friendship and sympathy for their cause which used to be well nigh universal in this country, Mr. Dillon should counsel his followers to cease treating the cause for which we are fighting with indifference and enmity and to join the fight themselves—on our side.

The Insurrectionary Eastern Front

THE eastern front has ceased to exist in Russia for some months now. Can we resurrect it again in Poland, Bohemia, and in the Southern Slav territories of Austria? Is it possible to establish a line of insurrection between Germany and the fruits of her victory in Russia? Is there a backfire ready to light among the oppressed peoples of the Central Empires that will cut Germany's communications to the east and call men from her armies in the West.

Mr. André Cheradame says that all this is possible. In a recent article in the *Atlantic Monthly* he calls attention to the fact that there is a continuous barrier of subject peoples to the east of the Germans, German-Austrians,

and Magyars extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

These are the Letts, Lithuanians, Poles, Bohemians, Rumanians, and Jugo-Slavs. This continuous line lies across every eastern line of communication Germany has. The hope of freedom and the desire for revolution extends in varying intensity throughout this insurrectionary line.

The papers almost every day give some item concerning the unrest in these regions, the most convincing proofs being the attacks of the German and Austrian papers upon what they call the disloyalty of the Bohemians, Poles, and Slavs. But without this corroboration, the testimony of M. Cheradame is sufficient. He has spent his life studying the German plan of organizing Europe under the House of Hohenzollern. He studied under the great Sorel at the Academy of Political Science in Paris in the early nineties. He then went to Germany and happened to find a German pamphlet written in 1894 with the approval of the German Government which outlined the German domination of Europe practically as it now exists.

From that time on M. Cheradame has spent his life studying the German plan of conquest, writing about it, and trying to awaken a sleeping world to its menace. His studies have been made on the ground, he knows the people whereof he writes. He believes that an insurrectionary front can be established in the east that would disrupt German communications and necessitate the withdrawal of men from the western front.

If there was a weak spot of that character in our armor, the Germans would not fail to make use of it. Agents, propaganda, and money would flow into the disaffected districts. M. Cheradame suggests that we do the same, and add arms to the propaganda via the air route.

II

This is a world war and not merely a war on the western front. M. Cheradame urges us to recognize this, and turn our eyes to the disaffected parts of the Teutonic empires. We must do this and look further also. In the country inhabited by 400 million Chinese a chronic civil war is raging—has been raging since the inception of the Republic. As the disintegration which accompanies war sets in, the German agents slip into the interior of the country, with plans
for German domination.
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It is an interesting commentary also
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ciency that the Government took ov
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put up a great gun factory for it, althou
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It is not always a fact, however, th
ganizations that justify themselves in
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however, was not based on the relation
United Shoe Machinery Co. to the war.
decision rested on the broader foundation
industrial efficiency is good for the nati
all times. The following sentences o
Supreme Court are almost a new Bill of R
for American business.

"The idea is repellant that so complete an instrumentality should be dismantled and its concentration and efficiency lost."

"The company indeed has magnitude, but it is at once the result and cause of efficiency . . ."

The Court, therefore, holds that efficiency even if acquired through size is a public benefit.

The Court further said, however, that the charge that the efficiency—i. e. power—of the company had been oppressively used was not shown by the facts.

This means that any company can be as efficient and as large as it likes so long as it does not harm the public. If that is the law, certainly it is the common sense of the situation.

It is a fact, of course, that all business done with the public is public business. If a company becomes an obstreperous servant, the public's remedy is not to dissolve it so that it has neither the ability to serve nor the power to be obstreperous.

In this connection it is interesting to find that the Court in rendering the decision pointed out the fact that even if the company were guilty, the remedy of dissolution asked by the Government would result in no public benefit.

The newspapers have all mentioned the fact that four judges concurred in the decision and that three dissented, while two justices, Brandeis and McReynolds, did not participate on account of their previous connection with the case. In their previous connection both of them had appeared against the company. On the face of it, therefore, it would seem that a full Court might reverse this decision on the next case that comes up. It is not likely, however. The part of the Shoe Machinery Co. activities which Justice Brandeis particularly objected to were certain leasing clauses which are peculiar to this company alone. He is far too shrewd a judge of business to be found casting his vote against efficiency even if it is the cause and product of size.

The Supreme Court in the same decision in which it acquitted the United Shoe Machinery Co. convicted the machinery of justice in the United States.

A part of the Court's decision reads as follows:

Considering the remedy prayed, which is extreme even in its mildest demands, we may ask, What of the investments that have been made during these years of extension and development of the new company's business? How pick out from the new conditions the conditions of 1899 and restore them and the art of that time, and r
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of the basket.' This explains the thought in mind in another way. To work for your means that you must zealously guard basket, for eternal vigilance and industry always the price of success. Your investment in an enterprise means you will work harder for it, and your work will make your investment more valuable.

"As a rule, I think small investors should confine their purchases of stocks to local enterprises because they have not usually the means available for making the necessary investigation concerning foreign enterprises. In regard to local concerns they can make inquiries through their banks and by other means at hand which gives them abundant information for determining values. As a general proposition, to insure safety of investment, those contemplating such investment should pay more attention to the character and reputation of the management of the company whose stocks they buy, for a competent organization is one of the best assets of a company, and, of course, the reverse of this is true, that a poor organization means failure.

"A matter of great importance in considering the financial position of any company is to analyze carefully the character of its physical assets to see that patents and good will are not over-valued, or that the company does not carry too large a percentage of its capital in non-productive assets.

"When one has invested with full knowledge of the conditions surrounding his investment he should not be disturbed by rumors or fluctuations of earnings. In my case, with full knowledge of the fact that the iron enterprise in which I early invested was sound and well maintained, although my stock values fluctuated as a logical result of the ups and downs of business, my confidence in this enterprise was never influenced by fluctuations in stock values. Unfortunately, investors are too frequently scared by rumors, and unless they have full knowledge of the conditions affecting their enterprise or investments, too frequently sacrifice their holdings out of fright, whereas with full knowledge of the situation, their confidence would remain unshaken and useless sacrifice would be avoided."

THE GREAT FOCH

"Did Joffre Already Have a Presentiment of the Events Which We in the Centre of the French Lines, When He Put in, Not so New Forces, As *a New Force*, the Great Foch?"

BY

MAJOR E. RÉQUIN

(Of the French General Staff)

FOCH has been for 40 years the incarnation of the French military spirit. Through his teachings and his example he was the moral director of the French General Staff before becoming the Supreme Chief of the Allied Armies. Upon each one of us he has imprinted his strong mark. We owed to him in time of peace that unity of doctrine which was our strength. Since the war we owe to him the highest lessons of intellectual discipline and moral energy.

Physically, Foch is a man of medium height with an exceptionally striking face. His is the forehead of a thinker which is marked by two characteristic folds between the eyebrows; he has deep set eyes, a large nose, a mouth clearly outlined under a gray mustache, a wilful chin. All the features are strongly marked. His whole face expresses meditation and action, great thought and a tenacious will.

His words are brief and always exactly suited to the idea, each one having its own value, and usually accompanied by a gesture which completes the phrase, either to develop or to summarize it.

Constantly at work, either meditating or discussing with a limited number of officers in whom he has entire faith; he notes in a small book, which he has constantly at hand, each one of the ideas to be remembered, with writing as clear as his every thought.

Foch was especially known in peace time through his instruction at the *École Superieure de Guerre*. As a professor, and then as director, he applied the method which consists in taking as the base of all strategical and tactical instruction the study of history completed by the study of military history—that is to say, field operations, orders given, actions, results, the criticisms to be made and the instruction to be drawn from them. He also used concrete cases—that i laid by the director on th actual ground according t situation.

By this intellectual tra tomed the officers to solving by giving them ready made accustoming them in findin tion suitable to each individ

His mind was trained thro of study, that no war situa him. In the most difficult pointed out the goal to be means to employ, and each it must be right.

For it was during the August and September, 19 Joffre realized what a valu was to be to him. In the 1914 he commanded the 2 raine. He displayed such three months later he was gi of an army. It was at t Joffre was preparing his r Marne. Did Joffre alread ment of the events which we the centre of the French line not so much new forces, a great chief that he had fore

A WILL STRONGER TH

Anyway, raising a few d 4th and 5th armies and reinf divisions, the 42nd and the 18 placed this force under the l It was upon this mass, first tachment" and then the 9 German offensive broke a few Foch likes to recall the mo this 9th army: "We were," h parents. A General Staff gathered in haste to start wit ing material, our note books

A SKETCH FROM LIFE OF GENERAL FOCH

Drawn by Major E. Réquin, who executed Foch's famous order to swing the 42nd Division out of active contact in one part of the battle in order to attack in another—the unprecedented manoeuvre that won the battle of the Marne in 1914. Since that time Major Réquin has served on General Foch's staff and he is now attached to the French High Commission in Washington

For my part, I slept the first night with the guard soldiers at their post in the village, to be sure not to lose the new General Staff. Thus was the 9th army created. One must imagine the difficulties of organization and command of an army, formed in the course of the falling back movements which prepared the victory of the Marne, among the crowds of population fleeing before the horrors of invasion and encumbering the roads without the possibility of stopping for a single day! However, under Foch's authority, the 9th army soon learned that it existed, and acquired the realization of its own value. It felt itself moved by a will stronger than events, and when on September 5th it stopped upon the heights northeast of Sezanne, it was ready for every effort and every sacrifice. Joffre's command "to win or die," found it as ready to die as its chief was determined to win.

KNOWS WHAT A FRENCH ARMY CAN DO

The battle had gone on violently for three days.

Upon the left, the 42nd Division, engaged in a violent wood combat across the road from Sezanne to Champaubert, was disputing with the enemy the village of St. Prix.

In the centre, the Moroccan Division was holding firmly on the heights of Mondement. The 9th corps reinforced by a reserve division stretched out on the right. But this army corps was already bending to keep in touch with the 11th corps thrown back by a crushing attack of the enemy as far as the Gougançon heights. All the reserves were engaged. The right of the army had only been halted by the strongest injunctions of Foch, and all was in a state of insecure equilibrium which the redoubled efforts of the enemy threatened to disturb.

Almost any other commander would have admitted himself beaten. But Foch did not wish to be. Gen. Foch had a most exact knowledge of what can be obtained from a French army. On the evening of May 8th I was ordered by him to carry to the 10th army corps —right corps of the neighboring army which was placed under his authority for the morrow —the command to relieve the 42nd Division and to the 42nd Division the command to come and place itself facing east at the front of Ruisseau la Superbe—and to attack at 2 P. M. the right flank of the enemy who already thought themselves victorious.

This manoeuvre was
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tunately the fall of Antwerp released the German troops which were besieging that city, and the unexpected arrival of a new German army completely organized was to alter the situation. Foch was to be forced to change from the strategical offensive, which he wanted, to the strategical defensive which the crushing numerical superiority of the enemy imposed. It was to be the battle of Flanders or first battle of Ypres.

FOCH COMES AND CONFIDENCE RETURNS

It is essential to state the part which Foch played before and during this battle. As usual his arrival upon this new front on October 4th marked the return of confidence. There could then be no looking back, doubting oneself, or doubting ones troops. We examined with him the whole battle front in the morning of October 4th, and I still recall that brief command which he dictated in the Rue d'Aubigny near Arras, to a Staff officer:

"It is absolutely forbidden to abandon a position no matter what the situation may be, before being ejected by a regular attack of the enemy."

And signing this order himself on the officer's note book, in the presence of the commander of the army, Foch made a gesture which, for those that knew him well meant that such an order would not be repeated.

The morning of October 4th had sufficed him to instil into everyone, great and small, his confidence and energy.

The 10th French army was, by successive reinforcements, going to form north of Arras.

The British army would take as its direction the north of Lille.

It is at this moment that the fall of Antwerp occurred followed by the appearance of the 4th German army in Belgium.

From the first instant Foch guessed the meaning of the German manoeuvre and took steps to make it fail.

SAVES CALAIS AND DUNKIRK

The German Staff wanted the decision of the war. It took as its objectives the naval bases of Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, just as it has done to-day, and sought to overcome the left wing of the Allies.

The German offensive comprised two attacks to be conducted parallel to one another. The one, with a base of heavy artillery afforded by *the German troops* coming from Antwerp, would crush what remained of the Belgian army and would occupy our ports. The other constantly reinforced by the 4th army, would endeavor by way of Ypres to reach the heights of Kemmel, Cassel, and overflow the Anglo-French left wing.

It was therefore a matter for Foch to raise a wall before both these attacks and to smash them. The decisive victory which would be obtained later depended on this. His first action was that of reëstablishing a liaison with the Belgian army and to reinforce it so as to prolong the front to the sea.

Upon the still empty space stretching between Lys and the coast, he formed a few strong centres such as Ypres and Dixmude; then connected them by filling in the spaces with the available Anglo-French troops.

While he was improvising this new front, he sent ahead all the available French and British cavalry to reconoitre and check the enemy.

From October 23rd to November 12th the battle raged. The Germans concentrated as many as 15 army corps between Lys and the sea, but all their assaults failed before the energy of the Allied troops. The commands of Foch at this period, all without exception reflect that superior will which galvanized the troops:

"Maintenir indiscutablement l'occupation de tel position." "Arreter implacablement l'ennemi sur tel front."

THE KAISER COMMANDED AND FAILED

The Kaiser was there reiterating to his troops the command to enter Ypres the 1st of November. He had numerical superiority, material superiority, and that superiority which is given by the organization of one homogeneous army. Foch's army comprised, French, British, Belgians, cavalrymen on foot without bayonets, old territorials, and sailors little accustomed to fight on land.

But with all these odds and ends, Foch by a prodigy of energy, had made one single army, giving them one single spirit. The Kaiser's will supported by fifteen German army corps carefully trained, failed before the superior will of Foch, chief of a coalized army organized during the battle. For the second time after the Marne, the Allies were saved.

Having placed his confidence in Foch during the entire battle of Flanders, Marshal Joffre gave him all the means which he could raise on the rest of the front. When the battle was

ended our reserves of ammunition were almost exhausted.

A negative success, Foch would say with his rough frankness, but a success without which the victory of the Allies would have been impossible, and the very next day he saw that the German offensive upon the western front was broken for more than a year. This was the necessary time for England to form her new armies. The French army from the Marne to Verdun has never ceased covering the preparations of the coalition. This is why its present chief has a right to require of others that they make haste. This is why this sense of the value of time is so deeply rooted in us all.

TO MAKE WAR IS TO ATTACK

If one looks at one of Foch's orders it is rare not to find this imperative ending, "without delay." "Without delay" must remain now more than ever the motto for all of us.

If circumstances in which Foch has been called upon several times to take command of the Allied armies, have temporarily imposed upon him the strategical defensive, we must never forget that he is essentially for offensive. "They will never get it out of my head," he said one day, "*that to make war is to attack.*"

It was by an attack that on the Marne his great inspiration was shown. It was with a tactical offensive that on the Yser he resisted the formidable German push of October, 1914. It was the offensive that he studied during the winter and spring of 1915; but it was not until July, 1916, that he possessed the material and means of execution. Marshal Joffre then entrusted to him the direction of the Somme offensive. He conducted it with such success that the enemy, frightened by their losses, determined in the future to decline such a battle. To appreciate the results of this offensive one must note the decision of the enemy at the period when they prescribed the construction of the Hindenburg position, that is to say in November and December, 1916. If the Germans did not retreat until the spring of 1917, it is because Foch's offensive was checked by the winter and by events independent of his will.

It would be unnecessary to recall the part played by Foch in the steadying of the Italian front on the Piave last winter, if it were not to emphasize the knowledge he possesses of all the Allied armies and the well-earned confidence with which he inspires them.

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Said to the Builders of the *Tuckahoe*—His
Kitchener—How He Gets Great Tasks
is Personality and His Record and
He Expects to Get More Ships this
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BY

NK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

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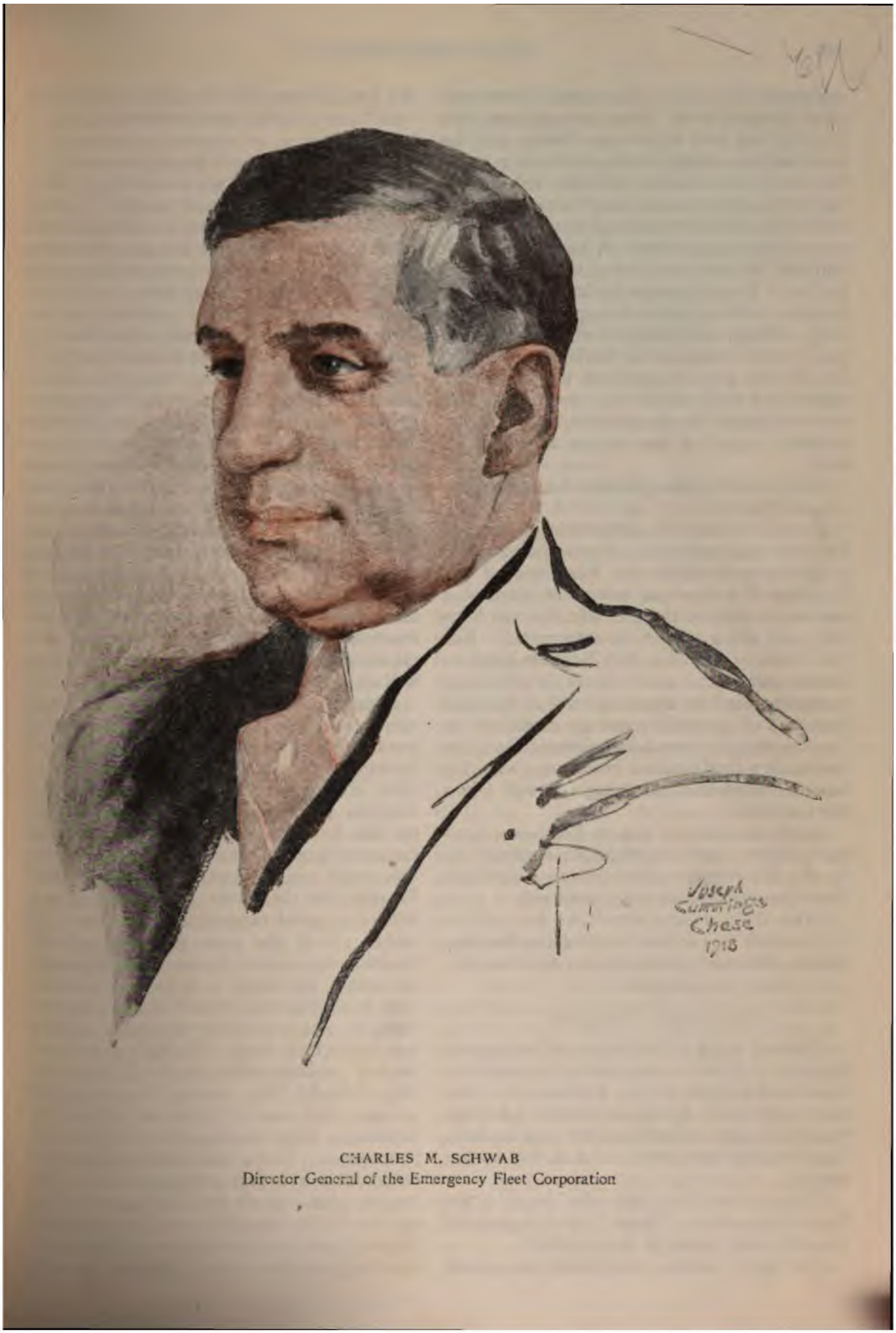
s accepted instantly, unhesitatingly, as the one best possible selection. Why? What has he done to warrant the belief that perhaps the biggest thing President Wilson has yet done was to make Mr. Schwab Director-General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation?

There is only one answer—personality; the quality of leadership that makes men want to "work their heads off" for him; the kind of optimism that inspires every one with whom he comes in contact with belief in himself and his own abilities; the sort of democracy that makes the men driving rivets in a ship's keel grin and address him as "Charley"; the knowledge of human nature that makes him understand that to get the best work out of a man you must first set a mark for him to reach and then make it worth his while to reach it.

Those are the qualities and the methods Mr. Schwab is bringing and applying to the big shipbuilding task, and already—in a single month—his personality has made itself felt. Ships are slipping off the ways a little oftener, rivets are being driven a little faster, because he is on the job; every detail of ship construction, from the movement of steel through the mills to the last coat of paint on the upper works, has felt the quickening touch, and the whole ship programme, as this is written, is gaining momentum from day to day.

The credit, first for discerning that leadership was needed to speed up shipbuilding and then for commandeering Mr. Schwab, belongs to Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the U. S. Shipping Board; but it took President Wilson's personal appeal to persuade the steel man to



CHARLES M. SCHWAB
Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation

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Mr. Schwab knew that he would deal with this "job" just as he has dealt with every job since he first became, at nineteen, a leader—I was going to say "boss," but that wouldn't be accurate—of men. They knew that he would find ways, new, ingenious, practical ways to stimulate rivalry between the different shipbuilding plants, between the gangs of men in each plant, between individual workmen, from managers to riveters; they knew, too, that he would make it worth every man's while to do a little bit more than was expected of him—or a good deal more, for that matter—and, most important of all, they knew he would deal out praise and approbation, express appreciation publicly for good work, in such ways as to be worth more to the men receiving it than any money reward. For it was by exactly those means that Charles M. Schwab won his way up from driving stakes for an engineer to the presidency of the United States Steel Corporation at 39, built the Bethlehem Steel Corporation into the biggest shipbuilding concern in the world and the greatest rival of Krupp's in the manufacture of guns and armor plate, and made himself beyond doubt the most commanding personality in American industry, as well as the most genuinely democratic.

Perhaps Mr. Schwab's methods of getting results are best explained by saying that he works with men as his instruments as other business men work with dollars. He never talks of dollars nor much about the commodities that bring the dollars. You can't get him to talk about ships or shells or steel for more than ten seconds before he begins to talk about men—the men behind the product. Therein lies the secret of his success as a builder of great organizations, a doer of big things. It is the man that interests Mr. Schwab—not men in the mass but the individual man. He wants to help that particular man to do his work better and get more for doing it. He is a master of the art of getting men to do their best. "Nobody ever worked for me," he said, talking to the shipbuilders at Hog Island, "but many thousands have worked with me." When he talks of his Bethlehem Steel employees as "my partners" he means it. Every man in the employ of the corporation is a real partner, sharing in the profits, given every possible opportunity to express his individuality even in so commonplace a job as driving rivets or running a crane, and it is from the ranks of the workers them-

selves that he selects the men who become his managers, superintendents, directors, officers of his companies.

When, in 1905, he decided the time was ripe and the field open for a steel manufacturing concern that should specialize in high-grade products, making steel of qualities not widely used in America, and fabricating articles, such as guns, armor-plate, ship forgings and a long line of other products, in which Europe, and especially Germany, was using better grades of steel than were being produced in quantities in America, he bought the bankrupt Bethlehem Steel Company and with it control of the assets of the United States Shipbuilding Corporation. He took fifteen young men out of the Bethlehem plant and made them his partners and started in to make better steel in larger quantities than it had been made in America before. Not one of the fifteen men he picked proved a failure; fourteen of them are associated with him to-day. One was getting $75 a month operating an electric crane; now he has the largest personal income of any steel employee in the United States and is a multi-millionaire. He is Eugene G. Grace, upon whose shoulders, as president of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, there has descended at 35 the mantle Mr. Schwab dropped when he severed his Bethlehem connection to build ships to beat the Boche.

HE REWARDS AND PRAISES GOOD WORK

Mr. Schwab believes the bonus method is the best means of getting the best work out of every man associated with him. For years the Bethlehem Steel Corporation has been operated on the bonus system. Salaries have been merely nominal, many of the most important executives drawing only $100 a week. Bonuses for good work, for increased production, for economies in operation, and for actual achievement to the benefit of the company in many other directions, have been distributed all along the line from the president, who received $1,000,000 last year, down to the men in the blast furnaces. Mr. Schwab said: "It is possible to obtain the personal interest of employees through this system in a manner not heretofore obtainable in a large corporation. The use of the bonus system has been the only successful way to secure individual coöperation to the extent we have found desirable."

So one of the very first things Mr. Schwab turned his attention to, when he became Director-General, was som
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each particular man in the way to which he will respond with the greatest alacrity. One cannot offer a cash prize to a rear-admiral, for example, or expect him to rise to the same sort of human appeal that would stimulate a riveter. One may, however, play upon his hobbies or appeal to his sporting instincts.

"How many ships are you going to get into the water this year?" Mr. Schwab asked Rear-Admiral F. T. Bowles, Assistant General Manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, in charge of construction at the Hog Island yards.

"Our programme calls for 31, but we are going to try for 48 at least," was the reply.

"Make it fifty and I'll see that you get the best Jersey cow in America," said Mr. Schwab. The Admiral has a dairy farm in Massachusetts. Jersey cows are his especial hobby. How and when Mr. Schwab learned this is immaterial.

"I'm going to begin picking out that cow right away," said Admiral Bowles, "and when I get her I'll lead her through the yards here so all the boys can see her."

There were some bets made that day, too—bets that Hog Island wouldn't launch 48 ships before December 31, 1918. Hog Island is on its toes, and is going after records!

More powerful, though, than bonuses, rewards, prizes, or bets, is the influence Mr. Schwab exerts through the mere impact of his personality. It is a very difficult thing to convey on paper. Men feel it, though, even those who have never seen him but have only heard others talk about him. One reason is that the men who work regard him as one of themselves, as a man who knows what each of them is doing, understands his own particular personal problem, knows the difficulties under which he is laboring, and is capable of understanding and appreciating good work, for the Director-General himself has done all of these things; done them a little better than the other fellow and so climbed up the ladder.

HIS SINCERITY AND ENTHUSIASM

"The appointment of Mr. Schwab has had an effect on the workers that is inspiring," said Dr. Charles A. Eaton, head of the National Service Section of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. "They appear to be crazy about him, and to regard him as 'one of them.' To hear the ship men talk you'd get the idea that the 'big boss' was a man who, when he wanted a little change from the monotony of speedi

things up, would slip into overalls and drive a few thousand rivets or put in a couple of hours at the brake of a hoisting crane."

He creates this feeling by talking and acting at all times in the simplest, most democratic, and at the same time inspiring fashion.

Standing on a plank at Hog Island on a Sunday afternoon, Mr. Schwab found himself surrounded by a little group—also standing on planks—that represented every phase of the Government's shipbuilding programme. There were Chairman Hurley of the Shipping Board; George J. Baldwin, Vice-president of the American International Shipbuilding Corporation; Rear-Admiral F. T. Bowles, Assistant General Manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, in charge of the Government's interests at Hog Island; Senator Duncan U. Fletcher of Florida, Chairman of the committee that "investigated" Hog Island; Charles A. Piez, vice-president of the Emergency Fleet Corporation; and Frederick Holbrook, president of the American International Shipbuilding Corporation. This and that detail of the work had been under discussion. There was a pause for a moment in which nobody spoke. Suddenly Mr. Schwab said:

"I can't tell you how the spirit of the men I meet in the shipyards stirs me, the snap they put into their work, and their patriotism. No matter how good a workman a man is, I want his soul in his work. That is the big thing. That is patriotism, and that is what we must encourage." Pointing in turn to Mr. Hurley, himself, Mr. Baldwin, and Mr. Piez, he said: "It's not you, and me, and you, and you, the ones at the top, who are all-important and deserve credit; it is every man who does good work. In some way we've got to give it to 'em, and with it encouragement and recognition. I can't tell you how much I'm in this, heart and soul. You can get me whenever you need me. I'll come once a week anyhow, you can't keep me away; but if you need me oftener call on me and I'll come."

"I thought I was the most enthusiastic man on this job," said Mr. Baldwin, "but Mr. Schwab has got me going."

HIS SPEECH TO THE "TUCKAHOE'S" BUILDERS

"We in Washington do not deserve the credit for this," he told the workmen at the Camden yards who built the *Tuckahoe* in twenty-seven days. "We can but smooth the wheels that will operate this great industry. It is the management here, the ship, the foremen unde workmen in all parts of th public credit for what they l I shall be the one to see tha

"There is but one thing the President of the Unit people of the United State energy and loyalty and enth men. Now, boys, go to i shoulders to the wheel and l here that will be remembe history of the war is read.

"Never did better men e of the world than exist h States, and when aroused a enthusiasm nothing in th before us. Let us go to it, you all. I shall be with you and I shall never be happ filled with vessels. God pl your hearts as full of patrio to hell with the Kaiser eve a rivet!"

Any one could have said there are not more than o could have said it in a w man who heard it believe of the sentiment, the utt speaker. There were silve men who had worked on Schwab's suggestion—and a dent Wilson's letter of con White House stationery. T after all, it was "Charley" felt they were working fo around him, unabashed, frie beckoned to "Tommy," a the Camden yards knows T the little English superin He was an enthusiast abou he ever met Mr. Schwab. ships before the *Tuckahoe*. to build them faster tha "Charley" Schwab put his h Mason's shoulder and said:

"I wish to give credit due. Here is one of the m control of the task on the g of nothing in all my industr has pleased me more than has accomplished. I realiz alone and that others contr want to give them credit, t the same pleasure to thank

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ally but does not act on them; the great man seldom realizes that he has grasped some of the basic truths of life, but he acts on them. After observing Mr. Schwab's daily, hourly application to the task in hand of the principles he enunciates, one acquires respect for the man as well as the principles.

"The world is full of good men; I do not believe in the idea that all the progress comes from the work and inspiration of a few geniuses.

"I believe that for real work the way to accomplish results is to get the man with his work yet to be done. My policy has been to develop the man with his career still ahead of him; the man who is dependent upon what he has yet to do and who realizes that his future depends upon himself.

"There are two ways to build an organization; one is to take a given group of men and make places for them; the other, and the way I always build an organization, is to outline the organization in skeleton form and then fit men into it as I can find them. The thing to be done is the important matter. And when I put a man into a position I give him the full responsibility for his particular part of the work and full authority to act in accordance with that responsibility.

"Making money is no longer the prime concern of American business. It is a question of service now, and we are all serving under the same banner of freedom and democracy.

"This is a theme that I am very fond of, because I believe in it to the limit: The aristocracy of the future will not be the aristocracy of birth or of wealth, but of men who serve, who do things for their country and their fellow men. The great prize to be won by men of ambition to-day is not money but recognition as members of the aristocracy of service; this aristocracy that is open to every man, instead of the old dead and gone aristocracy that was open to those of particular birth or great wealth.

"The way to get things done is to stimulate competition, I do not mean in a sordid, money-getting way, but in the desire to excel. This must always be coupled with placing the responsibility and credit or discredit on the man doing the job.

"The way to develop the best that is in a man is by appreciation and encouragement.

"I have yet to see the man, however great or exalted his station, who is not susceptible to the approval of his fellow men. I have yet

to see the man, who is worth calling a man, who does not put forth his best efforts under the approval of his fellow men. And the severest criticism that can come to any man is not to find fault with him, but not to notice him at all."

These are the sort of aphorisms in which Mr. Schwab deals. He believes in them, too, and uses their principles in all of his business relations. How effective their application has been nobody knows better than himself.

"I consider my ability to arouse enthusiasm among the men the greatest asset I possess. I like to be out in the yards, among the workers, to make them feel they are a vital part of the organization," he said, a few days after his appointment. "I had thought that in my residence in New York among capitalists and others I had lost the art that I possessed in younger days of inspiring enthusiasm among workingmen. But I found that association had made me more enthusiastic, more optimistic, and, if anything, more successful than in earlier years. The spirit and the morale of the men are beyond question. Each day sees them improved. Each day sees them more optimistic, more enthusiastic, and more patriotic."

HE VALUES BRITISH APPRECIATION

One reason why Mr. Schwab believes in the power of public approbation as a stimulus to the earnest worker is his own responsiveness to praise. There is no possible salary or financial inducement that could have tempted him to undertake the colossal task he has shouldered; there is no question in the minds of any one who knows him that the public commendation he knows will be his if he gives the country ships faster than the public has been expecting them is the big reward he is personally striving for. He has made no predictions, indulged in no public prophecies as to what he expects the shipyards of the country to produce, beyond saying:

"I am going to find out by contact, on the ground, just what the problems of the shipbuilders are, and try to solve them as fast as they come up."

A day or two after his appointment, however, he asked a friend:

"How many tons of shipping launched this year will satisfy the American people?"

"The public has been led to expect not more than 3,000,000 tons in 1918," replied his friend. "If you do better
be no complaints."

"If I gave them 4,000,00
be satisfied?" he asked.

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visits Mr. Schwab made to London after the outbreak of the war.

The story of Mr. Schwab's trip to London in the autumn of 1914 is one of those romances of real life that only occasionally come to the surface for the edification of the public. Britain found itself plunged into a war of defence, without men, munitions, or even an adequate idea of how to organize its resources against the Germans. The nation looked to Kitchener, its idolized hero of South Africa and Khartoum, and Kitchener sent for Schwab. The steel maker sailed on the *Olympic*, and as luck would have it, it was on this voyage that the big White Star liner, skirting the north coast of Ireland, arrived on the scene just as the *Audacious*, the first British war ship of size to fall a victim to German submarine warfare was sinking. The crew of the *Audacious* was rescued by the *Olympic*, which was held at anchor for a week in order that the news of the fate of the *Audacious* might not leak out. Mr. Schwab alone, of all the passengers, was permitted to go ashore. He was landed in a small boat at a little fishing village on the Irish coast, seventy-five miles from Londonderry, whence a steamer was scheduled to sail that evening for Liverpool.

GOT ARRESTED TO SEE KITCHENER

Inquiring for an automobile, he was told the only one in the vicinity belonged to a doctor five miles away. "Get me that car and get me to Londonderry in time to catch the night boat and I'll pay a hundred pounds," he told his fisherman informant. The car was got—a Ford, it was—and Mr. Schwab reached the steamer's pier. But getting aboard the steamer was another matter.

An officer stopped him on the pier and asked for his credentials; England was at the height of its spy hysteria. Mr. Schwab presented his card. No, the officer had never heard of him—but he knew a German name when he saw one! He called the captain, who demanded to see his passport. That document, however, had been left in the custody of the captain of the *Olympic*, now at anchor more than seventy-five miles away—and Kitchener was waiting. Mr. Schwab tried to explain, but the captain had never heard of him and he had his orders. Then Mr. Schwab tried persuasion. And when the Director-General starts to persuade—well, as "Uncle John" Wilson said: "If *you want to keep anything Charley Schwab wants, don't let him* talk to you. That's all—don't let him talk to you, or you'll find yourself walking home in a barrel."

The captain was convinced that Mr. Schwab was a German spy, and even the suggestion that he wire Lord Kitchener did not remove his suspicions. Finally, Mr. Schwab himself wrote a telegram to the War Minister and showed it to the captain, asking him not to sail until he had a reply. The captain conferred with the agent of the line, then turned to Mr. Schwab and said:

"You are under arrest. I will take you to Liverpool in charge of an officer. If there is a wire there from Lord Kitchener saying you are all right, you will be liberated; if not, you will be taken to the Tower."

At Liverpool, of course, was the reassuring message from K. of K., coupled with a compliment to the captain for his ability to break a rule intelligently, and Mr. Schwab took the first train for London. Kitchener was waiting for him.

"Can you make a million shells?" he asked.

"Yes."

"How long will it take?"

"Ten months."

"Can you make guns?"

"Yes."

"What else can you make?"

Mr. Schwab told him, briefly.

"What about prices?" asked Kitchener.

"I think our company is entitled to a war profit," suggested Mr. Schwab. Kitchener assented. Then he added:

"This is not going to be a short war. I foresee five years of it at least. I want your pledge that control of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation will not be sold by you and your associates under five years from now."

"Have the papers drawn and I will sign them," assented Mr. Schwab.

The foregoing does not purport to be a verbatim report of the conversation between Kitchener and Schwab, but it is the substance of what occurred when these two men of action met in the British War Office.

He had barely returned from his visit to Lord Kitchener when he sailed again, this time on the *Lusitania*, and came back with a $50,000,000 submarine order in his pocket. Mr. Bryan, then Secretary of State, objected to the delivery of these submarines to the British on the ground that it would be a violation of the spirit of neutrality. Finally it was decided that the parts and machinery of the submarines

could be built in America and the vessels themselves assembled in Canada. This was successfully done.

Contracts for guns, ships, and munitions for the British Government executed by Mr. Schwab's companies before the United States became a belligerent have been estimated at $150,000,000. For the Russian Government approximately $75,000,000 worth of work was done. The plants of the Bethlehem Corporation were doubled and doubled again. To the shipbuilding plants at Fore River, Wilmington, Del., and San Francisco, was added the huge Penn-Mary plant at Sparrow's Point, near Baltimore, for the production of merchant ships. For a time, before the United States entered the war, there was much talk in Washington of a Government armor-plate plant; the Bethlehem works were making too much profit, the politicians held. When America became a belligerent it was to Mr. Schwab and the Bethlehem Corporation, by this time the largest shipbuilding organization in the world, that the Navy Department turned for the execution of its vast new destroyer and submarine programme; the War Department for the shells and guns that by British and Russian work the company had learned it how to make well and speedily; the Shipping Board for the biggest and fastest merchant craft, and, finally, the President for the man himself. For its Navy Department contract for 150 and more destroyers, the Bethlehem Corporation has constructed at Squantum, in Boston Harbor, probably the largest exclusively naval shipyard in the world; on the ways at Sparrow's Point, it had sixteen Cunard liners and ten of the largest freighters ever built under construction when we entered the war; what it has been able to do for our Army in guns and shells can only be told after the Boche has been beaten. And if there still remained in any German mind the notion that Charles M. Schwab was anything but a 100-per cent. American or that he or his company could be bought for German account, his appointment to his present job must have thoroughly dispelled that illusion.

GERMANS FAILED TO BUY HIM

There is no doubt that German interests at the beginning of the war did try to buy the Bethlehem works. There is little doubt that Mr. Schwab, because of his German name and descent, his interests in and frequent visits to Germany, and his frank ac
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the New York Foundling Asylum, of a seaside playground and bathing beach, fully equipped, on Staten Island, for the use of the children under the Sisters' charge. An industrial school at Homestead is another of his public gifts in which he takes a deep personal interest.

Organized labor, or such of its leaders as do not like bonuses and "speeding up" has not always been friendly to Mr. Schwab and his companies; "uplift" advocates, who hold it the employer's duty to do more for the workers than merely to pay them well, have criticized what they have regarded as insufficient attention to the welfare of Bethlehem employees. Mr. Schwab does not believe it is good for men to be coddled, petted, or pampered. But every man who has ever worked for him "with" him, as he puts it—knows that good work never passes unnoticed or unrewarded, and that is the principle he is applying to the building of ships for the Government.

He sees no difficulties ahead that cannot be averted by intelligent foresight. He acts instantly, cutting red tape right and left. He sees at a glance, out of the knowledge born of experience, what each or any shipyard needs and why it needs it. Plants are being enlarged that should have been enlarged months ago, machinery being installed that was needed last year; some of Mr. Schwab's predecessors could not see the need when it was pointed out, others lacked initiative or power to act. He has absolute authority, makes decisions on the moment and knows why things should or should not be done. There would seem to be ground enough for the optimistic outlook he expressed a month after his appointment when he said:

"There is no question of men and material. Labor is nobly doing the work, and will continue to do it. The men must be well housed and cared for.

"No matter how many ships you build, they are useless unless there are engines, boilers, and accessories for them. The building of engines and boilers is, therefore, of vital importance, and this work has not been overlooked. We must enlarge our plans for engine building and the construction of accessories. I do not contemplate any trouble in obtaining the necessary steel. I believe that production will increase to meet the demand. The disturbing questions are those of fuel and transportation. We are meeting with hearty coöperation in those items, however, and I believe the results will be satisfactory."

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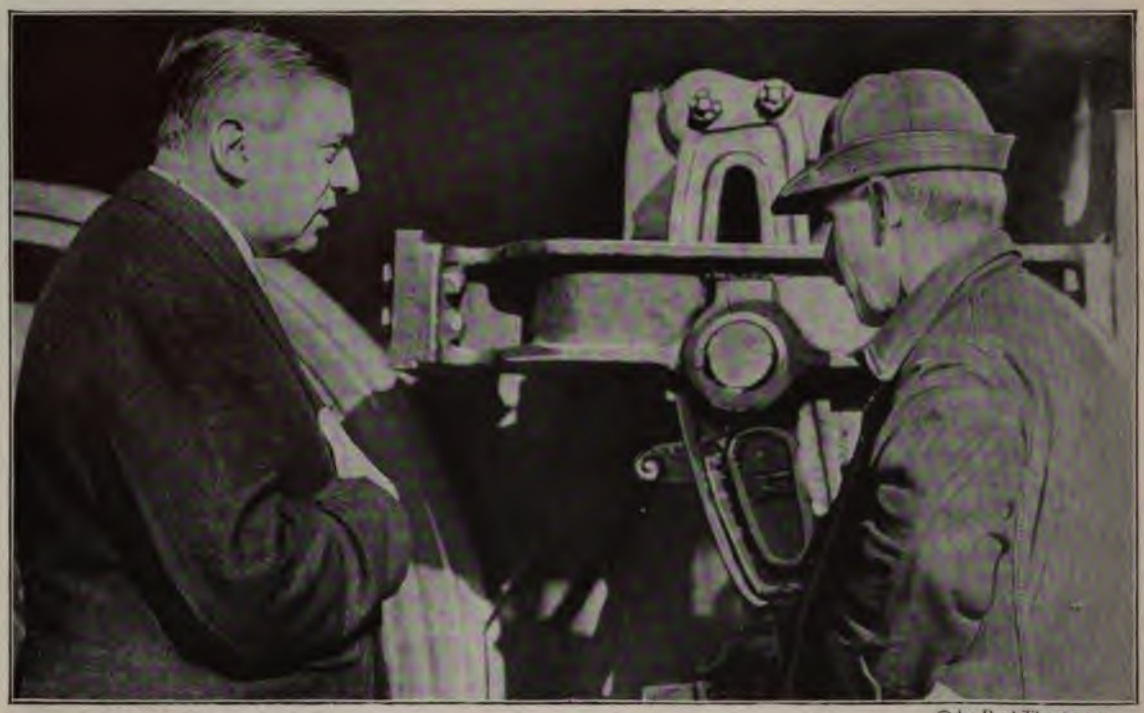
CHARLES MICHAEL SCHWAB

Who, as Director-General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, is applying to the huge task of building more ships than were ever before constructed in a given time, the same methods of stimulating enthusiasm through healthy rivalry, bonuses, and rewards that have made him the most successful leader of men in the steel industry



© by Paul Thompson

SCHWAB AND A WORKMAN

The man at work is distinctly of more interest to Mr. Schwab than the product of his work, either in commodities or money. Mr. Schwab has the faculty of making the man who works with his hands feel that he is a genial friend whom the worker can meet on a plane of complete equality

HURLEY, SCHWAB, AND PIEZ

These are the men who are building the "bridge" between America and Europe. They were photographed at Hog Island, the world's greatest shipyard. From left to right, Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the U. S. Shipping Board, Charles M. Schwab, Director-General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and Charles A. Piez, Vice-president of the Emergency Fleet Corporation

HE IS CORDIAL AND GENIAL

Mr. Schwab is not a difficult person to interview; he is cordial, even genial to newspaper men as he is to everyone. To get him to talk about himself or about what he expects to do is another matter. Like most great men, he talks in platitudes when he talks for publication at all

HE NOW PLAYS GOLF SOMETIMES

Mr. Schwab never went in for outdoor sports of any kind until 1915. Then he took up golf—with as little divergence from his normal habits and manners as if it were merely another phase of the day's work. An ordinary business suit, minus only the coat, is a good enough golf costume for him. It would be difficult for him to "square himself" with the "boys" in the rolling mills if he put on knickers

IN THE SHIPYARDS

This is the way Mr. Schwab appeared the day he made his speech congratulating those who had built the Tuckahoe in twenty-seven days

AMBASSADOR MORGENTHAU'S STORY

How the Germans Reproached the Turks for Being too Lenient with Foreigners in Turkey and Hindered Ambassador Morgenthau's Efforts to Get the French and the English Out of Constantinople—The Attack on the Sion Sisters—a "Holy War" that was made in Germany

BY

HENRY MORGENTHAU

(Formerly American Ambassador to Turkey)

THIRD ARTICLE

A FEW hours after the bombardment of Odessa I was closeted with Enver, discussing the subject which was then uppermost in the minds of all the foreigners in Turkey. How would the Government treat its resident enemies? Would it intern them, establish concentration camps, pursue them with German malignity, and perhaps apply the favorite Turkish measure with Christians—torture and massacre? Thousands of enemy subjects were then living in the Ottoman Empire; many of them had spent their whole lives there; others had even been born on Ottoman soil. All these people, when war broke out, had every reason to expect the harshest kind of treatment. It is no exaggeration to say that most of them lived in constant fear of murder. The Dardanelles had been closed, so that there was little chance that outside help could reach these people; the capitulatory rights, under which they had lived for centuries, had been abrogated. There was really nothing between the foreign residents and destruction except the American flag. The fortune of war had now made me, as American Ambassador, the protector of all British, French, Serbian, and Belgian subjects. I realized from the beginning that my task would be a difficult one. On one hand were the Germans, urging their well known ideas of repression and brutality; on the other were the Turks, with their traditional hatred of Christians and their natural instinct to maltreat those who are helplessly placed in their power.

Yet I had certain strong arguments on my side and I now proceeded to urge them on Enver. Turkey desired the good opinion of the United States, and hoped, after the war, to find support among American financiers.

THE RUSSIAN EMBASSY IN CONSTANTINOPLE

THE FRENCH EMBASSY IN CONSTANTINOPLE

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SHEIK-UL-ISLAM DECLARING THE HOLY WAR

Wangenheim, the German Ambassador, told Mr. Morgenthau that Germany expected little from Turkey's military efforts. "The 'big thing' we are after," he said "is the 'Holy War.'" Germany, by using the Sultan, who is Caliph of the Mohammedan world, expected to arouse the Mohammedans of India, Egypt, Persia, Morocco, and other countries to revolt against England and France. The Sheik-ul-Islam issued a proclamation, which this picture shows him reading, calling on Mussulmans everywhere to rise and murder their Christian rulers—unless they happened to be Germans.

KURDISH CAVALRY

This is the type of soldier which the Germans planned to unleash against the Christian populations. They afterward played an important part in the Armenian massacres

© Underwood & Underwood

TURKISH TROOPS

The soldier who fights bravely because death in battle means immediate introduction to Paradise

At that time all the Embassies in Constantinople took it for granted that the United States would be the peacemaker; if Turkey expected us to be her friend, I now told Enver, she would have to treat enemy foreigners in a civilized way. "You hope to be reinstated as a world power," I said. "You must remember, that the civilized world will carefully watch you; your future status will depend on how you conduct yourself in war." The more educated Turks, including Enver, realized that the outside world regarded them as a people who had no respect for the sacredness of human life or the finer human emotions, and they keenly resented this attitude. I now reminded Enver that Turkey had a splendid opportunity to disprove all these criticisms. "The world may say you are barbarians," I argued, "show by the way you treat these alien enemies, that you are not. Only in this way can you be freed permanently from the ignominy of the capitulations. Prove that you are worthy of being emancipated from foreign tutelage. Be civilized—be modern!"

In view of what was happening in Belgium and Northern France at that moment, my use of the word "modern," was a little unfortunate. Enver quickly saw the point. Up to this time he had maintained his usual attitude of erect and dignified composure, and his face, as always, had been attentive, imperturbable, almost expressionless. Now in a flash his whole bearing changed. His countenance broke into a cynical smile, he leaned over, brought his fist down on the table, and said:

"Modern! No, however Turkey shall wage war, at least we shall not be 'modern.' That is the most barbaric system of all. We shall simply try to be decent!"

Naturally I construed this as a promise; I understood the changeableness of the Turkish character well enough, however, to know that more than a promise was necessary. The Germans were constantly prodding the Turkish officials, persuading them to adopt the favorite German plan of operations against enemy aliens. Germany had revived many of the principles of ancient and medieval warfare, one of her most barbaric resurrections

THE BRITISH EMBASSY

This establishment and many others came under Mr. Morgenthau's protection when Turkey entered the war. At one time the American Ambassador represented ten nations at the Sublime Porte

from the past being this practice of keeping certain representatives of the population, preferably people of distinction and influence, as hostages for the "good behavior" of others. At this moment the German military staff was urging the Turks to keep foreign residents for this purpose. Just as the Germans held non-combatants in Belgium as security for the "friendliness" of the Belgians, and placed Belgian women and chidren at the head of their advancing armies, so the Germans in Turkey were now planning to use French and British residents as part of their protective system against the Allied fleet. That this sinister influence was constantly at work I well knew; it was, therefore, necessary that I should meet it immediately, and, if possible, gain the upper hand at the very start. I decided that the departure of the Entente diplomats and residents from Constantinople would really put to the test my ability to protect the foreign residents. If all the French and English who really wished to leave could safely get out of Turkey, I believed that this demonstration would have a restraining influence, not only upon the Germans, but upon the underlings of the Turkish official world.

As soon as I arrived at the railroad station, the day following the break, I saw that my task was not to be a simple one. I had arranged with the Turkish authorities for two trains; one for the English and French residents, which was to leave at seven o'clock, and one for the diplomats and their staff, which was to go at nine. But the arrangement was not working according to schedule. The station was a surging mass of excited and frightened people; the police were there in full force, pushing the crowds back; the scene was an indescribable mixture of soldiers, gendarmes diplomats, baggage, and Turkish functionaries. One of the most conspicuous figures was Bedri Bey, prefect of police, a lawyer politician, who had recently been elevated to this position, and who keenly realized the importance of his new office. Bedri was an intimate friend and political subordinate of Talaat and one of his most valuable tools. He ranked high in the Committee of Union and Progress, and aspired ultimately to obtain a

DJAVID BEY

In the roof garden on the top of one of the buildings of Yildiz Kiosk, formerly used by Sultan Abdul Hamid and the ladies of his harem

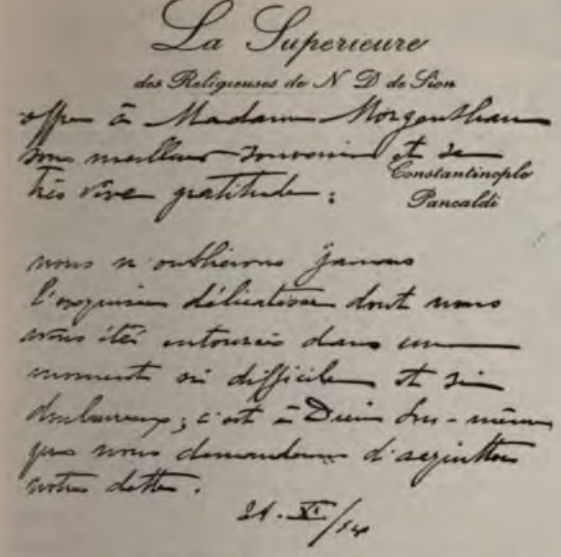
cabinet position. Perhaps his most impelling motive was his hatred of foreigners and foreign influence. In his eyes Turkey was the land exclusively for the Turks; he hated all the other elements in its population, and he particularly resented the control which the foreign embassies had for years exerted in the domestic concerns of his country. Indeed, there were few men in Turkey with whom the permanent abolition of the capitulations was such a heartfelt issue. Naturally in the next few months I saw much of Bedri; he was constantly crossing my path, taking an almost malicious pleasure in interfering with every move which I made in the interest of the foreigners. His attitude was half provoking, half jocular; we were always trying to outwit each other—I attempting to protect the French and British, Bedri always turning up as an obstacle to my efforts; the fight for the foreigners, indeed, almost degenerated into a personal duel between the Prefect of Police and the American Embassy. Bedri was capable, well educated, very agile, and not particularly ill-natured, but he loved to toy with a helpless foreigner. Naturally, he found his occupation this evening a congenial one.

"What's all the trouble about?" I asked Bedri.

The plans had been changed, he answered; the seven o'clock train could not go. This was the one that had been arranged to take the unofficial residents. Only the nine o'clock train, the one provided to take the diplomatic forces to Dedeagatch, would be permitted to leave. This fact that we had two groups of passengers, one of which could go and the other of which could not, naturally caused great commotion; the British and French Ambassadors did not wish to leave their nationals behind, and the latter refused to believe that their train, which the Turkish officials had definitely promised, would not

M. TOCHEFF, BULGARIAN MINISTER AT CONSTANTINOPLE

He was much disturbed at the "Holy War" which the Turks, acting under German advice, decreed against Christians. He protested to the German Ambassador that any massacres might lose Germany the friendship of Bulgaria


La Supérieure
des Religieuses de N. D. de Sion
offre à Madame Morgenthau
son meilleur souvenir et de
très vive gratitude : Constantinople
Pancaldi

nous ne oublierons jamais
l'exquise délicatesse dont nous
avons été entourés dans un
moment si difficile et si
douloureux ; c'est à Dieu lui-même
que nous demanderons de acquitter
votre dette.
24. XI/14

A CARD FROM MÈRE ELVIRA

Translated it reads: "The Superior of the religious of Notre Dame of Sion presents her best remembrances and her very appreciative gratitude to Madame Morgenthau; we shall never forget the exquisite delicacy with which we were treated in a very difficult and grievous moment; it is God himself whom we shall ask to discharge our debt"

start sometime that evening. I immediately called up Enver who substantiated Bedri's statement. Turkey had many subjects in Egypt, he said, whose situation was causing great anxiety. Before the French and English residents could leave Turkey, assurances must be given that the rights of Turkish subjects in these countries would be protected. I had no difficulty in arranging this detail, for Sir Louis Mallet immediately gave the necessary assurances. However this did not settle the matter; indeed, it had been little more than a pretext. Bedri still refused to let the train start; the order holding it up, he said, could not be rescinded, for that would now disarrange the general schedule and might cause accidents. I recognized all this as mere Turkish evasion and I knew that the order had come from a higher source than Bedri; still nothing could be done. Moreover, Bedri would let no one get on the diplomatic train until I had personally identified him. So I had to stand at a little gate, and pass upon each applicant. Everyone, whether he belonged to the diplomatic corps or not, attempted to force himself through this narrow passageway, and we had an old-fashioned Brooklyn Bridge crush on a small scale. People were running in all directions, checking baggage, purchasing tickets, arguing with officials, consoling distracted women and frightened children, while Bedri, calm and collected, watched the whole pandemonium with unsympathetic smile. Hats were knocked off, clothing was torn, and, to add to the confusion, Mallet, the British Ambassador, became involved in a set to with an officious Turk—the Englishman winning first honors easily; and I caught a glimpse of Bompard, the French Ambassador, vigorously shaking a Turkish policeman. One lady dropped her baby in my arms, another handed me a small boy, and one of the British secretaries made me the custodian of his dog. Meanwhile, Sir Louis Mallet became obstreperous and refused to leave; he had an idea that he should stay there until the last British subject had safely left Turkey. But I told him that he was no longer the protector of the British; that I, as American Ambassador, had assumed this responsibility; and that I could hardly assert myself in this capacity if he remained in Con-

BEDRI BEY, PREFECT OF POLICE AT CONSTANTINOPLE

A leader of the Young Turks and an intimate friend of Talaat. Mr. Morgenthau's attempts to protect the English and French became a contest between himself and Bedri, who accepted the German view that foreigners should not be treated with "too great leniency"

AT THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

Mr. and Mrs. Morgenthau (in the centre of the group) devoted much time to this establishment. Dr. Post, an American, (extreme left of the first row) was the medical head. Next to him is Sister Jeanne. At the right of the first row are Mr. Ravndal, American Consul-General at Constantinople, and Dr. Peet, secretary of American missionary interests

stantinople. Moreover, I suggested that he remain at Dedeagatch for a few days, and await the arrival of his fellow British. If I did not succeed in getting them out of the country, then he could return. Sir Louis reluctantly accepted my point of view and boarded the train. As the train left the station I caught my final glimpse of the British Ambassador, sitting in his private car, almost buried in a mass of trunks, satchels, boxes, and diplomatic pouches, surrounded by his embassy staff, and sympathetically watched by his first secretary's dog.

MRS. MORGENTHAU AND SISTER JEANNE

The help rendered by Mrs. Morgenthau to another French Sister, Mère Elvira, is described in the text

The unofficial foreigners remained in the station several hours, hoping that, at the last moment, they would be permitted to go. Bedri, however, was inexorable. Their position was almost desperate. They had given up their quarters in Constantinople, and now found themselves practically stranded. Some were taken in by friends for the night, others found accommodations in hotels. But their situation caused the utmost anxiety. Evidently, despite all official promises, Turkey was determined to keep these foreign residents as hostages. On the one hand were Enver and Talaat, telling me that they intended

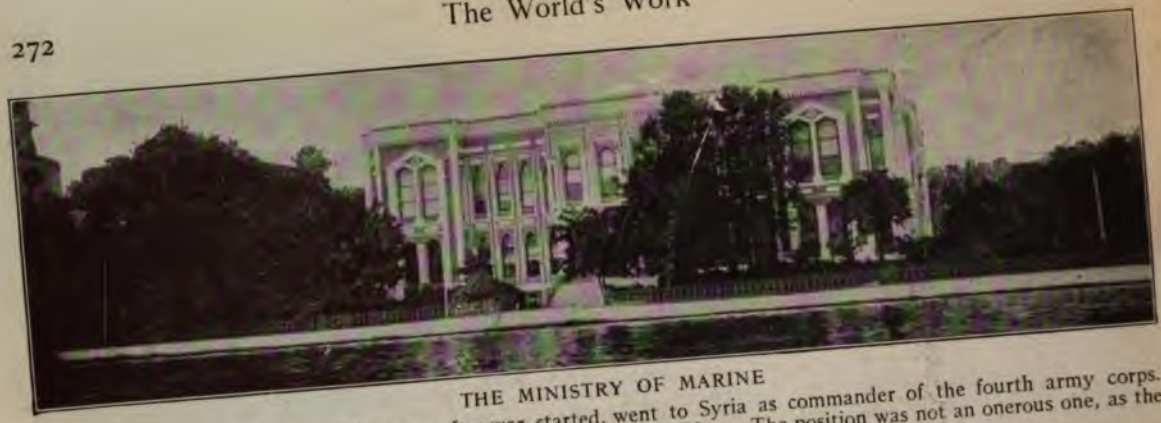
ROBERT COLLEGE AT CONSTANTINOPLE

Founded by Americans more than fifty years ago. Turkey's best educational institution and the place where many of the intellectual leaders of the Balkans have received their education

to conduct their war in a humane manner, and, on the other, were their underlings, such as Bedri, behaving in a fashion that negatived all these civilized pretensions. The fact was that the officials were quarreling among themselves about the treatment of foreigners; and the German General Staff was telling the cabinet that they were making a great mistake in showing any leniency to their enemy aliens. Finally, I succeeded in making arrangements for them to leave the following day. Bedri, in more complaisant mood, spent that afternoon at the Embassy, visiting sports; we both v to the station in the evening and started the train safely to Dedeagatch. I gave a box of candy—"Turkish Delights" to each one of the fifty women and children on the train; it altogether was a happy party, and they made no attempt to hide their relief at leaving Turkey. At Dedeagatch they met the diplomatic corps, and the reunion that took place, I afterward learned, was extremely touching. I was made happy by receiving many testimonials of their gratitude, in particular a letter, signed by more than a hundred expressing their thanks to Mrs. Morgenthau, the embassy staff, and myself.

THE MODERN TURKISH SOLDIER

In the uniform and equipment introduced by the Germans. The fez—the immemorial symbol of the Ottoman—is replaced by a modern helmet



THE MINISTRY OF MARINE

Headquarters of Djemal, who, soon after war started, went to Syria as commander of the fourth army corps. Later Enver occupied this office in addition to that of Minister of War. The position was not an onerous one, as the Turkish Navy has played little part in the war

TURKISH SOLDIERS ON LEAVE

Dictating letters to a public writer. Nearly 90 per cent. of the Turkish people are illiterate, and, as a result, there is a regular profession that earns its living reading and writing for them. These soldiers get 20 cents a month pay

THE MINISTRY OF WAR

This was the headquarters of Enver Pasha. It was in this building that Enver gave Mr. Morgenthau his promis not to ill treat enemy aliens. "Will you be modern?" asked the American Ambassador. "No—not modern," sai Enver, probably thinking of Belgium, "that is the most barbaric system of all—Turkey will simply try to be decent!"

There were still several who wished to go and next day I called on Talaat in their behalf. I found him in one of his most gracious moods. The cabinet, he said, had carefully considered the whole matter of English and French residents in Turkey; my arguments, he added, had greatly influenced them. They had reached the formal decision that enemy aliens could leave or remain, as they preferred. There would be no concentration camps, they could pursue their usual business in peace, and, so long as they behaved themselves, they would not be molested. Talaat said that the Turks, by their treatment of their resident enemies, proposed to show the world that they were not a race of barbarians. In return for this promise he asked a favor of me; would I not see that Turkey was praised in the American and European press for this decision? I went home and immediately sent for Mr. Theron Damon, correspondent of the Associated Press, Dr. Lederer, correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, and Dr. Sandler, who represented the Paris *Herald*, and gave them interviews, praising the attitude of Turkey toward the foreign residents. I also cabled the news to Washington, London, and Paris and to all our consuls.

Hardly had I finished with the correspondents when I again received alarming news. I had arranged for another train that evening, and I now heard that the Turks were refusing to visé the passports of those whose departure I had provided for. Again I went to the railroad station and again I found a mass of distracted people; the women were weeping, and the children screaming, while a platoon of Turkish soldiers, commanded by an undersized popinjay of a major, was driving everybody out of the station with the flat sides of their guns. Bedri, as usual, was there, and as usual, was clearly enjoying the confusion; certain of the passengers, he told me, had not paid their income tax, and, for this reason, they would not be permitted to leave. I announced that I would be responsible for this payment.

"I can't get ahead of you, Mr. Ambassador, can I?" said Bedri, with a laugh. From this we all thought that my offer had settled the matter and that the train would leave as per schedule. But then suddenly came another order holding it up again.

Since I had just had my interview with Talaat, this action somewhat nettled me. I jumped into my automobil
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THE BIG BOSS IN

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Americans particularly pride ourselves on is keeping our word. We do it as individuals and as a nation. We refuse to deal with people as equals who do not do this. You might as well understand now that we can do no business with each other unless I can depend on your promises."

"Now, this isn't my fault, "Talaat answered. "The Germans are to blame for stopping that train. The German Chief of Staff has just returned and is making a big fuss, saying that we are too easy with the French and English and that we must not let them go away. He says that we must keep them for hostages. It was his interference that did this."

That was precisely what I had suspected. Talaat had given me his promise, then Bronssart, head of the German Staff, had practically countermanded his orders. Talaat's admission gave me the opening which I had wished for. By this time my relations with Talaat had become so friendly that I could talk to him almost as I could talk to my own son.

"Now, Talaat," I said, "you have got to have some one to advise you in your relations with foreigners. You must make up your mind whether you want me or the German Staff. Don't you think you will make a mistake if you place yourself entirely in the hands of the Germans? The time may come when you will need me against the Germans."

"What do you mean by that?" he asked, watching for my answer with intense curiosity.

"The Germans are sure to ask you to do many things you don't want to do. If you can tell them that the American Ambassador objects, my support may prove useful to you. Besides, you know we all expect peace in a few months. You know that the Germans really care nothing for Turkey; and certainly you have no claims on the Allies for assistance. There is only one nation in the world that you can look to as a disinterested friend and that is the United States."

This fact was so apparent that I hardly needed to argue it in any great detail. However, I had another argument that struck still nearer home.

"If you let the Germans win this point today," I said, "you are pratically in their power. You are now the head of affairs, but you are still a civilian. Are you going to let the military, represented by Enver and the German staff, overrule your orders? Appar-

ently that is what has happened to-day. If you submit to it, you will find that they will be running things from now on. The Germans will put this country under martial law; then where will you civilians be?"

"I am willing to help you," he replied.

THREE CHRISTIANS FOR EVERY TURK

He turned around to his table and began working his telegraph instrument. I shall never forget the picture; this huge Turk, sitting there in his gray pajamas and his red fez, working industriously his own telegraph key, his young wife gazing at him through a little window and the late afternoon sun streaming into the room. Evidently the ruler of Turkey was having his troubles, and, as the argument went on over the telegraph, Talaat would bang his key with increasing irritation. He told me that the pompous major at the station insisted on having Enver's written orders—since orders over the wire might easily be counterfeited. It took Talaat some time to locate Enver, and then the dispute apparently started all over again. A piece of news which Talaat received at that moment over the wire almost ruined my case. After a prolonged thumping of his instrument, in the course of which Talaat's face lost its geniality and became almost savage, he turned to me and said:

"The English bombarded the Dardanelles this morning and killed two Turks!"

And then he added:

"We intend to kill three Christians for every Moslem killed!"

For a moment I thought that everything was lost. Talaat's face reflected only one emotion—hatred of the English. As a matter of fact, the English had committed a great error in bombarding the Straits so soon, before their nationals had left the country, as I now discovered. I had to go over much of the ground again, but finally I succeeded in pacifying Talaat. I saw that he was vacillating between his desire to punish the English and his desire to assert his own authority over that of Enver and the Germans. Fortunately the latter motive gained the ascendancy. At all hazard, he was determined to show that he was boss.

We remained there more than two hours, my involuntary host pausing now and then in his telegraphing to entertain me with the latest political gossip. Djavid, the Minister of Finance, he said, had
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II

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more dangerous. There was also much conflict of authority; a policy decided on one day would be reversed the next, the result being that we never knew where we stood. The mere fact that the Government promised me that foreigners would not be maltreated by no means settled the matter, for some underling, like Bedri Bey, could frequently find an excuse for disregarding instructions. The situation, therefore, was one that called for constant vigilance; I had not only to get pledges from men like Talaat and Enver, but I had personally to see that these pledges were carried into action.

INVASION OF A CATHOLIC SCHOOL

I awoke one November morning at four o'clock; I had been dreaming, or I had had a "presentiment," that all was not going well with the Sion Sœurs, a French sisterhood which had for many years conducted a school for girls in Constantinople. Madame Bompard, the wife of the French Ambassador, and several ladies of the French colony, had particularly requested me to keep a watchful eye on this institution. It was a splendidly conducted school; the daughters of many of the best familes of all nationalities attended it; when these girls were assembled, the Christians wearing silver crosses and the non-Christians silver stars, the sight was particularly beautiful and impressive, and naturally the thought of the brutal Turks breaking into such a community was enough to arouse the wrath of any properly constituted man. Though we had nothing more definite than an uneasy feeling that something might be wrong, Mrs. Morgenthau and I decided to go up immediately after breakfast. As we approached the building we noted nothing particularly suspicious; the place was quiet and the whole atmosphere was one of peace and sanctity. Just as we ascended the steps, however, five Turkish policemen followed on our heels. They crowded after us into the vestibule, much to the consternation of a few of the sisters, who happened to be in the waiting room. The mere fact that the American Ambassador came with the police in itself increased their alarm, though our arrival together was purely coincidental.

"What do you want?" I asked, turning to the men. As they spoke only Turkish, naturally they did not understand me, and they started to push me aside. My own knowledge of Turkish was extremely limited,

but I knew that the word "Elchi" meant "Ambassador." So, pointing to myself, I said, "Elchi Americaner."

This scrap of Turkish worked like magic. In Turkey an Ambassador is a sacred object, and these policemen immediately respected my authority. Meanwhile the sisters had sent for their superior, Mère Elvira. This lady was one of the most distinguished and influential personages in Constantinople. That morning as she came in quietly and faced these Turkish policemen, showing not a sign of fear, and completely overawing them by the splendor and dignity of her bearing, she represented to my eyes almost a supernatural being. Mère Elvira was a daughter of one of the most aristocratic families of France; she was a woman of perhaps forty years of age, with black hair and shining black eyes, all accentuated by a pale face that radiated culture, character, and intelligence. I could not help thinking, as I looked at her that morning, that there was not a diplomatic circle in the world to which she would not have added grace and dignity. In a few seconds Mère Elvira had this present distracting situation completely under control. She sent for a sister who spoke Turkish and queried the policemen. They said that they were acting under Bedri's orders. All the foreign schools were to be closed that morning; the Government intended to seize all their buildings. There were about seventy-two teachers and sisters in this convent; the police had orders to shut all these into two rooms, where they were to be held practically as prisoners. There were about two hundred girls; these were to be turned out into the streets, and left to shift for themselves. The fact that it was raining in torrents, and that the weather was extremely cold, accentuated the barbarity of this proceeding. Yet every enemy school and religious institution in Constantinople was undergoing a similar experience at this time. Clearly this was a situation which I could not handle alone, and I at once telephoned for a Turkish interpreter. Herein is another incident which may have an interest for those who believe in providential intervention. When I arrived in Constantinople telephones had been unknown, but, in the last few months, an English company had been introducing a system. The night before my experience with the Sion Sœurs, my legal adviser had called me up and proudly told me that his telephone had just been installed. I jotted down his number, dum I now found in my p interpreter I should have b without this telephone I mediately brought him to

MRS. MORGENTHAU T

While waiting for his the operations of the polic who fortunately speaks Fr all the details from the genthau understood the T know that they had other expulsion of the sisters The Turks regard these in tories of treasure; the va contain are greatly exagge mind; and it was a saf among other things, this industrious raiding expe evidences of wealth.

"Have you any money here?" Mrs. Morgenthau sisters.

Yes, they had in fact c kept in a safe upstairs. keep the policemen busy a of the sisters quietly di scene. Upstairs the sist a hundred square piece into which had been s coins. In all the Sion liquid form about fifty They had been fearing exp —hence these preparations had several bundles of se valuable papers, such as school. Certainly here w would appeal to Turki Morgenthau knew that obtained control of the b be little likelihood that th ever see their money agai the sisters, my wife pro much as she could on her p stairs, and marched thro darmes out into the rain. told me afterward that ran cold with fright as s guardians of the law; fro however, she was absolu lected. She stepped into t driven to the American E money in our vault, and p the school. Again Mrs

nany of your daughters; why do you
nem in this shameful fashion?"
s plea produced an effect; Bedri con-
l to postpone execution of the order un-
e could get Talaat on the wire. In a
minutes I heard Talaat laughing over the
phone.

I tried to escape you," he said, "but you
ve caught me again. Why make such a
w about this matter? Why shouldn't we
it?"

Nevertheless he told Bedri to suspend the
rder until we had a chance to talk the matter
over. Naturally this greatly relieved Mère
Elvira and the sisters. Just as we were about
to leave, Bedri suddenly had a new idea.
There was one detail which he had apparently
forgotten.

"We'll leave the Sion Sisters alone for the
present," he said, "but we must get their
money."

BEDRI CANNOT FIND THE MONEY

Reluctantly I acquiesced in his suggestion—
knowing that all the valuables were safely
reposing in the American Embassy. So I
had the pleasure of standing by and watching
Bedri and his associates search the whole estab-
lishment. All they turned up was a small tin
box containing a few copper coins; the prize
was so trifling that the Turks disdained to
take it. They were much puzzled and dis-
appointed, and from that day to this they have
never known what became of the money.

If my Turkish friends do me the honor of read-
ing these pages, they will find that I have ex-
plained here for the first time one of the
many mysteries of those exciting days.

As some of the windows of the convent
opened on the court of the Cathedral, which
was Vatican property, we contended that the
Turkish Government could not seize it.
Such of the sisters as were neutrals were
allowed to remain in possession of the part
that faced the Vatican land, while the rest
of the building was turned into an Engineers'
School. We arranged that the French nuns
should have ten days to leave for their own
country; they all reached their destination
safely, and most are at present engaged in
charities and war work in France.

My jocular statement that I intended to
write a book deeply impressed Bedri, and, in
the next few weeks, he repeatedly referred to
it. I kept humorously telling him, that, unles

his behavior improved, I should be forced to picture him as the villain. One day he asked me, in all seriousness, whether he could not do something that would justify me in portraying him in a more favorable light. This attitude gave me an opportunity I had been seeking for some time. Constantinople had for many years been a centre for the white slave trade; a particularly vicious gang was then operating under cover of a fake synagogue. An international Committee, organized to fight this crew, had made me chairman. I told Bedri that he now had the chance to secure a reputation; because of the war, his powers as Prefect of Police had been greatly increased; a little vigorous action on his part would permanently rid the city of this disgrace. The enthusiasm with which Bedri adopted my suggestion and the thoroughness and ability with which he did the work, entitle him to the gratitude of all decent people. In a few days every white slave trader in Constantinople was scurrying for safety; most were arrested, a few made their escape; such as were foreigners, after serving terms in jail, were expelled from the country. Bedri furnished me photographs of all the culprits and they are now on file in our State Department. I was not writing a book at that time, but I felt obliged to secure some public recognition for Bedri's work. I therefore sent his photograph, with a few words about his achievement, to the New York *Times*, which published it in a Sunday edition. That a great American newspaper had recognized him in this way delighted Bedri beyond words. For months he carried in his pocket the page of the *Times* containing his picture, showing it to all his friends. This event ended my troubles with the Prefect of Police; for the rest of my stay we had very few clashes.

III

All this time I was increasing my knowledge of the modern German character, as illustrated in Wangenheim and his associates. In the early days of the war, the Germans showed their most ingratiating side to Americans; as time went on, however, and it became apparent that public opinion in the United States almost unanimously supported the Allies, and that the Washington Administration would not disregard the neutrality laws in order to promote Germany's interest, this friendly attitude changed and became almost hostile.

The grievance to which the German Ambassador constantly returned
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WANGENHEIM AND "B

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final paragraph. "Accor
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that most of the shells

and French during the last bombardment were made in America." At this time the German Embassy controlled the *Ikdam*, and was conducting it entirely in the interest of German propaganda. A statement of this sort, instilled into the minds of impressionable and fanatical Turks, might have the most deplorable consequences. I therefore took the matter up immediately with the man whom I regarded as chiefly responsible for the attack—the German Ambassador.

At first Wangenheim asserted his innocence; he was as bland as a child in protesting his ignorance of the whole affair. I called his attention to the fact that the statements in the *Ikdam* were almost identically the same as those which he had made to me a few days before; that the language in certain spots, indeed, was almost a repetition of his own conversation.

"Either you wrote that article yourself," I said, "or you called in the reporter and gave him the leading ideas."

Wangenheim saw that there was no use in further denying the authorship.

"Well," he said, throwing back his head, "what are you going to do about it?"

This Tweed-like attitude rather nettled me and I resented it on the spot.

"I'll tell you what I am going to do about it," I replied, "and you know that I will be able to carry out my threats. Either you stop stirring up anti-American feeling in Turkey or I shall start a campaign of anti-German sentiment here.

"You know, Baron," I added, "that you Germans are skating on very thin ice in this country. You know that the Turks don't love you any too well. In fact, you know that Americans are more popular here than you are. Supposing that I go out, tell the Turks how you are simply using them for your own benefit—that you do not really regard them as your allies, but merely as pawns in the game you are playing. Now, in stirring up anti-American feeling here you are touching my softest spot. You are exposing our educational and religious institutions to the attacks of the Turks. No one knows what they may do if they are persuaded that their relatives are being shot down by American bullets. You stop this at once, or in three weeks I will fill the whole of Turkey with animosity toward the Germans. It will be a battle between us and I am ready for it."

Wangenheim's attitude changed at once. He turned around, put his arm on my shoulder and assumed his most conciliatory manner.

"Come, let us be friends," he said. "I see that you are right about this. I see that such attacks might injure your friends, the missionaries. I promise you that they will be stopped."

From that day the Turkish press never made the slightest unfriendly allusion to the United States. When I think of the infamous plots which Wangenheim was instigating at that moment, his objection to the use of a few American shells by English battleships—if English battleships used any such shells, which I seriously doubt—seems almost grotesque. In the early days Wangenheim had explained to me Germany's real purpose in forcing Turkey into the conflict. He made this explanation quietly and nonchalantly, as though it had been quite the most ordinary matter in the world. Sitting in his office, puffing away at his big black German cigar, he unfolded Germany's scheme to arouse the whole fanatical Moslem world against the Christians. Germany had planned a real "holy war" as one means of destroying English and French influence in the world. "Turkey herself is not the really important matter," said Wangenheim. "Her army is a small one, and we do not expect it to do very much. For the most part it will act on the defensive. But the big thing is the Moslem world. If we can stir the Mohammedans up against the English and Russians, we can force them to make peace."

What Wangenheim evidently meant by the "Big thing" became apparent on November 13th, when the Sultan issued his declaration of war; this declaration was really an appeal for a *Jibad*, or a "Holy War" against the infidel. Soon afterward the Sheik-ul-Islam published his proclamation, summoning the whole Moslem world to arise and massacre their Christian oppressors. "Oh Moslems!" concluded this document. "Ye who are smitten with happiness and are on the verge of sacrificing your life and your goods for the cause of right, and of braving perils, gather now around the Imperial throne, obey the commands of the Almighty, who, in the Koran, promises us bliss in this and in the next world; embrace ye the foot of the Caliph's throne and know ye that the state is at war with Russia, England, France, and their Allies, and that these are the enemies of Islam. The Chief

of the believers, the Caliph, invites you all as Moslems to join in the Holy War!" The religious leaders read this proclamation to their assembled congregations in the mosques; all the newspapers printed it conspicuously; emissaries spread it broadcast in all the countries which had large Mohammedan populations—India, China, Persia, Egypt, Algiers, Tripoli, Morocco, and the like—reading it to the assembled multitudes and exhorting the populace to obey the mandate. The *Ikdam*, the Turkish newspaper which had passed into German ownership, was constantly inciting the masses. "The deeds of our enemies," wrote this Turco-German editor, "have brought down the wrath of God. A gleam of hope has appeared. All Mohammedans, young and old, men, women, and children, must fulfil their duty so that the gleam may not fade away, but give light to us forever. How many great things can be accomplished by the arms of vigorous men, by the aid of others, of women and children! . . . The time for action has come. We shall all have to fight with all our strength, with all our soul, with teeth and nails, with all the sinews of our bodies and of our spirits. If we do it, the deliverance of the subjected Mohammedan kingdoms is assured. Then, if God so wills, we shall march unashamed by the side of our friends who send their greetings to the Crescent. Allah is our aid and the Prophet is our support."

The Sultan's proclamation was an official public document, and dealt with the proposed Holy War only in a general way, but about this same time there appeared a secret pamphlet which gave instructions to the faithful in more specific terms. This paper was not read in the mosques; it was distributed stealthily in all Mohammedan countries—India, Egypt, Morocco, Syria, and many others; and it was significantly printed in Arabic, the language of the Koran. It was a lengthy document—the English translation contains 10,000 words—full of quotations from the Koran; and its style was frenzied in its appeal to racial and religious hatred. It described a detailed plan of operations for the assassination and extermination of all Christians—except those of German nationality. A few extracts will fairly portray its spirit: "O people of the faith and O beloved Moslems, consider, even though but for a brief moment, the present condition of the Islamic world. For if you consider this but for a
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with impunity—except those to whom the Moslem power has promised security and who are allied with it. [Herein we find that Germans and Austrians are excepted from massacre.] The killing of infidels who rule over Islam has become a sacred duty, whether you do it secretly or openly, as the Koran has decreed: 'Take them and kill them whenever you come across them. Behold we have delivered them unto your hands and given you supreme power over them.' He who kills even one unbeliever of those who rule over us, whether he does it secretly or openly, shall be rewarded by God. And let every Moslem in whatever part of the world he may be, swear a solemn oath to kill at last three or four of the infidels who rule over him, for they are the enemies of God and of the faith. Let every Moslem know that his reward for doing so shall be doubled by the God who created heaven and earth. A Moslem who does this shall be saved from the terrors of the day of Judgment, of the resurrection of the dead. Who is the man who can refuse such a recompense for such a small deed? . . . Yet the time has come that we should rise up as the rising of one man, in one hand a sword, in the other a gun, in his pocket balls of fire and death dealing missiles, and in his heart the light of the faith, and that we should lift up our voices, saying—India for the Indian Moslems, Java for the Javanese Moslems, Algeria for the Algerian Moslems, Morocco for the Moroccan Moslems, Tunis for the Tunisian Moslems, Egypt for the Egyptian Moslems, Iran for the Iranian Moslems, Turan for the Turanian Moslems, Bokhara for the Bokharan Moslems, Caucasus for the Caucasian Moslems, and the Ottoman Empire for the Ottoman Turks and Arabs."

Specific instructions for carrying out this Holy purpose follow. There shall be a "heart war"—every follower of the Prophet, that is, shall constantly nourish in his spirit a hatred of the infidel; a "speech war"—with tongue and pen every Moslem shall spread this same hatred wherever Mohammedans live—and a war of deed, fighting and killing the infidel wherever he shows his head. This latter conflict, says the pamphlet, is the "true war." There is to be a "little holy war" and a "great holy war;" the first describes the battle which every Mohammedan is to wage in his community against his Christian neighbors, and the second is the great world struggle which united Islam, in India, Arabia, Turkey, Africa, and other countries is to wage against the infidel oppressors. "The Holy War," says this pamphet, "will be of three forms. First the individual war, which consists of the individual personal deed. This may be with cutting, killing instruments, like the Holy War which one of the faithful made against Peter Galy, the infidel English governor, like the slaying of the English chief of police in India, and like the killing of one of the officials arriving in Mecca by Abi Busir (may God be pleased with him)." The document gives several other instances of assassination which the faithful are enjoined to imitate. The believers are told to organize "bands," and to go forth and slay Christians. The most useful are those organized and operating in secret. "It is hoped that the Islamic world of to-day will profit very greatly from such secret bands." The third method is by "organized campaigns," that is, by trained armies.

In all parts of this incentive to murder and assassination there are indications that a German hand has exercised an editorial supervision. Only those infidels are to be slain, "who rule over us"—that is, those who have Mohammedan subjects. As Germany has no such subjects, this saving clause was expected to protect Germans from assault. The Germans with their usual interest in their own well-being and their usual disregard of their ally, evidently overlooked the fact that Austria had many Mohammedans in Bosnia and Herzegovinia. Moslems are instructed that they should form armies, "even though it may be necessary to introduce some foreign elements"—that is, bring in German instructors and German officers. "You must remember,"—this is evidently intended as a blanket protection to Germans everywhere—"that it is absolutely unlawful to oppose any of the peoples of other religions between whom and the Moslems there is a covenant or of those who have not manifested hostility to the seat of the Caliphate or those who have entered under the protection of the Moslems."

Even though I had not had Wangenheim's personal statement that the Germans intended to arouse the Mohammedans everywhere against England, France, and Russia, these interpolations would clearly enough have indicated the real inspiration of this amazing document. At the time Wangenheim dis-

cussed the matter with me, his chief idea seemed to be that a "Holy War" of this sort could be the quickest means of forcing England to make peace. According to this point of view, it was really a great peace offensive. At that time Wangenheim reflected the conviction, which was prevalent in all official circles, that Germany had made a mistake in bringing England into the conflict and it was his idea now that if back fires could be started against England in India, Egypt, the Sudan, and other places, the British Empire would withdraw. Even if British Mohammedans refused to rise, Wangenheim believed that the mere threat of such an uprising would induce England to abandon Belgium and France to their fate. The danger of spreading such incendiary literature among a wildly fanatical people is apparent. I was not the only neutral diplomat who feared the most serious consequences. M. Tocheff, the Bulgarian Minister, one of the ablest members of the Diplomatic Corps, was much disturbed. At that time Bulgaria was neutral, and M. Tocheff used to tell me that his country hoped to maintain this neutrality. Each side, he said, expected that Bulgaria would become its ally; it was Bulgaria's policy to keep each side in this expectant frame of mind. Should Germany succeed in starting a "Holy War" and should massacres result, Bulgaria, added M. Tocheff, would certainly join forces with the Entente. We arranged that he should call upon Wangenheim and repeat this statement, and that I should bring similar pressure to bear upon Enver. From the first, however, the "Holy War" proved a failure. The Mohammedans of such countries as India, Egypt, Algiers, and Morocco knew that they were getting far better treatment than they could obtain under any other conceivable conditions. Moreover, the simple-minded Mohammedans could not understand why they should prosecute a holy war against Christians with Christian nations, such as Germany and Austria, as their partners. This association made the whole proposition ridiculous. The Koran, it is true, commands the slaughter of Christians, but it makes no exception in favor of the Germans. In the mind of the fanatical Mohammedan, a German *rayah* is as much Christian dirt as an Englishman or a Frenchman and his massacre is just as meritorious an act. The fine distinctions necessitated by European diplo-

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attempt to arouse 300,000,
against the Christian world

[*Ambassador Morgenthau's* [illegible] *be continued in the August* WOR

IEN ON THE JOB

'ortraits painted from life by
oseph C. Chase, while the
ubjects were engaged in their
aily tasks in Washington, D.C.

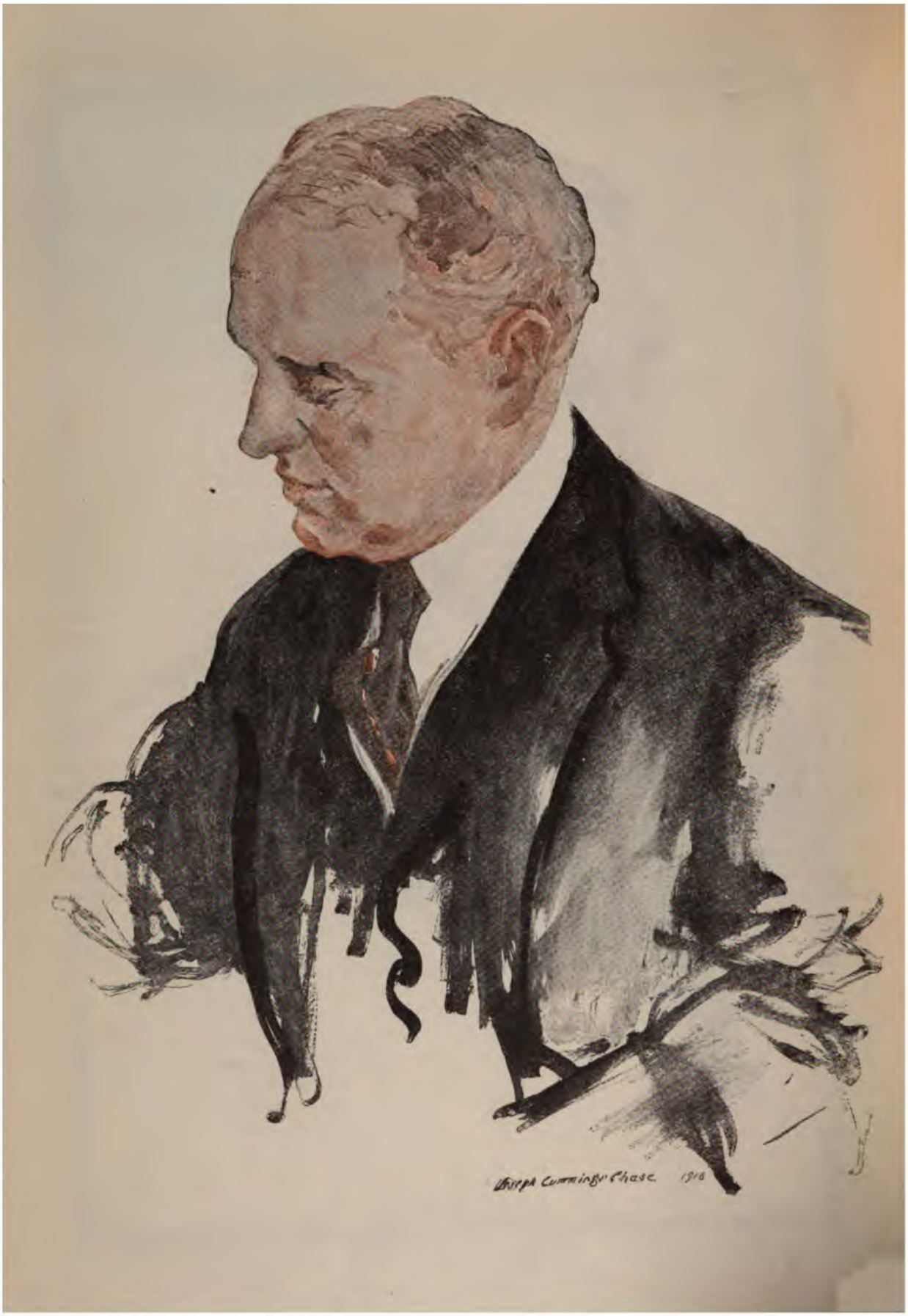
I

HARRY A. GARFIELD
Fuel Administrator

II

JOSEPH P. TUMULTY
Secretary to the President

Joseph
Cummings
Chase
1918


George Cunningham Chase 1918

THE STORY OF THE "CORNWALL"

I. From Plymouth to the Falklands

The First-Hand Story of the Battle to the Death Between the *Carmania* and the *Cap Trafalgar*—The Prelude to the Sinking of Von Spee's Squadron off the Falkland Islands

BY

LEWIS R. FREEMAN

(Lieutenant Royal Naval Volunteer Reserves)

OF THE countless stories of naval action which I have listened to in the course of the months I have spent with the Grand Fleet, I cannot recall a single one which was told as the consequence of being asked for with malice aforethought. I have never yet found a man of action who was enamoured of the sound of his own voice raised in the recital of his own exploits, and if there is one thing more than another calculated to throw an otherwise not untalkative British naval officer into a state of uncommunicativeness in comparison with which the traditional silence of the Sphinx or the proverbial close-mouthedness of the clam are alike sheer garrulity, it is to ask an officer, point blank, to tell you (for instance) how he took his submarine into the Baltic, or what his destroyer did at Jutland, or how he fought his cruiser at Dogger Bank, or something similar.

Thus, it was only by an anecdote now and then as this or that incident of the day recalled it to his mind, that Captain —— came to tell me the story of the *Cornwall*'s work during those eventful early months of the war when he commanded that now famous cruiser. Pieced together, it ran about like this:

"We were at Plymouth when the war began," said he, "and our first work was in connection with protecting and shepherding safely to port several British ships carrying bullion which were still on the high seas. It was a baffling sort of a job, especially as there were two or three German raiders loose in the north Atlantic, the favorite ruse of each of which was to represent itself as a British cruiser engaged in the same benevolent work as the *Cornwall*. Warned of these wolves in shepards' clothing, the merchantmen we sought to protect were afraid to reveal their whereabouts by wireless, the consequence being that our first forerunning efforts to safeguard the seas resolved themselves into a sort of a marine combination of 'Blind Man's Buff' and 'Hide-and-Seek,' played pretty well all over the Atlantic. All the ships with especially valuable cargoes got safely to port ultimately, though none of them, that I remember, directly under the wing of the *Cornwall*. It was our first taste of the 'so-near-and-yet-so-far' kind of life that is the inevitable lot of the cruiser which essays the dual rôle of commerce protector and raider chaser.

"We never had the luck to sight even so much as the smoke of the *Karlsrube*, the German raider we were hunting, although—as I learned only too late to take advantage of the information—the *Cornwall* was within an hour or two's steaming of her on one occasion.

But one of our most interesting experiences was helping the *Carmania* limp back to base following her successful engagement with the *Cap Trafalgar*,—the first great duel ever fought between modern armed merchantmen, a conflict, indeed, which is still practically unique in naval history.

"There was not much to choose between the ships," he said, "the *Cap Trafalgar* one of the latest of the *Hamburg Sud Amerika* liners had a good deal the best of it on the score of age, and the *Carmania* probably something on the score of size. The latter had been hastily converted at Liverpool immediately after the outbreak of the war, while the former turned herself from sheep into wolf about the same time by arming herself with the guns of a small German gunboat. This gunboat, by the way, steamed to the nearest Brazilian port, and, with true Hunnish logic, claimed the right to intern as a peaceful German merchantman on the strength of the fact that

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"The fight between the *Carmania* and *Cap Trafalgar*" he continued "has well been called 'The Battle of the Hay-stacks,' for never before (or since, for that matter) have two ships with such towering upper works stood off and tried to batter each other to pieces with gunfire. Indeed, I well recall G——'s saying that, up to the very end, he could not conceive that either ship could sink the other, and of how—even after the *Carmania* had been struck three or four score times and a raging fire forward had driven him from the bridge—he kept wondering in the back of his brain what sort of a fight the duel would resolve itself into when both had exhausted their shells. Luckily, he did not have to face that development.

BOTH SHIPS AFIRE

"Both ships, according to G——'s account, began blazing at each other as soon as they came in range, and, as each was eager to fight it out to a finish, the distance separating them was, for a while, reduced as rapidly as possible. At something like three thousand yards, however, some sort of a rapid-fire gun burst into action on the *Trafalgar*. 'It didn't appear to be doing me much harm,' said G—— in telling me of it, 'but the incessant pom-pom of the accursed thing got so much on my nerves that I drew off far enough to dull the edge of its infernal yapping.'

"A thing which came near to putting the *Carmania* out of the running before she had completed the polishing off of her opponent was the shell which I have spoken of as violating the sanctity of the captain's cabin—the one that burned everything but the Norfolk jacket. This projectile—a four-inch—though, (probably owing to the small resistance offered by the light upper works) it did not explode, generated enough heat in its passage to start a fire. Beginning on G——'s personal effects, this conflagration spread to the bridge, destroying the navigating instruments and ultimately making it impossible to remain there—the latter a serious blow in itself. What made this fire especially troublesome was the difficulty, because of the cutting of the main, of bringing water to bear upon it. As it was, it was necessary to head the *Carmania* down the wind to reduce the draught fanning the flames. Nothing else would have saved her. Except for one thing, this expedient would have enabled the now thoroughly worsted (though G—— didn't know it) *Trafalgar* to with-

WHERE VON SPEE MET THE BRITISH

Off Coronel, Chile, Von Spee sank Cradock's squadron. The German then steamed toward t
he found Admiral Sturdee waiting to give battle

draw from the action, and this was that the latter was herself on fire and had to take the same course willy-nilly. From that moment on the battle was as irretrievably joined as one of those old Spanish knife-duels in which the opponents were locked together in a room to fight to a finish. Often as not, so they say, the victor in one of these fights only survived the loser by minutes or hours, and so would it have been in this instance had they not finally been able to extinguish the fire on the *Carmania.*

THE CAPTAIN'S FOOTWORK

"G——'s account of the way he had to carry on after being driven from the bridge—it was really a splendid bit of seamanship—was funny in the extreme, but the reality must have been funnier still; that is, if that term can be applied to anything happening while shells are bursting and blowing men to bits every few seconds. G—— is one of the biggest men in the navy—around the waist, I mean—so it wasn't to be expected of him to be very shifty on his feet. And yet, by the irony of Fate, it was he of all men who was suddenly confronted with a task that required only less footwork than it did headwork. With the battle going on all the time, they rigged up some sort of a 'jury' steering gear, or it may be that they steered her by her screws. At any rate, G—— had to command her from the most commanding position he could find on one of the after decks, or rather, as he had no longer voice-pipe communication with the engine room, he had to keep dashing back and forth (it must have been for all the world like a batsman running in cricket) between two or three commanding positions. 'If I wanted to open the range a bit,' he said, 'I had to nip for'rard, wait till there was an interval in both gunfire and shell-burst, and yell down a hatchway' (or was it a ventilator) 'to the engine room to "Slow port"; or if I suddenly found it imperative to open the distance, I had to make the same journey and pass the word down to "Stop starboard"!' The very thought of that mad shuttling back and forth under the equatorial sun used to make poor G—— mop his forehead and pour himself a fresh drink every time he told the story.

"Battered and burning fiercely as both ships were, G—— confessed that even at this ncture he could not rid himself of the feeling that neither of them had enough shells to sink the other. 'I was racking my brain for some plan of action to follow when that moment arrived,' he said, 'when suddenly the *Trafalgar* began to heel sharply and started to sink. It was our second or third salvo, which had holed her badly at the waterline, that did the business. She had kept steaming and fighting for close to an hour and a quarter afterward, though.'

"G—— told us one very good story about his gunnery officer. 'It was just before the shell which started the fire struck us,' he said, 'that Y——'s sun-helmet was knocked off—I don't remember whether it was by the wind or the concussion of the firing. Seeing it fall to the deck below, he ran to the rail of the bridge and began shouting for someone to bring it back to him. Before long, luckily, a seaman who had heard the shouting in a lull of the firing, poked his head out to see what it was about, and presently came puffing up the ladder with the fugitive head-piece. I say *luckily*, because the gun-control for the whole ship was suspended while Y—— waited for that infernal helmet! And the funniest thing about it all was that, when I ventured to suggest a few days later that it might be well if he made use of the chin-strap of his helmet the next time he was in action, he claimed to have no recollection whatever of the incident—thought he had been sticking to his guns all the time. Just shows how a man's brain works in air-tight compartments when he is really busy.'

DIDN'T REGRET LOSING A HAND

"The surgeon of the *Carmania,*" continued the captain," a splendid chap who had given up a lucrative West End practice and sworn he was under forty (although he was really fifty-two) in order to get a chance to do something for his country, told me many stories to prove the splendid spirit of the men that passed under his hands during and after the fight. Though most of the crew were only Volunteer Reservists, with no experience of and but little training for fighting, it appears that they stood what is perhaps the hardest of all trials—that of seeing their mates wounded and killed beside them—like seasoned veterans.

"'There was one stout-hearted young cockney,' said the surgeon, 'whom, after I had finished removing a number of shell fragments

from various parts of his anatomy, I asked what he thought of the fight. "Rippin', sir," he replied, grinning ecstatically through the bandage that held up a flap of a torn cheek; "rippin'—nev'r been in one like it afore." Then, as his eye caught the smile which I could not quite repress at the life time of naval battling suggested by that "nev'r afore," he concluded with "Not ev'n in Whitechapel."'

"The surgeon came across one man who insisted that the blood flowing from a ragged tear in his arm was really spattered there when one of his mates—whose mangled body he bestrode—had been decapitated by a shell a few minutes before; and there was one lot of youngsters who went on cheerily 'Yo-heave-ho-ing' in hoisting some badly needed shells which were so slippery with blood that they had to be sanded before they could be handled. Grimly pathetic was the story he told me of a gunner whose wrist he had just finished bandaging after amputating his torn hand, when some one shouted into the door of the dressing station that the *Trafalgar* was going down.

"'He crowded to a port I had had opened,' said the surgeon, 'just in time to see one of the last salvos from the *Carmania* go crashing into the side of the heeling enemy. "Huroor, boys," he shouted; "give 'em beans," and as he cheered he started (what had evidently been a favourite gesture of approval and excitement with him) to smite mightily with his right fist into the palm of his left hand. But the blow fell upon air; there was no answering thwack. The gnarled, weather-beaten fist shot past a bandaged stump. He drew back with surprise for a moment, and then, grinning a bit sheepishly, like a boy surprised in some foolish action, edged back beside me at the port. "Quite forgot there was su'thin' missin," he said half apologetically, trying to wriggle the elbow of the maimed arm back into the sling from which it had slipped. "Spose I'll be havin' to get used to it, won't I?" As the *Trafalgar* took a new list and began rapidly to settle he burst into renewed "Huroors!" "By Gawd, sir!" he cried, when she had finally gone, "if I 'ad as many 'ands as an oktypuss, I'd 'a giv'n 'em all fer the joy o' puttin' that blinkin' pyrit down to Davy Jones." "

"The first intimation we had," the captain resumed, "of the sinking of Admiral Cradock's fleet came in the form of a wireless from the *Defence* asking if I had heard of the disaster at Coronel. Details which came in the course of the next day or two brought hom
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we figured, to see them through many months of commerce raiding if only they could avoid another general action against warships, and such an action, even if it was a losing one from our standpoint, it was our manifest rôle to provoke, and at the earliest possible moment.

"This point decided, about all that remained to be considered was how to make the most effective disposition of such ships as we had at our disposal when once the enemy was in sight. We knew just what ships we would have to meet. We also knew, practically to a gun, how they were armed. Moreover, with Coronel as an object lesson, we knew how well those ships were handled, and with what deadly effectiveness those guns were served. Now that it is all ancient history, I think there is no reason why I should not tell you how we arranged that our ships should 'take partners' for the little 'sea-dance' they were expecting to shake their heels at.

To make Von Spee use up his ammunition was our principal object, and there can be no doubt that we would have come pretty near complete success in attaining it. For the rest, you can judge for yourself what our chances would have been. As the Fates would have it, however, that battle was never to be fought, save on paper in the admiral's cabin of the old *Defence*. Before ever we had completed preparations for our magazine-emptying sally against Von Spee, word was winged to us that the Admiralty had a plan of its own in process of incubation, and that we were to stand by to coöperate.

"Sturdee and his battle cruisers were well on their way to the South Atlantic, however, before even an inkling of what was afoot was vouchsafed us, and even then my orders were simply to rendezvous with him at the base I have spoken of before—the one where we foregathered and feasted with the *Carmania*. I breathed no word of where and why we were going until the muddy waters of the Plate estuary were left behind and the last least possibility of a leak to the shore was out of the question. Then I simply passed it on to the men by posting some word of it on the notice board. There was no cheering, either then or even a few days later, when the *Inflexible* and the *Invincible*, the latter flying Admiral Sturdee's flag, came nosing in from the Atlantic and dropped anchor at the base; but the promise of action in the immediate future was like wine to the men. They were simply tumbling over themselves to carry out the most ordinary routine duties, and so it continued right up to the moment that Von Spee's foretops, gliding along above the low promontory of Port William, brought them to action stations with real work to do at last.

"Sturdee had his plans all laid, and we repaired to the *Invincible* shortly after her arrival to familiarize ourselves with them. All in all, it wasn't so very different a gathering from that one which took place on the *Defence*, off Montevideo. I don't mind admitting, though, that there was a bit more buoyancy to the atmosphere, the natural consequence of our improved prospects. There is no use denying that it gives a man a more comfortable feeling to know that he is on a ship that has reasonable expectation of sending its opponent to the bottom of the sea, than to be faced with the prospect of going out as a sort of animated lure to wheedle the enemy out of his shells.

"With the *Invincible* and *Inflexible* Sturdee had sufficient force to be able to dispense with the *Defence*, which was, I believe, sent to African waters to join a force that was gathering there on the off chance that the Germans slipped through the net that was being flung off South America. For scouting purposes, the *Bristol* and the *Kent*—both of which had foregathered with us at the base—were added to our punitive expedition, which finally got under way for the Falklands the 28th of November. Steaming in a formation best calculated to sweep a wide range of seas, we held our southerly course for nine days, sighting so far as I recall, no ship of any description except those of our own force. On the eighth day we weathered a heavy blizzard, but it was out of a clear dawn that the low, rounded hills of the Falklands—so suggestive in many respects of the Orkneys and the north of Scotland—took shape the following morning. We dropped anchor in the double harbor of Port William and Port Stanley at nine o'clock of the forenoon of the 7th of December. Before another twenty-four hours had passed, Von Spee—hurrying as though to a rendezvous—had made his appearance, and we were raising steam to go out and even up Cradock's account with him."

[*Lieutenant Freeman's Story of the Battle of the Falklands will appear in the August* WORLD'S WORK.]

OUR RAILROADS UNDER GOVE
CONTROL

Conditions Which Made the Change of Management Necessary-
Control Means and How Far It Is Succeeding— the Future

BY

ROY V. WRIGHT

(Managing Editor of the *Railway Age*)

WHY was government control of our railroads necessary? What is actually taking place under government control? Why could not the private managements accomplish the same things that are now being done under government control? What will be the final outcome?

During 1914 and the greater part of 1915, freight traffic declined to a most distressing point and railroad officers were hard pressed to hold down expenses. There was a surplus of rolling stock. And even though the railroads were desirous of improving facilities to meet future needs, funds were not available except for those roads which were more fortunately situated financially.

In the fall of 1915, traffic started to increase, and in a few months the car shortage became acute and has remained so ever since. But unfortunately, expenses and taxes also increased rapidly, and, in spite of the abnormal traffic, the net return has not proved satisfactory.

On April 11th, 1917, exactly five days after the entry of this country into the world war, the railroad executives organized a Railroads' War Board and this board was empowered to take complete charge of operation during the war, for the purpose of coördinating the operations of the different roads in order to secure the maximum results in handling freight traffic. This was done with the approval and with the coöperation of the Government. But the Government did not remove the obstacles to a complete unification of the railroads which had been placed in the way by earlier laws and regulations, both state and Federal.

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routing of the troops and their freight, competition was ignored and all railroad facilities were placed at the disposal of the Government without regard to individual interests.

By these measures, the Railroads' War Board greatly reduced the car shortage during the summer. But, during the fall, complaints began to be made that a shortage of coal cars was limiting the output of the mines. To meet this situation, the Railroads' War Board, on November 24th, 1917, appointed a General Operating Committee of the Eastern Railroads, with complete authority to pool the facilities of these roads, and also to draft locomotives and other assistance from the Western and Southern lines. The committee went to work energetically, but before the new measures had time to bear much fruit, the railroads were taken over by President Wilson.

Another element over which the railroads had no control added greatly to the freight congestion; on the Eastern roads, government freight was given priority, but instead of the various government departments getting together and adopting a carefully coördinated plan of priority, any government officer had authority to mark goods for immediate shipment. As much as 70 per cent. of the capacity of some of the Eastern lines was required for freight of this kind. In one case, anchors (the last thing to be placed in a ship) for a number of ships were rushed forward under priority orders and were delivered before the yard in which the ships were to be built was ready for operation. Thousands of cars of freight were delivered at tide water with no ships available to take the goods for weeks or months to come.

MR. McADOO'S STATEMENT

The Interstate Commerce Commission, recognizing the impossible conditions under which the railroads were working, had made a recommendation to Congress early in December, 1917, that the anti-trust law and the anti-pooling law be suspended and that the Government render the roads financial aid so that the railroads might solve their operating difficulties; or, on the other hand, that the Government assume control of the railroads, guaranteeing a net return to the carriers for the time the roads should be under Federal control.

The President issued his proclamation on *Wednesday* evening, December 26th, 1917, taking over the possession and control of the railroads, effective December 28th.

Mr. McAdoo made a public statement concerning "some of the controlling needs which could only be met by putting the power of the Government back of railroad operation":

"(1)The absolute coördination and, as far as necessary, common use of all railroads and their rolling stock, regardless of any private interests; (2) the entire disregard of established routes for the movement of traffic when other routes would insure more or quicker service; (3) the necessity for economy in the use of labor and material so as to do all that might be necessary for transportation with the least drain on the country's other demands for labor and material; (4) the need of insuring the supply of capital necessary, notwithstanding the impaired credit of many railroads; (5) the coördination of the Government demands for priority in shipments—impossible except under government management; (6) the absolute necessity for assuring railroad labor that its just demands would be met without necessity for strikes or threat of strikes."

These ideals were made possible in action by the authority vested in Mr. McAdoo as Director General of Railroads. It was generally assumed, however, that he would direct the railroads in a general way only, and would utilize the Railroads' War Board, or a similar body of experienced operating men and executives, as his advisers. Acting under his authority, they could put into effect the measures they had recommended as essential to more efficient operation.

WHAT McADOO DID

It became evident almost immediately, however, that Mr. McAdoo had his own ideas about the railroads and how they should be operated. With a firm and no uncertain hand he proceeded to take them in charge. In a very short time he has built up an exceedingly strong central organization. It is true that there are a number of experienced railroad men on his immediate staff, but it is true also that these men do not always have much to say about measures which are put into effect.

The first steps taken by the Director General made a particularly strong appeal to practical railroad officers. Unhampered by laws or regulations, he was able to order all

the roads to disregard competitive conditions and move freight by the shortest possible route. The individual roads were, of course, protected as to earnings by the government guarantee.

Demurrage rates (demurrage is the penalty for failure to unload a car within a specified time) were tripled. The railroads had been trying for years to get permission to make a much more moderate increase than this and the Interstate Commerce Commission and some of the state commissions did finally allow an increase, but not enough to discourage receivers of freight from using the cars for storage purposes, or to prevent profiteers in food or other products from holding the cars for an unreasonable time in order to gouge the public. Mr. McAdoo, without any red tape at all was able to raise the rates to a really effective point on a day's notice.

Drastic reductions were made in passenger service without prolonged and tiresome hearings and a final compromise before commissions, state and Federal. Shippers who would not load or unload cars promptly were embargoed and general or local embargoes were placed wherever it was deemed necessary. Priority orders were abolished and a plan was worked out by experienced traffic officers for the purpose of coördinating the traffic needs of the various government departments. These measures were all helpful and as soon as the severe winter weather had passed their effect was most noticeable.

ABUSES CORRECTED AND IMPROVEMENTS MADE

The more or less informal organization of advisers which Mr. McAdoo at first gathered around him soon gave place to an extensive permanent organization. Divisions of finance and purchases, transportation, traffic, capital expenditures, labor, and public service and accounts were established, with a director in charge of each. A general council was formed and the country was divided into five railroad sections with a regional director in charge of each. The railroad officers who became members of Mr. McAdoo's central organization severed their connections with their railroads.

It soon became evident that a sharp line was to be drawn between the railroad corporations and their properties. The Government had taken over nothing but operation of the roads. The corporations would have to pay their other expenses—expenses for offices devoted to financial and corporate purposes and the salaries of those in charge—from the compensation paid to the roads by the Government, and not from operating revenues. The railroad control act made provision for contracts to be executed with each railroad guaranteeing them a return based on that of the three years ending June 30th, 1917. The Division of Public Service and Accounts which is negotiating with the roads is trying to see how little it can pay them; the roads, on the other hand, want all that is coming to them. When the goodwill and enthusiastic support of every individual are so important, it would seem like a waste of good energy to engage in a hair-splitting contest of this sort; but it is quite characteristic of what the railroads have generally experienced in their dealings with all sorts of commissions and regulating bodies in recent years.

The capital expenditures of the roads are being closely studied and checked with the one idea of concentrating the expenditures on those additions and improvements that will do the most to help win the war. The Railroad Administration, with a revolving fund of $500,000,000 at its disposal (to which any surplus from earnings above the guaranteed compensation will be added), has already extended important financial assistance to some of the roads.

The central department of purchases is engaged in purchasing locomotives, cars, and rails. Divisional purchasing committees are supervising and standardizing purchases in the regional districts.

Passenger train schedules have been revised where there was a duplication of service between cities, and the number of trains materially reduced. City ticket offices are being consolidated. Freight traffic solicitation has been abolished; this is true of railroad advertising also. A uniform freight waybill has been adopted, greatly simplifying the accounting problem. Much abused reconsignment privileges have been curtailed. Car distribution is closely controlled by the Commission on Car Service. Terminal facilities are being pooled.

Some things that have been done indicate in a decided fashion the fallacy of attempting to operate the railroad systems as a unit without making full use of the expert talent on the various properties and without

taking into consideration the great differences in operating conditions which may exist, even on different parts of one small system. We have heard so much of Henry Ford's standardization and specialized manufacture of automobiles that the suggestion of standard locomotives and cars as a means of increasing production of this equipment makes a strong appeal to the mind of the layman. It may also sound good to the builder who is interested in the profit from their manufacture and in simplifying his production problem. The practical railroad officer, however, is not interested in this. He is selling transportation and his job is to furnish it on the most efficient and economical basis. He has learned from long experience that he must carefully and scientifically design the locomotives to suit his peculiar conditions.

THOSE STANDARD LOCOMOTIVES

One of the members of Mr. McAdoo's staff conceived the idea that the railroads needed standard locomotives. He called the locomotive builders together and gave them a week or ten days in which to make recommendations as to the standards. Note that he did not go to the railroad operating and mechanical department officers, who are responsible for locomotive performance. The builders' committee made some recommendations but stated that this was no time for experimentation, that even if common standard locomotives were considered advisable, it would take too long to develop satisfactory designs; and it would result in a restricted production for 1918—the time when the locomotives would probably be most greatly needed. This part of the report never reached the Railroad Administration. The head of the committee drew up a report recommending certain types of standard locomotives, which the other members of the committee did not sign and would not take responsibility for.

The builders' committee was ordered to go ahead and develop the details of the designs and when the matter was finally submitted to a committee of railroad men, it was not as to whether standardization was desirable or advisable but as to whether they approved of the designs which had been recommended by the builders.

Orders for 1,025 locomotives were given out, and the following statement was issued by the Railroad Administration: "The awarding of this contract marks the establishment by the Government of the standardized type of locomotive, specifications for which have been developed and perfected by committees of experts who, for many weeks, have devoted time and study to the subject."

The ridiculousness of doing in weeks what should take months, or even years, if properly done, did not seem to bother the author of the statement. The real seriousness of the problem will appear when the locomotives go into service. Engine house men and shop forces are accustomed to the local standards. Their tools, equipment, and store house stocks are specially designed to serve their own standard engines. An entirely new set of standard locomotives superimposed upon the road's own special designs will seriously complicate the operating situation at a time when such interference is least desirable. What should have been done was to let each road order sufficient locomotives of its own existing designs to take care of the emergency. If a floating emergency supply of equipment was necessary, and it was last winter, then the more adequately equipped roads could loan locomotives to their needy neighbors, keeping the locomotives as near a home road division point as possible because of emergency repairs that might be necessary, requiring parts not carried in stock by the foreign road.

The builders have the drawings, patterns, templates, dies, etc., for locomotives which they previously built for the railroads and can, therefore, readily arrange for the building of additional equipment to the old standards.

WHAT ABOUT LABOR?

The labor situation on the railroads has been particularly bad in recent years. The trainmen's organizations in 1916 held the Administration up almost at the point of a pistol, and secured the passage of the Adamson act. Organized labor and the railroad officers had grown far apart. That Mr. McAdoo appreciated the seriousness of this situation is indicated by the Division of Labor which he incorporated in the Railroad Administration, and by the appointment of a wage commission.

Wage adjustment boards have also been appointed to adjust controversies between railroad companies and the brotherhoods. Mr. McAdoo has adopted a far-sighted policy

of doing all that he can to wipe out friction between the companies and the employees. The problem is one of so great importance and means so much to the future welfare of both the country and the railroads that it is hardly fair to infer, as some have done, that he is actuated by political motives in doing this.

The wage commission made a most thorough investigation of the whole railroad labor situation, and, based on the increased cost of living during the years 1916 and 1917, recommended increases to all employees receiving less than $250 a month. Employees receiving less than $50 a month were recommanded to receive advances of 43 per cent. with a minimum of $20 a month. The percentage of increase gradually diminishes as the wages increase. The advances were based on the wages received in December, 1915, so that employees who had received increases since that time and were still on the same class of work were increased only to the extent of the difference between the advance recommended and the amount their wages had already been increased. The advances recommended aggregate $300,000,000 a year, although as the report states: "the roads themselves have in two years, 1916 and 1917, increased wages approximately $350,000,000 per year if applied to the present number of employees."

Mr. McAdoo, after studying the report, made additional increases in the wages of common labor, and established a minimum rate for mechanics in order to meet competition on the part of the industries. Colored firemen, trainmen, and switchmen, in addition to securing the increase recommended by the wage commission, were advanced to the same basis as white men employed on similar work, effective June 1st. Mr. McAdoo, while agreeing that its application was not practicable at this time, recognized the principle of the basic eight-hour day in railroad service. The increases were retroactive, taking effect January 1st, 1918.

To meet the increased operating expenses caused by the wage adjustment ($300,000,000 a year) and the steady increase of other expenses ($530,000,000 to $560,000,000 a year), Mr. McAdoo also ordered an increase in freight rates of 25 per cent., effective June 25th, and of passenger rates from 2½ to 3 cents a mile, effective June 10th. An extra charge is also made for passengers traveling in sleeping and parlor cars. All intrastate rates are leveled up to the interstate basis.

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JOHN D. RYAN

The Characteristics and the Record of the Able Organizer Who Now Has Charge of Our Airplane Construction

BY

HARRY ESTY DOUNCE

WHY was John D. Ryan chosen to head the aircraft production of the United States—the president of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, who had never had any connection with the manufacture of airplanes? A business man who had personally known and dealt with him since first he rose to Montana prominence, undertook to state some of his qualifications immediately after the appointment was announced.

"Of course Ryan knows nothing about airplanes—now," said this man. "He couldn't tell two kinds apart. But who does know, except these engineers whose conflicting theories have been delaying the game? Within six weeks Ryan will know everything he'll need to know, and the technical experts he confers with then will wonder how and when he mastered the subject so completely.

"He'll have done it without ever having appeared to be studying anything up. How, I can't tell you, except that he has an uncanny ability to absorb essential detail out of the air as he goes along. It isn't that he ever lets minor points absorb *him* by any means. He always keeps free of that. No one will find him buried in figures, poring over specifications. But whenever any problem that calls for close technical knowledge is laid before him, he'll have the facts all ready at his tongue's end."

The allowance of six weeks appears to have been generous. When Ryan went to work on the airplane job he told callers seeking interviews that he was simply learning the lie of the land and getting acquainted. That was all he could hope to do for the present. It would take some little time. He would rather make no promises and forecasts. For the future he thought results would be his best reports of progress.

But it is known that within nine days after he was shown his Washington office, he had learned where every type of airplane in use against the Germans is being made, and in what numbers, and what materials go into them, and the sources of these materials, including all such sources in and available to this country. Also, sepecifically, where his own work should begin—what particular need of our belated 'plane manufacture called for his attention first, and what could be done about it within a given time. And his arrangements were in progress.

John D. Ryan's credentials for this war responsibility are the business achievements of a meteoric career. At 54 he is biggest of our Big Four copper kings. He has been in the copper industry fourteen years. An executive taking on aircraft production just now will have to harmonize a dozen or more discordant and disgruntled factions, official, semi-official, and private, and get them all working together under his single direction. Ryan harmonized and merged the warring Montana copper companies, a feat which could only have been surpassed by a successful federator of the Balkan States in the old turbulent days.

He assumes a twofold task; he must increase and speed up the output of the existing airplane producers along the lines on which they are now engaged, and at the same time he must plan extension, open new lines, entertain new ideas, and foster evolutionary progress. Under his administration, first of the Amalgamated Copper Company and then of the Anaconda reorganization, the production of copper and other metal and mineral staples from those properties is said to have nearly trebled in a decade, and several successful side issues have been added. Meanwhile, in developing and utilizing Montana's water power, Ryan has independently created a huge business of his own.

Examination of these achievements gives the best personal line on him. He is a difficult man to get a line on, by no means a

"picturesque figure" in the ordinary sense, and he quietly avoids the limelight species of publicity. Little is to be learned of him by seeing him, except by character-reading and intuition. He will talk Montana's future, or the future of hydro-electric development in the West, enthusiastically by the half hour when he has time. But he won't talk about himself and his own activities, and would thank none of his friends for talking about him for publication. Especially does he object to the Horatio Alger kind of biography sedulously written about all self-made big men. He has taken pains to make it clear that the few Alger-ian legends of his own rise are rubbish. For example, he never was a mine laborer in his life, and at the time when he made his start in Montana by buying a controlling interest in the Daly Bank in Butte, he was not a struggling drummer on $100 a month, but manager of the Eastern branch of a large independent oil business—for which he had been on the road some years before. He already had a good income and a good rating.

SAYS SHERMAN LAW HELPS GERMANS

His chief natural advantage over other men appears always to have been greater foresight and the courage to realize on it. You can call this imaginative vision and "sanguine temperament" if you like, and attribute them to his being an Irish genius. His friends simply say horse sense, and let it go at that. His business creed, avowed frankly even when it was unpopular, is combination. Every one of his brilliant successes, like a military commander's—or a chess player's, has resulted from his having constantly seen the whole of his field at once, and not merely its immediate state, but all the potentialities in several moves ahead; and from his having patiently aligned all available forces to bear upon the future openings.

After the war began in Europe, and before the entrance of the United States, on the rare occasions when Ryan did any public speech-making he attacked the Sherman Anti-trust law, on the ground that it hopelessly handicapped American copper manufacturers, who when the war was over must meet German competition, the world around, by preventing their combining to extend American markets.

Friends recall with amusement a day, not so very remote, when older financiers of a conservative habit spoke of him as a plunger and shook their heads over him
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The negotiations that followed took six months. As Ryan has told the story,

"Heinze would never meet me except in the most out-of-the-way places. He was mortally afraid that the Butte miners would learn he was preparing to sell out, as he was loudly promising to fight their battles for them if they would stand by him. We never entered a building by the same door. He never came to my office, and I never went to his. Instead, we would meet in the offices of one of our lawyers, or in the rooms of friends. One of our most important sessions was held in Providence, R. I., because he was then staying at Newport and I was in New York, and he did not want to run the risk of our being seen together at either place.

"From the very opening Heinze and I continued friendly, and though many times we came near breaking off, we continued to treat each other in good faith. He never once broke his word to me. We finally met one night, talked price from 9 o'clock to 3 o'clock in the morning, and reached an agreement."

Later, when Ryan undertook to reorganize all the old Amalgamated properties and subsidiaries for the final merger, he had to mediate between the corporation and numerous semi-independent mining companies, and between some of these companies themselves, long at loggerheads over the aggravated question of extra-lateral rights in the copper veins.

The law permitted an owner to work that part of a vein which had its apex or outcrop within the boundaries of his claim, wherever underground the vein might lead, "to the centre of the earth." This would have been decisive enough if the claims had been uniform, tracts and the ore-bearing strata continuous. Instead, the claims were a crazy-quilt, and the strata so contorted and faulted that workings of different mines were forever opening up the same subterranean territory, and lawsuits resulting. At the worst period, the total value involved in all such suits that were pending is said to have been near $200,000,000.

Ryan's solution was a new "horse-sensible" basis for agreements. The principle on which he finally reconciled all the disputants was arbitrary mining limits, regardless of geology or of the unworkable law. Agreements in some of the cases were hard to reach. The feeling was old and bitter. The rivals distrusted each other, but they knew and trusted Ryan. His *standing* among them was above all question.

As for his handling of employees, he wi never encounter in war work a more ticklis labor situation than he has repeatedly met i the copper industry. After Heinze sold ou the labor group which had supported hir seemed for a while disposed to be vindictive "But in all the time I dealt with labor,' Ryan has said, "we had no strikes or lockouts In fact our mines never lost a day from labo troubles. We paid good wages and we go good service. I have very little complain to make of any dealings I ever had with labo during all my immediate connection wit mining. I never have had any rows with it.'

This sweeping statement despite the fac that a labor war in the Western mining region is a perfectly genuine war, with bombs an bloodshed, and that one of the worst on recor was waged in Butte later on, in 1914, betwee the Western Federation of Miners and a insurgent faction of union men who wer members of the I.W.W. It began as a strugg for control of the local miners' union, in which both camps were represented, and it continued, after an I.W.W. bolt and the formation by the bolters of a union of their own, as a rivalry for closed-shop recognition. For years the Amalgamated mines had been closed-shop, under an agreement with the union by which union agents could order a shaft engineer not to lower a non-union workman into the mines. In the face of the labor war, Ryan proclaimed open-shop and a fair field, and stuck to his guns.

The state of affairs in Butte became anarchic. Besides the ostensible issues, bad blood between Charles H. Moyer, president of the Western Federation, and his former associate, William D. Haywood, then the I.W.W. leader, who had broken with Moyer after the Steunenberg trial, came to a head in this episode. The Industrial Workers dynamited homes of Federation union officers, and the hall of the Butte Union building when Moyer was trying to hold a mass meeting in it. A citizens' committee formed to protect life and property was nullified by intimidation. The Socialist mayor, accused by Moyer of I.W.W. affiliations, was later stabbed on the street by an I.W.W. man for having refused to deport a Finnish editor, whose paper had denounced the Industrial Workers. The mayor shot his assailant and mortally wounded him. Order was finally restored by the militia.

Through it all, Ryan's policy held firm, and mining business went on virtually as usual.

He particularly objects to legends that he has sometimes dealt with labor threats by thrashing unruly delegates singlehanded, and cowing whole disaffected mining camps with the fire in his eye. Physically and morally he is capable, at a glance, of having done it. But he says he never thrashed any one in his life!

"He doesn't go into the 'social welfare' idea," said a former Montana associate. "But every miner on Anaconda payrolls understands that the head of the concern is clean and fair and square, and that its employees get what they deserve, either way, if he knows anything about it. When he's visiting the properties he goes all over them, talking with the men. He knows a great many by name, and something about them. They know he's a human being. And they know that when any of them have a grievance they can come straight to Ryan, call him John, tell their troubles and get a hearing—and action if he thinks they're entitled to it.

"On the other hand," the speaker added, smiling, "they know he'd be just as ready to tell a whole organization to go to hell, if he decided that was where it ought to go!"

HIS RAILROAD ELECTRIFICATION

The Montana coal mentioned is not of good quality, it is hard and costly to mine, and the mines are inconveniently situated with respect to the copper mines and smelters. Maintaining a sufficient supply of the coal, even for haulage of ore, meant a great expenditure with unsatisfactory returns. Hence Ryan's attention to hydro-electric power.

The fall of water in the Missouri and its Montana tributaries, between the divide of the watersheds and the eastern state line, is 10,000 feet. Practically limitless power could be taken anywhere. Given the electro-mechanical devices, it would replace steam throughout the copper industries. The devices existed, but almost untried. Ryan looked into the matter and believed in them.

Two groups of local power plants existed, lighting the cities near by and running the street cars. They centred at Butte and Great Falls, the latter group controlled by James J. Hill. Ryan and a few associates financed their purchase; consolidated them, physically inter-connecting them with transmission lines and sub-stations, and built new storage dams to insure continuous flow. Ryan then, in 1913, completely electrified the Butte, Anaconda & Pacific Ra
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GOOD SERVICE AND LOW CHARGES

Among the incidental benefits has been the rise of a great new production of electrolytic zinc. And, besides supplying the mines and the railroads, the Montana Power Company furnishes most of the current industrially and privately used in the state outside the mining field.

All of which so exercised certain statesmen that in 1915 President Ryan was called before a Congressional investigating body to tell whether the company's business didn't constitute a state monopoly. He took the investigators' breath away by answering promptly and pointedly that it did.

"The company," he stated, "does 95 per cent. of the business in its line. It has a monopoly, not of the water power resources but of the market, and that is because the service it gives is so good, and the charges are so low, that there is no possibility of any competition."

The committee's subsequent researches verified his testimony, and disclosed the fact that Montana led the world in per capita consumption of electric energy.

John D. Ryan was born in 1864 at Hancock, Michigan, in the Copper Range Mines district on Lake Superior, which his father had discovered. Growing up in the Michigan copper country he made friendships which directly helped him later to the friendship of Marcus Daly, the copper empire builder of Montana, who began as a mine laborer, and was "selling the coat off his back" to file his claims in the Anaconda region when its future was hidden from other mining men. But young Ryan did not immediately turn to mining or drift to Montana. At 17 he went to work in one of the general stores of an uncle of his, and he stuck there till 25, when he tried Denver.

"I was in Denver six months before I found a job to suit me—and I wasn't hard to suit," he has declared. The job he finally found was that of a salesman of lubricating oils. It led him up and down and across the whole of the West. In Montana he sold Daly oils. He never worked for Daly, although the latter made him offers; instead, he rose through several stages of managerial responsibility in the oil business. But he did learn enough though Daly to open his eyes to Montana opportunities.

When Daly died, in 1901, his important chain of banks, of which he had been mate, captain, and crew of the captain's gig, had to be reorganized. Ryan took a large interest in the bank in Butte, and became its president with general charge of the chain.

His banking experience was his special course in Montana life and conditions. He graduated so well that by 1904 H. H. Rogers selected him to manage the Amalgamated properties, and Ryan's management so impressed Rogers that in 1907, when Rogers's health failed, hopelessly as he knew, he brought Ryan to New York to break him in for larger responsibilities. Upon the death of Rogers in 1908, Ryan was elected his successor in the presidency of Amalgamated.

The new president's consolidation of the affiliated copper interests was completed by 1910, and in 1914 Amalgamated was dissolved. The Anaconda reorganization now produces about one-fifth of the world's copper, and is the world's largest producer of silver and high-grade zinc. It has added heavy interests in newly opened mines in Utah and other Western states, and in South America. As for Ryan, the incomplete list of his presidencies and directorships, which, except his birth and marriage dates, is all the material biographical directories have obtained his consent to publish, follows: president of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, the Montana Power Company, the U. S. Metals Selling Company; vice-president and a director of the Green Cananea Copper Company; director of the Guaranty Trust, the Inspiration Consolidated Copper, the International Smelting, and the Tobacco Products companies, and of the Mechanics & Metals National Bank, and the St. Paul Railroad.

Fighting Germany's

VII

THE TIGER OF BERLIN MEETS THE WOLF OF WALL STRE

Franz von Rintelen's Adventures with an American Crook, American and American Justice

BY

FRENCH STROTHER

(Managing Editor of the World's Work)

FRANZ VON RINTELEN was the German tiger who missed his spring. He was the most powerful, the most dangerous, agent of the Kaiser in the United States: and to-day he nurses his hatred of us behind prison bars. But he did not retire to confinement until after our Government completed an extremely difficult and tedious investigation that was made necessary by his care in concealing the insidious work of propaganda and destruction in which he had engaged.

Rintelen was a tiger in the implacable hatred he bore this country and in the ferocity with which he carried that hatred into action. Sent to America in 1915 to hinder the shipment of munitions to the Allies, he sought first to poison the press, then to corrupt labor, and, not content with these things, he finally tried to hire thugs to burn, to dynamite, and to assassinate, where other persuasions failed; and he did succeed in setting fire to thirty-six ships at sea, causing millions of dollars of loss and imperilling hundreds of human lives.

Rintelen had, however, the other side of the tiger's character—its graces. When the —— made port at New York on April 3, 1915, it bore as passenger one Emil Gasché, a Swiss. The moment Gasché passed the customs officers, Gasché ceased to exist, and in his place appeared handsome young Von Rintelen, unexpectedly arrived in America for his fourth visit and renewing pleasant acquaintanceships in society and in Wall Street. He was "the same old chap," to quote his own description of himself in one of his letters—rich, of a family long accustomed to riches; well-bred, of a family long
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of the factors in the equation of victory. America, that—as their rising rage made their voices shriller—"is murdering our sons and brothers on every battlefield from Switzerland to the sea for the sake of blood-bought gold."

This cry became an article of fanatical faith to the German people. It became likewise a very practical problem to the hard headed leaders in Berlin. If they could cut off this supply of munitions, the Allies could be beaten. There was no hope of cutting it off at sea—the British Navy would attend to that. It must be stopped at its source: stopped in America, by a made-to-order public opinion, or by corruption, or by violence—but stopped.

"Whom shall we send to America?" was their problem. Rintelen was chosen. He could be trusted—he was a director of the Deutsche Bank, he was an officer of the German Navy, he knew America. He was given credit at the Hamburg-American Line office in New York for $547,000, authority for as many millions more as he wanted, independent powers as great as the German Ambassador's at Washington, the instructions of the German Government, and the blessing of the Fatherland.

An American traitor in Berlin gave Rintelen his cue for operations in America. This man's name is known, and will one day be written alongside Benedict Arnold's, but to disclose it now would interfere with more practical efforts for his mortal punishment. Part of that punishment he is already enduring—he is still in Germany. This traitor told Rintelen that the most useful man in America for his purposes was David Lamar, of New York. Rintelen fixed that name in his memory, and left Berlin.

His first barrier was the old, old barrier to German conquest, the British blockade. Rintelen ran that under cover of the Swiss passport, under the name of Gasché.

THE TIGER MEETS THE WOLF

Arrived in New York on April 3d, Rintelen lost no time in getting acquainted with Lamar. He disclosed to him his mission to this country and the money he had to execute it. The Tiger of Berlin met the Wolf of Wall Street.

And how the Wolf's eyes must have glistened, for he was at the leanest of the hungry days which regularly followed seasons of opulence in the ups and downs which varied the career of this extraordinary man. For Lamar was, and is, an extraordinary man. Endowed by nature with a fascinating personality and with a brilliant mind which he had enriched by study, a man capable of great things, he was possessed by that strange perversity which often afflicts men of exceptional cleverness—he would rather make one dollar by adroit crookedness than a million by unexciting honesty. Perhaps his origin affected his character—he declined, on the witness stand, to give his true name and parentage on the ground that to do so would bring disgrace upon persons still living. He entered Wall Street as a young man from nowhere, and at first gave promise of a brilliant and honorable career. He early made his mark in finance. He was employed by J. P. Morgan & Company and other great banking concerns, and in those days of his legitimate activities amassed a large fortune. But this was dissipated in gambling on the stock market, and then Lamar gravitated to the gutter. For years it was a by-word on the Street that if you wanted a clever man to do a crooked job, David Lamar was the man you were looking for. He had the brains to do it right, he had the presence to "get away with it," and he would do anything for money.

These traits had got him into trouble shortly before Rintelen met him. When the Pujo Committee of Congress was investigating the "money trust" several years ago, some crooked brokers in Wall Street wanted some inside information that was going to affect the price of certain stocks in which they were interested. They could not get this information by legitimate means, and so they adopted Lamar means. Lamar knew that a member of Congress was entitled to ask for this information. Mr. Mitchell Palmer was a member of Congress. Lamar had one of his devious inspirations. He called up a banker's office, got the man there who knew what Lamar wanted to know, declared that he was Mr. Palmer, and demanded the information—and got it. Lamar repeated the exploit several times. But once too often. He was detected, arrested and tried, convicted, and on December 3, 1914, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for the crime of impersonating an officer of the Government. He appealed the case on the ground that a Representative in Congress was not "an officer of the Government." When Rintelen met him the following April,

FRANZ VON RINTELEN

The most powerful of the German plotters in this country, who directed and paid for the burning of munition ships, the fomenting of strikes in factories, and many other outrages against American lives and property. He is now in prison

DAVID LAMAR, "THE WOLF OF WALL STREET"

The picturesque adventurer in finance who invented Labor's National Peace Council and used it to fleece Rintelen of $300,000. The evil influence of this bogus organization is still felt in the pacifist sentiment in certain sections of American labor

LAMAR'S COUNTRY HOME

To which, after two years of poverty, the Wolf of Wall Street moved his family within a few weeks after he had met the rich German Government agent, Franz von Rintelen

Lamar was out on bail pending the decision on this appeal.

Lamar was then in desperate straits. Bad luck had followed him in the Street for two years, and had crowned his misfortunes with this expensive trial and threatened imprisonment. He owed money everywhere for personal expenses; the merchants with whom he traded had stopped his credit; he had descended to borrowing from his friends in sums as small as two dollars at a time. Then he met Rintelen, who was on fire with a passion that blinded him to consequences and who flourished before the eyes of the famished Wolf a half million dollars of real money. Here was manna fallen from heaven.

"Could Lamar help Rintelen!" With his most convincing eloquence, Lamar assured him that he could. Never had Rintelen been better advised, so Lamar declared to him, than when his friend in Berlin had given him his name. For he had friends in Washington, he whispered, men powerful in the Government. And friends among the laboring people, the men whose hands made those munitions Rintelen had come to stop, and whose hands might be paralyzed by the clever use of brains and money. Lamar would supply the brains: Rintelen would supply the money. The Wolf saw good hunting ahead.

Lamar laid before Rintelen a scheme. They would capitalize the American passion for peace: they would capitalize in particular the laboring man's aversion to war. A section of opinion among laboring men held that wars were instigated by capitalists for gain, and were fought by laboring men who gave their lives to make good the selfish ambitions of the rich. And one of the American people's deepest convictions was that war was an odious moral crime; and that universal peace was attainable by the pursuit of moral ideals.

Lamar declared, then, that by working through his friends in labor, he could organize the workers of America so that they would refuse to work on the implements of destruction of "capitalistic" war. And that, by working through his friends in the Government, he could create a national sentiment that would force Congress to place an embargo on munitions. But these things would cost money. Lamar never forgot money.

Now we see a sudden transformation in Lamar's circumstances. The frayed debtor appeared in his old haunts garbed in the most fastidious selections of the tailor; the accumu-

I, Melville C. Barnard, solemnly swear that I am a {native / naturalized} citizen of the United States; that I reside at 440 West 23rd St.; that I have known the above-named Edward V. Gates personally for 3 years and know {him / her} to be a native citizen of the United States; and that the facts stated in {his / her} affidavit are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Melville C Barnard
440 West 23rd St N.Y. City
(Address of witness)

Sworn to before me this 29 day of July, 1915.

[SEAL.]

Geo. [illegible]
Clerk of the ~~Superior~~ Court of N.Y. City

Applicant desires passport sent to following address:

Edward Gates
500 - 4th Ave.
N.Y. City

A duplicate of the photograph to be attached hereto must be sent to the Department with the application, to be affixed to the passport with an impression of the Department's seal.

HOW RINTELEN TRIED TO ESCAPE

The fraudulent application for a passport which he made in the guise of "Edward V. Gates, wine merchant, of Millersburg, Pa.," after he had come under Government suspicion for his crimes and wished to flee from this country

lated debts of years were paid; the subway and the street car gave way to automobiles —and Lamar was particular that the garage should supply only the fine car that was father to the Liberty Motor. He moved his family from a cheap apartment in New York to a fine house at Pittsfield, Mass. His own quarters were the hotels Astor and Belmont in New York the Willard in Washington, the La Salle in Chicago, the Claypool in Indianapolis. Things were looking up.

Lamar carried other men with him on his rising tide of fortune. Frank Buchanan, labor Representative in Congress from the Seventh District of Illinois (North Chicago), likewise became a traveler and the patron of exclusive hotels. Henry B. Martin, who eked out a precarious living in the lobbies of Congress, after a dubious career as an officer of the Knights of Labor in the 'nineties, framed his wizened figure in a new and luxurious setting. H. Robert Fowler, the splendid high light of whose gray life as a half-lawyer, half-farmer in a country town in Illinois was expiring in the last days of a term in Congress, was suddenly revived, before his final extinguishment, by the light glittering from anonymous gold. Herman J. Schulteis, whose talents, insufficient for success in the law, had been more profitably employed in the defunct Anti-Trust League (of which more later), rose rapidly in the monetary scale.

These men were the instruments Lamar used in his scheme to stop the munitions industry and to get Rintelen's money. That scheme was to build up a great political organization of laboring men and farmers. This organization would oppose the making and shipment of munitions; it would exert pressure to compel workers to abandon the factories, and it would exert pressure to compel Congress to declare an embargo on the shipment of arms. This organization was labeled "Labor's National Peace Council."

ANDREW D. MELOY

Engineer and promoter, who tried to work out a scheme by which he and Rintelen should buy the entire munitions output of America for the German Government

MELOY'S SECRETARY

Miss Brophy, in whose trunk the British authorities found Rintelen's private papers when they took him off the *Noordam* at Falmouth in August, 1915

Lamar, fortified with Rintelen's money, launched his scheme in Washington. This scheme was an inspiration of genius. Able lawyers have declared that no cleverer conspiracy has ever come to their attention. Its beauty was its simplicity. Rintelen dealt with no one but Lamar—the other leaders never saw him, and most of them never heard of him until after the scheme was exposed by the Government. In his turn, Lamar operated entirely through Martin. To Martin he gave his instructions to see labor leaders, to organize the fake Peace Council, to hold its camouflage "convention," to flood the country with lecturers and printed matter urging

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TWO PICTURES OF FRANK BUCHANAN

Once chief representative of labor in Congress, who received $2,700 in six weeks for his connection with the fake Labor's National Peace Council, after he had been urged to keep out of it by Samuel Gompers

an embargo on munitions. And through Martin he paid the bills.

Lamar and Martin were old associates, They had worked together in the Anti-Trust League, another of the creations of Lamar's restless mind. The Anti-Trust League originated in the feverish 'nineties, when the country had its fears that the growth of great corporations spelled the control of the Government by monopolies. The League had its days of prominence when it was financed by big interests that used it to fight other big interests to get the things they both wanted. But in 1915, the League was a skeleton, consisting of Lamar, Martin, Schulteis, and a few others, held together by the bond of small salaries drawn from some source that preferred to remain unknown.

When Martin undertook to organize Labor's National Peace Council, under the direction of Lamar, the first man he approached was Frank Buchanan. Buchanan was labor's leading champion on the floor of Congress. He had been president of the international union of the structural iron workers, and he had earned the confidence of organized labor, and the friendship of Samuel Gompers, the patriarch of organized labor.

Lamar, Buchanan, and Martin, assisted by Fowler, and Schulteis, engineered a mass meeting of workingmen in Chicago in June, 1915, at which resolutions were adopted calling for a convention of laborers and farmers at Washington to protest against the traffic in munitions. The same men, with this "mandate" behind them, met in Washington on June 22d, and organized Labor's National Peace Council. They prepared printed appeals, in the high language of humanitarianism, addressed to the labor unions and the granges, and mailed them by the ton to all parts of the country. They offered to pay all travelling expenses and for lost time to delegates which these bodies should send to a convention to be held in Washington on July 31st and August 1st.

As a preliminary to this convention, Martin paid labor leaders and other speakers to go into all sections of the United States and address labor unions and granges. Probably all these speakers acted in good faith. They were pacifists, and when they got an opportunity to preach their doctrine, they accepted it. The opportunity seemed legitimate enough —the name of Frank Buchanan as a sponsor of the movement was sufficient. Their audi-

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HERMAN SCHULTEIS

One of the minor characters in the staging of the fake convention of Labor's National Peace Council at Washington in July, 1915

© International Film Service

H. ROBERT FOWLER

The country lawyer and Congressman who made learned addresses on the embargo upon munitions in the light of international law

ences, too, were sincere. Workmen and farmers had before their eyes the contrast of their own peaceful land with a Europe drenched in blood. The blessings of peace were never more apparent. They sent delegates gladly to a meeting that seemed designed to perpetuate those blessings.

But Samuel Gompers opposed the convention of Labor's National Peace Council. He, too, was a pacifist—had for years taken a leading part in the movement for international peace. But Gompers was a thoughtful man as well. And experienced. And wise. He told Buchanan some things he ought to have told himself. Buchanan came from Chicago to Atlantic City to meet Mr. Gompers and upbraid him for his opposition to the Council. Mr. Gompers gave him some fatherly advice. In effect, he said:

"Frank, you have earned a good name in labor. We are proud of you, and we trust you. You are at life's meridian, with years of useful service ahead. But listen to an old man, who sees the shadows growing very long, and who has watched many movements come and go. You are in wrong. This scheme is bad. There is too much easy money being passed around in it. Labor hasn't got money to spend like this. Somebody who has not got labor's interests first at heart is putting up that money.

"And take the Council's aims themselves. Suppose you succeed in stopping the manufacture of munitions—what will happen to labor? Two years ago, our boys were walking the streets, begging for a job. To-day, every man of them has work, and wages are going up. War work has done that. Do you want to stop the opportunity of labor to make a living?"

But Gompers's eloquence left Buchanan cold. In the face of his pleadings and advice, Buchanan accepted $2,700 from Martin in the following six weeks. He saved his face at the last minute by resigning the presidency of Labor's National Peace Council the day before the convention met.

The convention met in Washington on July 31st, at the New Willard Hotel. Its members were impressed, as it was intended that they and the country in general should be impressed, by the sonorous voice and important presence of Hannis Taylor, former American Minister to Spain and author of text books on consti-

tutional and international law, such as "The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution" and "International Public Law." He made an opening address in which, from his heights of knowledge, he solemnly declared that munitions shipments were in violation of international law. His address was largely devoted to assurances to his hearers that he was an authority on such matters and that they could take his opinion as disposing of the legal aspect of this question. Mr. Taylor was there to lend distinction to the gathering, and he saw the machinery being manipulated by the descredited Martin and Schulteis. "What have these fellows got to do with us?" they asked one another. And then they asked "these fellows" quite bluntly, "Who's putting up the money for this show?" Martin backed to the wall of the Willard bar by the insistent demand for an answer, replied with an evasive, "what difference does it make?" And when they shouted that it made a profane lot of difference, he answered defiantly that it was all right "even if it's German money."

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HENRY B. MARTIN

The "paymaster" of Labor's National Peace Council. Rintelen supplied Lamar the funds for this "camouflage" organization; Lamar did not appear in its affairs but directed and paid Martin; and Martin made all the arrangements and settled for all its expenses

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FRANK B. MONNETT

Former Attorney General of Ohio, who won the original anti-trust suit against the Standard Oil Company and who figured in the activities of Labor's National Peace Council to stop the manufacture and shipment of munitions

left no doubts in their minds that he thought he was doing it.

But when the delegates got down to business, there was trouble. The farmer delegates became suspicious—they had vague fears of the source of the money that was paying the bills; they did not like the company they found themselves in. They first declined to bind their constituents to the resolutions that were offered: then they left the convention.

On the second day, the labor delegates became equally restless. Buchanan had withdrawn. The delegates who used the opportunity of being in Washington to call on Mr. Gompers, came away from his office with a *heavy heart.* Returning to the Willard, they

That finished the labor delegates. They, too, went home.

But the ringleaders had put out a resounding resolution calling for an embargo on munitions. And though the convention had fizzled out, it had done an enormous lot of harm. Thousands of laboring men and farmers had been indoctrinated with a specious pacifism that was reflected later in the attempts to evade the Conscription Act when we entered the war. The Government to-day is contending with the moral antagonism aroused in certain sections of the country by the orators and writers of Labor's National Peace Council.

In this moral infection, the work of Hamp

Taylor played an important part. He wrote legal opinions for the Council, declaring that the traffic in munitions was unconstitutional, receiving $700 for this work. These opinions were printed and distributed broadcast, and did a lot of harm. More recently, Taylor was counsel for Robert Cox, the Missouri draft resister who sued to restrain General Leonard Wood from sending him with his regiment to France. On his behalf, Hannis Taylor contended that the Conscription Act was unconstitutional, asserting that the only power of Congress to call out troops was under the militia clause of the Constitution which reads: "To execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions." This meant, so Taylor contended, that no citizen could be sent, against his will, outside the United States to fight its battles.

This absurd doctrine, which would force us to fight this war on our own soil instead of allowing us to defend ourselves in Europe against German aggression, was promptly punctured by the Supreme Court of the United States. But in his brief before that Court, Hannis Taylor used language so violent that the counsel for the Government asked that it be expunged from the record. Taylor in his brief accused the President of being a "dictator," of seizing powers "in open defiance of the judgments" of the Supreme Court, and of demanding "such an aggregation of powers as no monarch ever wielded in any constitutional government that ever existed."

The decision of the Supreme Court, affirming the Government's right to draft its citizens for service overseas, was delivered by Chief Justice White. That stern old veteran of the Lost Cause in our Civil War, speaking with the aloofness and dignity of that august Court, in measured terms expressed an opinion of Mr. Hannis Taylor that is worth repeating. He said:

> . . . we must notice a suggestion made by the Government that because of impertinent and scandalous passages contained in the brief of the appellant the brief should be stricken from the files. Considering the passages referred to and making every allowance for intensity of zeal and an extreme of earnestness on the part of counsel, we are nevertheless constrained to the conclusion that the passages justify the terms of censure by which they are characterized in the suggestion made by the Government. But despite this conclusion which we regretfully reach, we see no useful purpose to be subserved by granting the
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Also, Rintelen undertook
publicity favorable to an en

ment of munitions. He got himself introduced to "Jack" Hammond, an old newspaper man in New York, and closed with him a contract for syndicate articles in a chain of papers across the country. He met Hammond as one Fred Hansen, a ship captain. (Hammond later testified that Rintelen told him that he "killed" Hansen the day after the *Lusitania* was sunk.) After sizing Hammond up as worthy of trust, he re-introduced himself as E. V. Gibbons, a purchasing agent, with offices in the building occupied in part by the Transatlantic Trust Company. And at length he confided to Hammond his real importance in the scheme of things German.

Early in this relationship, Hammond became sure that this man was planning to violate the laws of the United States, and he reported the matter to the Department of Justice. The Department, already suspicious, asked Hammond to keep up his connection with Rintelen, and through this means they learned a good deal about him. Not enough to cause his arrest—Rintelen never confided that much in any American but Lamar, who had his own reasons for silence.

Out of Rintelen's multifarious activities arose many of the mysterious fires and explosions in munitions plants, the burning of ships at sea, the attempts on the Welland Canal in Canada, strikes in war industries, and the like. The discovery of Dr. Walter A. Scheele's part in the incendiary bombs matter, and his connection with Rintelen, began to make the ground fairly warm under Rintelen's feet. And the Government was taking an uncomfortable interest in Labor's National Peace Council. Rintelen became uneasy.

MELOY AND A NEW SCHEME

His fears were now fed from a new quarter. Andrew D. Meloy became a confidant of his, and Meloy had his own axe to grind. Rintelen had taken an interest in the German activities in Mexico, and almost from the day of his arrival had been intimate in this work with Federico Stallforth, a German banker of Mexico City who joined Rintelen in New York. Stallforth had offices with Meloy at 55 Liberty Street, and when the Transatlantic Trust Company became embarrassed by Rintelen's presence, Stallforth persuaded Meloy to rent Rintelen desk room. Their acquaintance started there, about July 1st.

Meloy was a well-known engineer and promoter. He had exploited concessions in Mexico—railroad rights of way and gold mines—and in his home state of New Jersey had floated some real estate "developments." Meloy saw in Rintelen exactly what Lamar had seen—a lot of real money and an eagerness too great for caution. He began to belittle Lamar's scheme. Labor's National Peace Council would never do. It looked good on paper, but it would never stop the shipment of munitions. He even hinted that Lamar had been "playing" Rintelen. Now, if Rintelen wanted a real scheme, certain to succeed, he knew the very thing. Direct action—stop the bluffing and the dangerous intrigues. Buy the whole munitions output of the country. Bid high enough to get it, pay for it outright, and store it. That would cost money, lots of it: but what was money in comparison with the certainty of German victory which this plan would insure!

Rintelen was dazzled. Here was the authentic voice of American big business speaking. A magnificent scheme. He would take it to Germany, take Meloy with him, and get it O.K.ed by his Government direct.

GASCHÉ OR RINTELEN OR GATES?

But how get back to Germany? He had grave doubts about the Gasché passport being good again. He put the question to Meloy, and Meloy advised against it. There was a better way: get a new passport under a new name. So for a few days Rintelen became "Edward V. Gates, wine merchant, of Millersburg, Pa." In this guise, Meloy introduced him to one of his own real estate salesmen, and Rintelen took this man to dinner once or twice to work up the illusion. Then, one day, he asked the salesman to go with him to the passport bureau in New York and be his witness to an application for a passport. The salesman went, and in good faith swore that Rintelen was Edward V. Gates. His faith was not so good when he swore he had known him for three years. The application was transmitted telegraphically to Washington. Much to Rintelen's astonishment and alarm, it was denied.

Meanwhile, Meloy had been working on a devious scheme to protect himself in his mission to Berlin. He must be cloaked in eminent respectability on this errand, for it would be an unpopular one with the British if they knew its real purpose, and he must hide

that. First of all, he would take his wife, who did not know what his mission was. She had taken an active interest before the war in the peace movements centring at The Hague, and nothing was more natural than that she should wish now, during the war, to renew her friendships in Holland with an eye to furthering a cause now more than ever vital to the world.

But Meloy was not content with only one companion. He must have others who would expand the picture of innocence abroad. One of his neighbors in the suburb on the Jersey Coast where he made his country home was a wealthy woman known widely in America for her interest both in the peace and suffrage movements. Meloy telephoned to her and asked her to see him at his home. This lady drove over one summer evening in her motor car, accompanied by two women friends. The friends sat in the open car while she sat on the porch talking to Meloy. Meloy is very deaf; the lady had to talk loudly to make him hear. Meloy differed from most deaf people, who usually speak in a lower tone than those who hear well—he went rather to the other extreme and spoke louder than most folks do. The women in the car heard the conversation, and they heard it a second time when their friend repeated it to them on the way home. And the Government heard it also, from the lips of all three.

AN INVITATION TO A LADY

The burden of the conversation was this: Meloy was taking his wife to Europe for a vacation; they were going to Holland, where so many forward-looking movements for the good of mankind made their international headquarters; he would be drawn aside a great deal by business affairs and Mrs. Meloy would be lonesome; he was anxious to provide companionship for her; if the lady would accompany them, he would pay all her expenses, he would assure her that her journey would be made de luxe, he would (he put it more delicately) even add a money consideration, he would see that the journey included a visit to war-bound Germany, now so difficult of access, that in Germany she should have entre to social circles so exclusive that they were inaccessible even to the American Ambassador, and that, to crown all, she should be presented to the Kaiser.

The lady said she would think it over. It was an attractive invitation, but she did not just like it—perhaps it was too attractive. She talked it over with her friends: they advised against it. She telephoned Meloy next day and declined.

Meloy repeated the invitation to several women. All declined. Then, as the *Noordam* was to sail on August 3d, and he had no more time, he decided to take his secretary, a Miss Brophy.

Rintelen was now thoroughly alarmed. The Government's refusal to grant his fraudulent application for a passport indicated that they knew about him. The Government was getting "warm" in its investigation of the incendiary bombs. The Government was taking an unpleasant interest in Labor's National Peace Council. Rintelen felt irresistibly the pangs of *heimweh*, the longing for home. He must go, at any risk. He would chance it as Gasché again.

So he sailed on the *Noordam*, with Meloy and party. He bore with him Lamar's urgent appeals for more funds for Labor's National Peace Council, now at the high tide of its success. And he was in the hands of Meloy, who was at the first of his own rainbow of hope of millions with which to buy America's munition output—on commission.

RINTELEN CAPTURED

At Falmouth, the *Noordam* was detained for fourteen hours. The British took a great interest in the Gasché-Meloy party. Gasché's baggage revealed nothing suspicious, but Gasché was removed to a long residence in an internment camp near London. Meloy was detained for several days. Mrs. Meloy soon appeared to be beyond suspicion. Miss Brophy declared that her baggage contained only personal effects. But at the bottom of her last trunk was found a wallet containing Gasché's papers. These were seized, and Miss Brophy and Mrs. Meloy were allowed to proceed to Holland, where they were later rejoined by Meloy.

The Gasché papers were most interesting. They contained some of Rintelen's letters showing his intimacy with well-known New Yorkers, and letters in which he referred to his "official mission" to the United States that were very important, for they proved what Rintelen steadfastly denied, namely, that he was in this country by orders of the German Government. In one of them to a man in Germany, whom he addressed as

one of whom alone evidence was obtained that the whilom bankrupt had lost, in one series of speculations that summer, $38,000 in cash. Whose cash? The Government was able to prove that Lamar had got thousands of dollars from Rintelen, because they produced the men who saw Rintelen pay it, and Lamar was not able to prove that he had gotten any such sums from anybody else, so the jury took the Government's theory as fact that Lamar was Rintelen's man.

The story of this proof is worth telling. On the witness stand at the trial, George Plockman, the treasurer of the Transatlantic Trust Company (the Austrian bank in New York with which Rintelen kept his funds) described the arrangement Rintelen had made to conceal the passage of money for illegal acts. He had instructed the Transatlantic Trust Company, when they received checks drawn by him in a certain form, to cash them without questioning the identity of the bearer and without requiring him to endorse them.

"MEIN GOTT! DE VOLF OF VALL STREET!"

One check of this kind was presented at the bank one day, and the paying teller brought it to Plockman to ask if he should pay it.

"Who presented it?" asked Plockman.

"That dark man over there," replied the paying teller.

"I thought," said Plockman on the witness stand, "that this man was a Mexican, but while I was looking at him our vice-president came up and when he understood the situation and saw the man he said: 'Mein Gott! Dot is de Volf of Vall Street! I hope Rintelen has not got into *his* clutches!"

One other incident of the trial should be told. Testimony was brought in that showed how the money for the Peace Council was spent. One item was for funds to pay the expenses of a German preacher from St. Louis to attend the convention at Washington and open the proceedings with prayer. Lamar had never heard of this until he heard it in the courtroom. It was too much for him. When this evidence came out, of the lengths to which his own pupils had out-distanced even their teacher in the art of political camouflage, he burst into roars of uncontrollable laughter which literally stopped
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[The next of this series of articles will appear in the August issue of the

THE COAL PROBLEM OF TODAY

BY

SYDNEY A. HALE

(Editor of *The Coal Trade Journal*)

THE coal problem of to-day is one of proper distribution. Increased production must be attained, but increased production is impossible unless the channels of distribution are kept open. The United States is the greatest coal-producing country in the world. Its production last year was the largest in its history. That of one state alone, Pennsylvania, exceeded the combined output of Great Britain and Ireland for the same period—and English coal production ranks next to that of the United States in point of tonnage. During the twelve months ending December 31, 1917, the bituminous coal mines of this country shipped between 525,000,000 and 550,000,000 tons, and the anthracite figures, in round numbers, were 100,000,000 net tons. [In this article "bituminous" statistics include semibituminous, semianthracite, Western anthracite, and lignite.]

Stupendous as these totals seem in comparison to the requirements of the individual industrial or household consumer, they fell short—far short in the case of bituminous coal—of reaching the maximum productive capacity of the existing collieries. Because this shortage was between 50,000,000 and 100,000,000 tons, the householder was forced to strange expedients in order to assure himself of enough coal to keep warm, and the industrial buyer faced a series of difficulties that culminated in the fuelless Monday order of the United States Fuel Administration.

While part of this failure of the coal mines to achieve the desired output is justly chargeable to labor shortages, and, in a very limited way, to unavoidable disabilities in operation, the fundamental cause was the breakdown in transportation during the past winter. Contributing factors, which intensified the situation by making the railroad burden abnormal, were the price agitation in the spring and summer of 1917, the uncertainties as to definite policies that ushered in the birth of federal *regulation* of the coal business of the nation, and the interference, both governmental and private, with the old-established agencies of distribution. Whether this interference, or any part of it, was justifiable is not now an issue; consideration must be given to it, however, as a cause. In one form or another all of these elements had their bearing upon the fundamental factor of distribution. Because some of the elements named still play a part, while others have been modified or discarded for radical innovation, clear understanding of the fuel problem of to-day must rest upon a knowledge of present and former distribution practices in the commercial coal industry.

There are three major problems that enter into the production of coal: 1. The ability of the operator or distributor to find a market. 2. The ability of the railroad serving the mine to furnish cars for loading and motive power to transport the coal to the market; and, 3. A sufficient supply of labor at the mine to dig and prepare the coal for shipment. The two factors first named are problems of distribution. Without the ability to find a market, it is patent that the ability of the railroad to furnish equipment would be valueless; on the other hand, a market without transportation to supply it would be a hollow achievement. Fundamentally, the question of labor is purely an operating problem; it is only when the market demands and the transportation facilities furnished are greater than the output available that the labor question becomes one of distribution. In other words, if the market demands will absorb and the motive power and cars allotted will transport the maximum shaft capacity of the mine, and the number of men employed at the colliery is insufficient to produce that capacity, then labor shortage cuts down production.

WHERE VARIOUS KINDS OF COAL ARE PRODUCED

The ability to find a market, in normal times, depends upon the grade of coal produced, its proximity to the point of consumption, the mine price, and the transportation charges.

The coal fields of the United States, as shown on the map appearing on page 323, may be broadly grouped into four classes—anthracite, semibituminous, bituminous, and lignite (including subbituminous). Except for scattered areas of only localized importance in certain Western states, the source of anthracite is a field covering approximately 480 square miles in the State of Pennsylvania. Its widest use is as a domestic, or household and apartment heating fuel. In 1915, for example, more than 65 per cent. of the output was distributed over 44 states for that purpose. Its use as a steam fuel to develop power in industrial plants has been largely confined to the Atlantic seaboard states. The principal deposits of semibituminous, or "smokeless," coal are found in the states of West Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. There is also a restricted production in Arkansas and Oklahoma. Under normal conditions, Eastern semibituminous coal goes as far west as the Missouri River for domestic consumption; to the Pacific coast for blacksmithing purposes and to the Atlantic seaboard for coastwise, bunker, and export trade. Bituminous coal, which is found in more than 20 states of the Union, ranges widely in quality and use. Subbituminous coal, which is of poorer quality than bituminous, can compete to only a limited degree with the higher grades of fuel and consequently its area of commercial distribution is narrow, while true lignite must be content with a still more restricted market.

In many lines of enterprise, the producer is given the opportunity to *create* a market for his product; in a broad sense, that does not apply to coal. The successful competition of coal is with coal. Headway against other forms of fuel is small. The recent enlargement of the markets in the Indiana and Ohio natural gas fields, for example, is due to the gradual exhaustion of the gas supply, not the successful competition of coal against gas. The development of the fuel oil resources of California had such a disastrous influence upon the coal trade of the Pacific Coast that the per-capita consumption there is among the lowest in the country. While price may and does play an important part in the marketing of *competing* coals, it has no practical effect upon the total coal consumption. In other words, while a difference in cost will influence the prospective buyer in his choice of coals, a reduction will not induce him to increase the amount burned.

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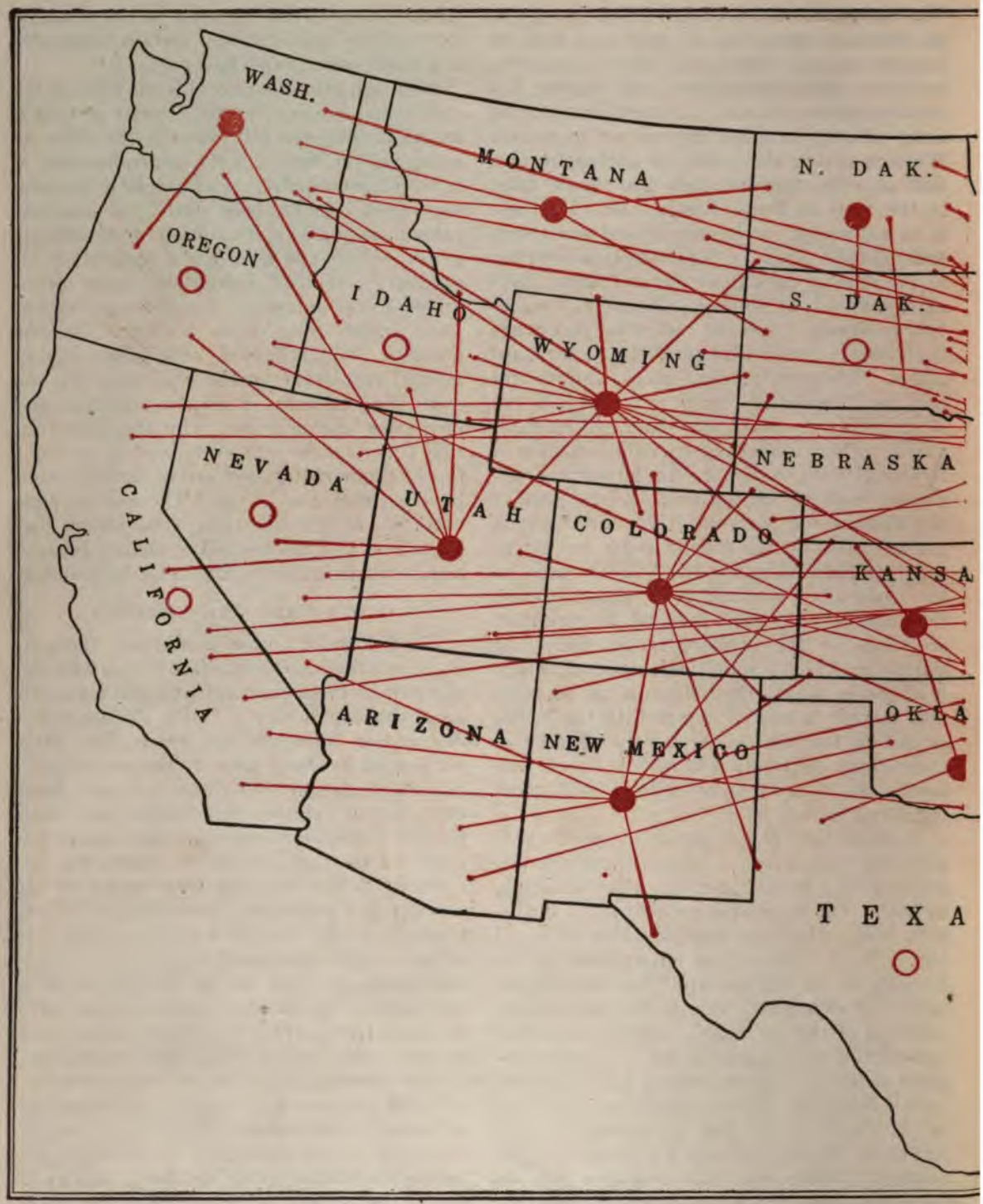
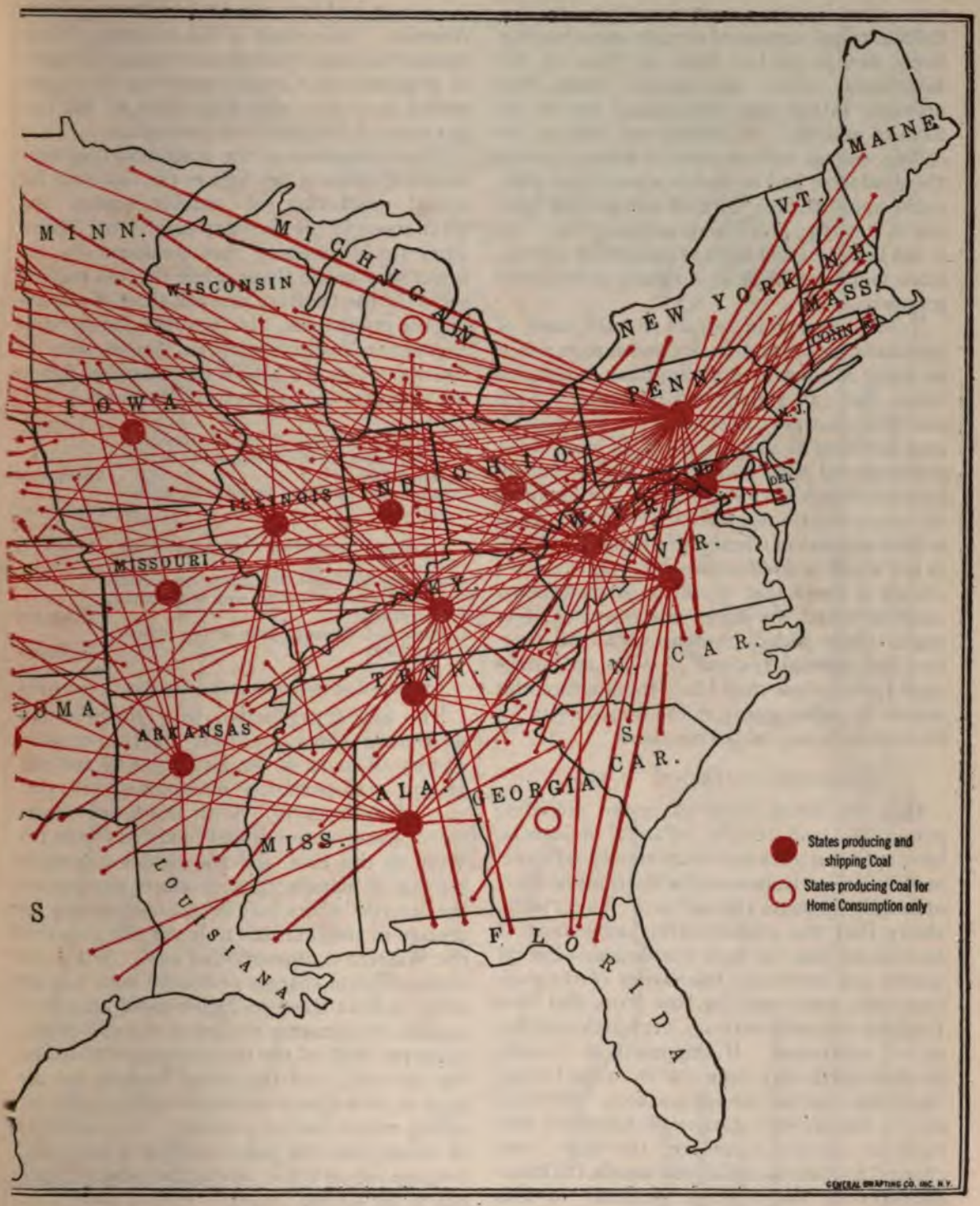


HOW BITUMINOUS COAL WA

This chart is based upon shipments made during 1915. It does not cover foreign, railroad, or bunker fuel. The lines with circles to destinations within the states in which such lines terminate. Where lines connect two circles, it means



DISTRIBUTED BEFORE THE WAR

extending from the various circles indicate that shipments have been made from the producing fields of the states shown that shipments have been made between the two states, i. e., from Illinois to Indiana and from Indiana to Illinois

were so low that the operators could not assume the additional expense of storage and reloading. Such storage as has been in effect at the bituminous mines has usually been from necessity rather than from choice and in the form of no-bills, i. e., loaded cars held on the colliery sidings without railroad billing because the producers had no orders upon which they could apply them. Ground storage has been and is, it is true, practised in a limited way, but it has been adopted more as a means of keeping labor employed than as a strictly commercial proposition.

To-day, except in certain isolated cases of accumulations of no-bills, ground storage would be urged as a means of maintaining production when the car supply was deficient. Such reasoning, however, does not strike the average coal producer as sound. He is, in most cases, overwhelmed with orders that he can not fill because of lack of cars—and this at a season of the year when transportation service is assumed to be at its peak of efficiency. If the car supply is not equal to production now, what possible chance is there that it will be when weather conditions and the heavy movement of other traffic place added burdens upon the overstrained railroad system? "What advantage shall I gain or how shall I help the situation this winter by storing coal at the mines now?" is the natural query of the operator.

BITUMINOUS SHIPMENTS GO WEST

How the forces discussed in the preceding paragraphs and certain collateral influences, have operated upon distribution and production in normal times is shown in the distribution chart appearing on pages 320 and 321. This clearly shows that the predominating movement of bituminous coal has been westbound. Except within the territorial boundaries of the coal-producing states and the New York and New England seaboard territory, very little coal has moved eastbound. If shipments to Canada be eliminated, very little coal from the United States has reached foreign markets. This was due to the pre-war scarcity of American bottoms in foreign commerce, the high rates charged by American-manned vessels, the disinclination of the average producer in this country to do business—as his European competitors did—upon the basis customary in the countries importing coal, and the strong European influence exercised in banking connections and dock facilities in the most natural market for export coal from the United States—South America. As a result of the working of these causes, the total bituminous tonnage (exclusive of shipments to Canada) exported during the period 1911-1915 was equivalent to but 1.21 per cent. of the combined production.

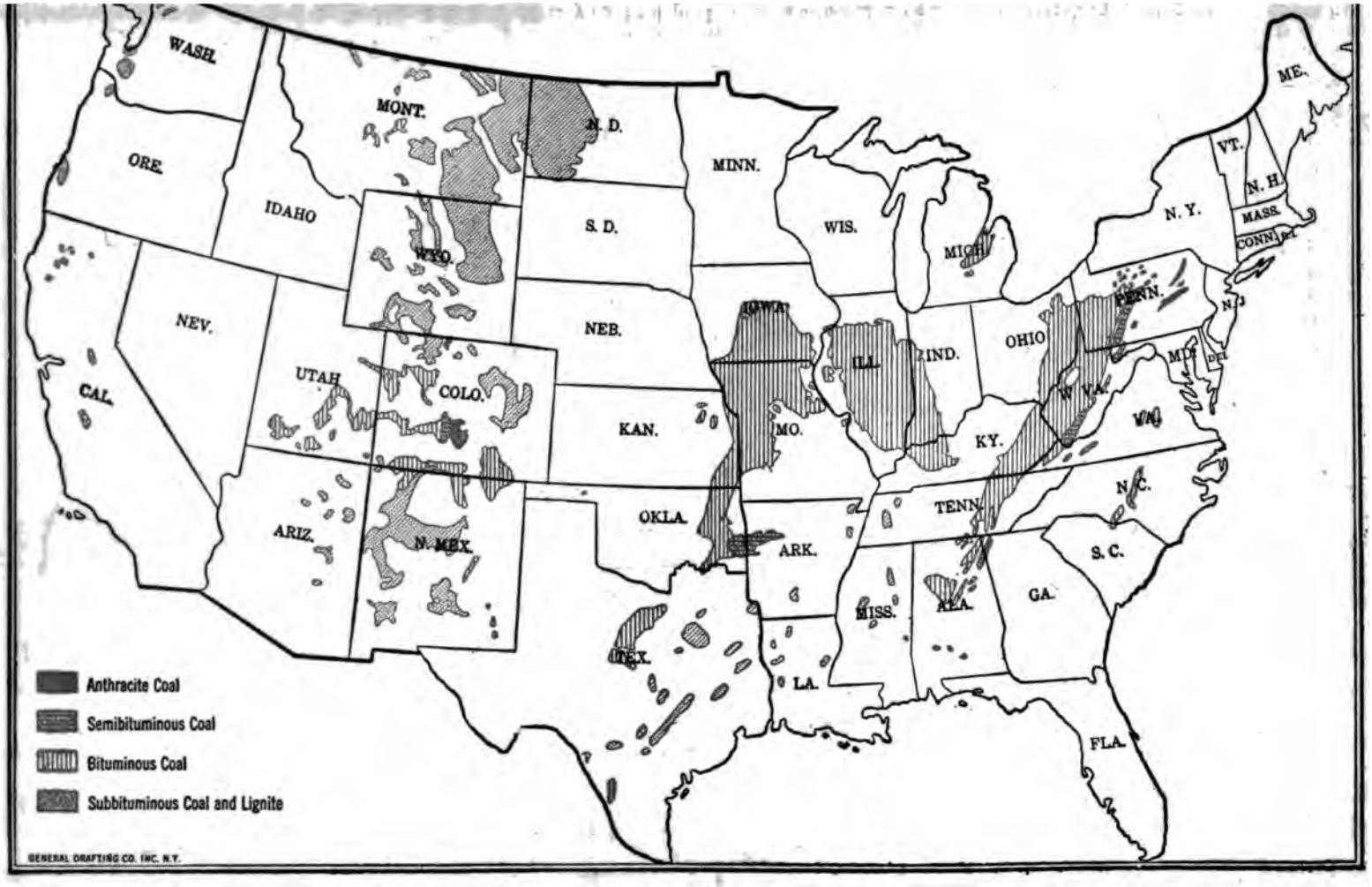
The explanation of the predominating westbound movement lies first in the fact that the actual production of semibituminous and bituminous in the territory east of the Mississippi River exceeded that produced by the mines west of the River, while the fuel requirements of the territory east fell short of absorbing the production. In 1915, the comparative production and consumption figures were as follows: [In this article consumption figures are exclusive of coal used by Railroads.]

	NET TONS
Production (exclusive of tonnage consumed by the railroads) in states east of the Mississippi River	299,826,309
Consumption in states east of the Mississippi River	237,903,194
Excess of production over consumption	61,923,115
Production (exclusive of tonnage consumed by the railroads) in states west of the Mississippi River	28,242,235
Consumption in states west of the Mississippi River	47,887,272
Excess of consumption over production	19,645,037

The excess production with the resultant westbound trend was due to the superior quality of much of the Eastern coal and the greater transportation development in that part of the country. With the heavy movement of raw materials and foodstuffs from the West to the East and the lighter aggregate tonnage of manufactured products moving into the interior, there has been an operating incentive to the railroads to foster the growth of the Western consumption of coal. While the transportation charges paid have been less per ton-mile than those on higher-rated articles of freight, the immense volume of the movement, 35.19 per cent. of the total tonnage carried by the railroads, and the heavy loading per car have made it a most desirable traffic despite the empty return haul on coal cars. It is a matter of record that the lines enjoying a large coal tonnage are, as a rule, among the most prosperous in the United States.

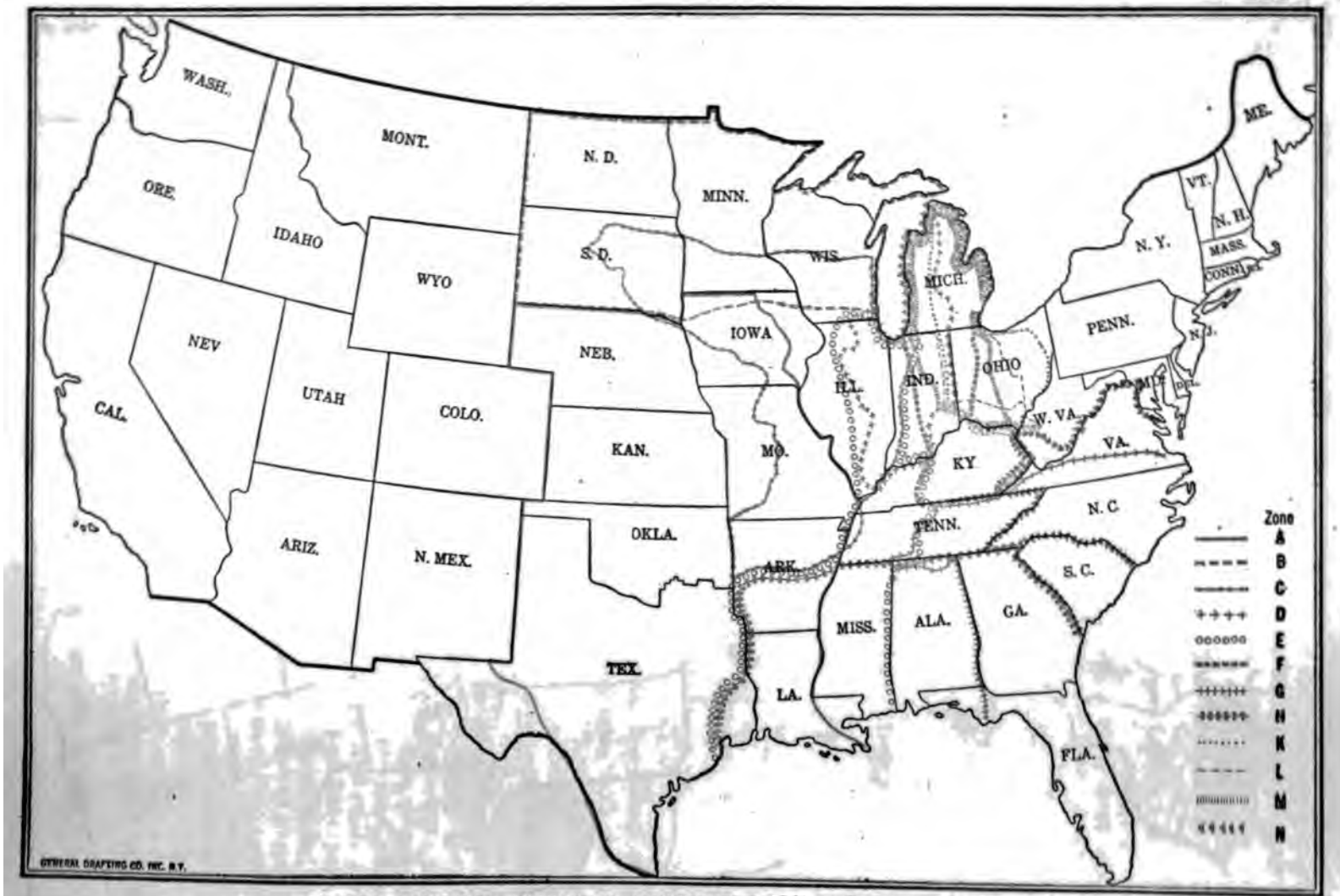
WHY THE EAST LACKED COAL

The largest surplus production has been in West Virginia and Pennsylvania, which, in 1915, had a combined output that represented



THE COMMERCIAL COAL FIELDS OF THE UNITED STATES

This map, based upon maps of the United States Geological Survey, shows the location of the known workable coal formations, as distinguished from formations that may or do contain coal, under such heavy cover that they can not be mined under existing conditions. For descriptions of the different coals found in the commercial fields, see page 319



THE NEW ZONE SYSTEM OF DISTRIBUTION OF BITUMINOUS COAL

As arranged by the United States Fuel Administration. This system, made effective April 1, 1918, divides the country east of the Missouri River into 13 producing and distributing districts. Coal produced within a certain district may not be shipped to points without the zone limits of that district unless a special permit has been obtained from the Administration

57.07 per cent. of the total bituminous coal mined in this country. In that year, certain other Eastern states, if independent of outside sources of supply, would have suffered a coal famine. Ohio, where production had been reduced because of a protracted strike, had an output that fell 7,829,078 tons short of meeting her consumption. Indiana's production was 5,299,163 tons less than her consumption after the deduction of railroad fuel tonnages. Illinois, the third largest producing state in the Union, would have failed to meet her fuel requirements by 96,294 tons. On the other hand, West Virginia and Pennsylvania, if forced to take care of 100 per cent. of their own fuel requirements, would still have had a surplus of 123,627,687 tons to ship to other points. Kentucky, which has been forging to the front at a fast pace, would have had 11,515,620 tons available for shipment to other states. As a matter of fact, the three states last named received 6,511,733 tons from other producing fields, thereby increasing the net amount that they had to offer for interstate and foreign consumption to 130,139,420 tons. Ohio drew only 43 per cent. of her requirements from her own mines. Indiana looked to home shafts for 37 per cent. Illinois not only made up her shortage of 96,294 tons from other states, but drew so heavily upon Indiana, Kentucky, West Virginia, and other Eastern fields that she actually shipped 13,119,841 tons of her own product to points without the state. In other words, the pressure of higher grade coals from the East displaced more than 22,000,000 tons of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois coal and forced movement from mines in the states just named to points still farther west.

War-time difficulties in obtaining adequate supplies of coal were first felt in the New England states. From that section, they spread westward until last season the entire country east of the Mississippi River and substantial areas west of that stream were receiving first-hand knowledge of what it means to face a coal shortage. In its initial stages, however, it was not a shortage of fuel, but a congestion in railroad service and a decline in bottoms that caused the damage. New England and the Northwest are the only two sections in the United States where water-borne coal traffic is important in taking care of industrial and domestic fuel requirements. Both sections named look to vessel carriage as their principal source of supply. In the Northwest, it is

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West Virginia, and Kentucky to reach Chicago and contiguous points in increasing quantities. Eastern semibituminous and bituminous receipts at Chicago rate points were 1,722,020 tons greater in 1915 than in 1914 and 1,402,356 tons greater in 1916 than in 1915.

Prices began to increase by leaps and bounds. The Coal men formed the Committee on Coal Production of the Council of National Defence, and tried to check prices by increasing the output at the mines. They tried to limit prices, also. Finally, in August, the President appointed Dr. Garfield Fuel Administrator.

The maximim prices that had been named provoked bitter protest and readjustments were necessary.

The jobber was caught between the opposing forces of a reduced tonnage and a 40 per cent. cut in his gross margins, and consumers who depended on him for fuel suffered.

THE "LAST STRAW"

The situation was further complicated by the issuance of priority orders giving specific consumers the right of way in transportation and mine loading. As a means of self-protection, the coal trade has insisted that coal as a commodity should be given preferential treatment, but the utterance of numerous orders directing that priority be accorded individual industries or geographical centres only served to impede the handling of traffic by the railroad companies, as in the early days of our own participation in the war there was a pronounced lack of coördination as between the various Washington bureaus that were authorized to give priority instructions. Conflicting orders poured forth and added to the general confusion.

The proverbial last straw was the winter breakdown in transportation. This served to throw into the highlights the one continuing sore spot of the whole situation—the question of car supply. It exacted bitter payment for the delays of the summer gone. It disorganized many lines of industry. It translated a theoretical coal shortage into an actuality. It caused suffering and loss. It gave point to the year-old cry of the coal men: "Cars! Give us more cars and we will supply the fuel requirements of the nation."

Whatever criticism may be justly laid at the doors of the United States Fuel Administration for some of its past actions or inaction, it has been prompt in its recognition of transportation conditions as the most vital matter in the existing coal scarcity. After the tie-up of last winter, it was clearly evident that some drastic action would be necessary. The country was committed to the policy of government supervision of the coal industry so that the suggestion, voiced in some quarters, that the conduct of the coal business be turned back to the men who had devoted the better part of their lives to it could not be entertained seriously. Indeed, in view of the fact that the railroads are now under federal operation, it is doubtful if the leaders in the coal trade would themselves have welcomed such an action.

Early expansion of railroad facilities to take care of the increased traffic was not possible because such expansion meant, not alone additional motive power and cars, which will help, but additions in the way of trackage and terminals that can not be created overnight. Since this expansion was impossible, theoretically at least, increased utilization of the existing facilities seemed the only possible solution of the problem of increased production. In its efforts to effect this increased utilization, the Fuel and Railroad Administrations have seen fit to seize the bituminous coal industry at its most sensitive point—distribution.

WHAT THE ZONE SYSTEM DOES

Part of the growth of the coal industry in the past has been attributable to the free play given it in distribution. The producers in the states east of the Mississippi River, where the excess of output over consumption still lies, have been privileged to use the greater part of the United States as their commercial checkerboard. As will be seen by the map appearing on page 324, the federal zoning plan which went into effect April 1, 1918, denies them this freedom in the choice of market. The zones are:

Zone A: Territory open to mines in Arkansas, Oklahoma, Iowa, Kansas, and Missouri.

Zone B: Territory open to Eastern coal received at and distributed from the docks of Lake Michigan (west bank) and Lake Superior.

Zone C: Territory open to mines in Illinois. The Illinois zone is, in reality, a zone within a zone, the larger zone covering the territory to which Illinois mines may ship between April 1st and Sept. 30th, and the smaller, the territory to which they may ship between Oct. 1st. and March 31st.

Zone D: Territory open to Indiana mines.

Zone E: Territory open to mines in western Kentucky.

Zone F: Territory open to certain eastern Kentucky and southwestern Virginia mines.

Zone G: Territory open to certain mines in Kentucky, Georgia, Tennessee, and Virginia.
Zone H: Territory open to Alabama mines.
Zone K: Territory open to Ohio mines.
Zone L: Territory open to high volatile (splint and gas) coals from mines in West Virginia on the Kanawha & Michigan, Kanawha & West Virginia, and Coal & Coke (west of Dundon) railways.
Zone M: Territory open to high volatile coals from mines in West Virginia and Kentucky (Thacker-Kenova and Kanawha districts) and certain eastern Kentucky mines on the Coal & Coke and the Sandy Valley & Elkhorn railways.
Zone N: Territory open to low volatile (smokeless) coals of the Virginias.
Zone P: Territory open to mines in northern West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

Coal from certain of the eastern zones was originally permitted to move to Lake Erie ports for transhipment, but recent orders have substantially restricted this privilege.

Railroad fuel is not affected by the zone system.

Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast states are prohibited from drawing coal from Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, or states east of the Mississippi River, except for special purposes.

Except in the case of coal for special purposes, such as for smithing and by-product coke making, West Virginia smokeless, which has heretofore enjoyed the widest area of distribution, may move all-rail no farther west than Columbus, O. Within the past few weeks, further modifications have barred it to the domestic consumer drawing his fuel from the docks at the head of the Lakes. Illinois coals have been shut out of hard-won markets west of the Missouri River, and Iowa is closed to the Indiana mines. How great the restrictions are can be clearly seen from a comparison of the zoning map to the 1915 distribution chart appearing on pages 320 and 321.

What the Washington authorities hope to accomplish by this step may be stated in their own words:

"The United States Fuel Administration and the United States Railroad Administration have devoted several months to the study of what can be done to remove the causes which have hampered the enlargement of coal production. It has been found that a factor which has largely diminished the number of cars available for loading at the mines and the number of locomotives available to haul coal is that in a substantial sense the country has been engaged in 'carrying coals to Newcastle.' Cars and locomotives have been occupied for many unnecessary days in hauling coal hundreds of miles in order to deliver it at places more accessible to other coal fields, when coal could be obtaine
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The situation to-day, in brief, is this:
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preferred industries receive their full quo
fuel before others not so favored are sup
adds strong color to this idea.

This brings up the most interesting que
of all: will there be a coal shortage this y
Prophecy upon this point is too uncertai
admit of a categorical answer. The possi
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The probabilities of a scarcity are very
The curtailments referred to in the prece
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it has made such operation impossible
refusing to place orders during the spring
summer.

A steady flow of coal from the mines to
sumer must be maintained. It is the
avenue of escape from a coal shortage in
most critical year in the history of the Un
States. Upon every citizen devolves the
of doing everything in his power to keep
flow of coal continuous.

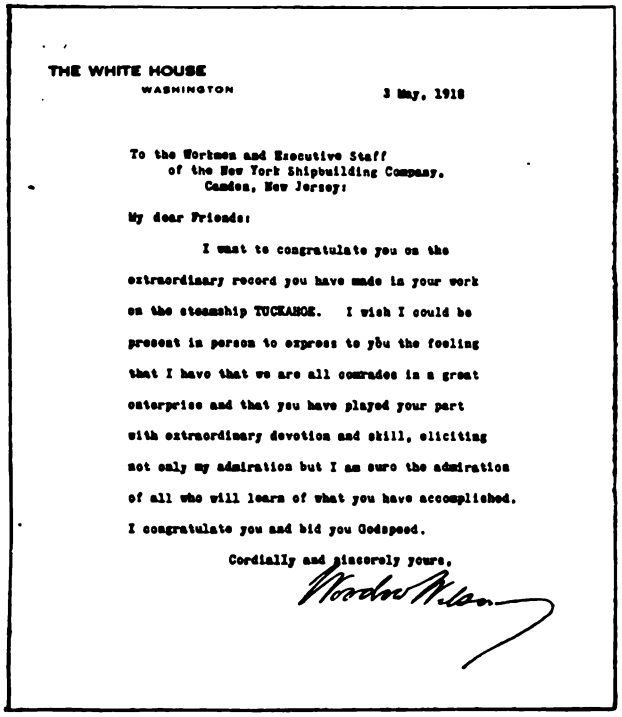
MAN AND HIS MACHINES

A Ship Built in 27 Days

THE fastest job of shipbuilding ever done was the construction of the steel steamship *Tuckahoe*, 5,500 tons, at Camden, N. J. Her keel was laid on April 8, 1918, she was launched on May 5th, just 27 days, 3 hours and 43 minutes after the laying of the keel, and ten days later, on May 15th, was delivered, complete in every detail, after a trial trip, to the United States Shipping Board. One week later she was starting on her first voyage with cargo. The best previous record for the launching of a steel, ocean-going ship was 55 days, made at Seattle earlier in the spring of this year; the average time, even under forced speed, is about 100 days.

The rapid construction of the *Tuckahoe* is a demonstration of the possibilities inherent in the method of shipbuilding that has come to be known as the "fabricated" ship—that is, a ship built to a standard plan, with every part cut and fitted before being put into place, whether at rolling mills many miles away from the shipyard or in shops directly connected with the yards. It happens that the New York Shipbuilding Corporation, which built the *Tuckahoe*, has its own fabricating plant, although not of sufficient capacity to keep up a supply of standard parts for all the ships it has under construction at one time. At Hog Island, Port Newark, and most of the other new emergency shipyards, dependence is placed for standardized parts on steel mills situated elsewhere, but the principle is the same—that of preparing the finished parts in advance of assembling, so that when once the keel is laid there is no lost motion, no waiting for the arrival of a missing sternpost, as happened to be the case with the ship on the ways next to the *Tuckahoe*, no delay

THE LAYING OF THE KEEL



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3 May, 1918

To the Workmen and Executive Staff
of the New York Shipbuilding Company,
Camden, New Jersey:

My dear Friends:

I want to congratulate you on the extraordinary record you have made in your work on the steamship TUCKAHOE. I wish I could be present in person to express to you the feeling that I have that we are all comrades in a great enterprise and that you have played your part with extraordinary devotion and skill, eliciting not only my admiration but I am sure the admiration of all who will learn of what you have accomplished. I congratulate you and bid you Godspeed.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

Woodrow Wilson

WHITE HOUSE CONGRATULATIONS

THE SIXTH DAY

while plates are being recut, bent, and drilled.

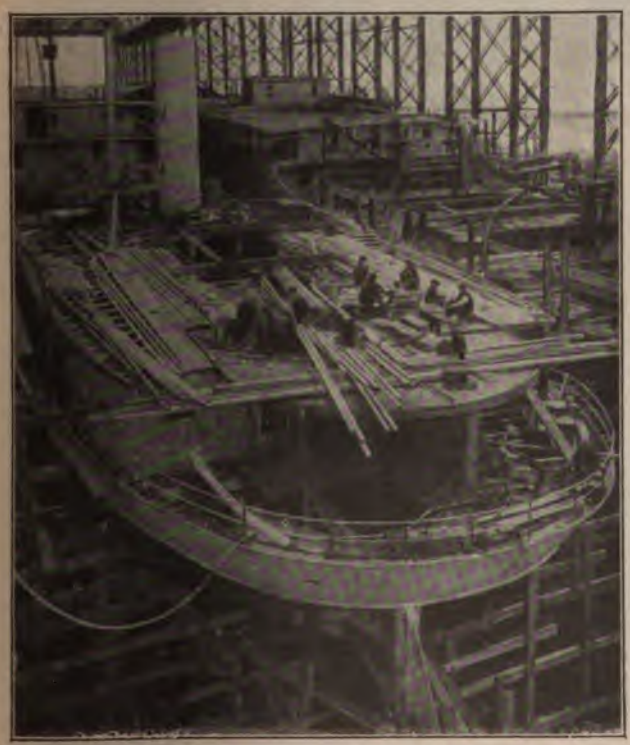
The old type of ship was built to plans, but these plans gave only a rough idea of what the ship would be when finished. The *Lusitania* and *Mauretania* were built to identical plans, but when completed differed in length, in beam, and in other particulars; so did the *Olympic* and the *Titanic*, sister ships. Beams and plates used to be "tried on," bent, cut, and fitted as a custom tailor tries on a suit of clothes; under the "fabricating" method they are finished to standard dimensions and must fit when assembled. "Assembled" ships would be a better term than "fabricated," in fact. Not only can the parts for a particular size and type of ship thus be made wholesale ready to put together, but by what the shipyard men call "internal standardization" the same beams, girders, ribs, and plates that are used for the midship section of a 300-foot ship can also be worked up, by using more of them, into a 400-foot or even a 500-foot craft, while the same stem and stern posts will do for a ship of any of these lengths, so that the curved plates *for the bow and* stern of one size will also fit another size. The big cargo carriers of the Great Lakes have been constructed in this fashion for years. By placing the boilers and engines in the extreme after part of the ship instead of amidships it makes no difference how long the midship section, with its flat, straight sides, may be; the propeller shaft is the same length for all sizes. As the photograph of the completed *Tuckaboe* shows, she is built like the lake carriers in this respect, also. Under this system of complete standardization, every shipyard can carry "on hand" a full line of standard parts for repairs; an important consideration just now, when every day's delay in port means soldiers' lives.

The record made in the building of the *Tuckaboe*, therefore, is not an accident that may never be repeated, but a promise of what may be expected as a general rule when the complete coördination of steel mills, engine and boiler factories, railroads and shipyards, toward which the Emergency Fleet Corporation is driving all of

THE FIFTEENTH DAY

its energies, is in full swing. There was no special burst of speed in the assembling of the *Tuckahoe*, nor any particular concentration of labor. The largest number of men that worked on the ship at any one time was 704, or seven per cent. of the total number working in the Camden yards; the average was 500 men. There are riveting gangs at Camden with records of 2,276 rivets per day; the largest drive on the *Tuckahoe* was 1,300 rivets in one day. So orderly was the progress of the work that not a single workman was injured during her construction. Yet on the fifth of May, when she slid into the Delaware River, she was much more nearly a finished ship than is often the case when a vessel is launched. Boilers and engines were completely installed, stack, masts, and loading booms in place, gun mounts forward and aft completed, and rigging complete, even to anchors and anchor chains. The work of the ten days after she was floated, before delivery, was mainly that of carpenters on interior woodwork and painting the upper works; the hull was completely painted at the time of launching. All this was in spite of the handicap of being crowded in between two other ships in such a position that only a single overhead crane could be used for handling every bit of material.

ON THE WAYS PREVIOUS TO LAUNCHING



THE TWENTY-SIXTH DAY

"We built the *Tuckahoe* in record time partly to demonstrate what can be done under a proper system of fabrication and assembling, and partly to prove that the Pacific Coast has nothing on the Atlantic yards when it comes to speed in shipbuilding," said President M. A. Neeland of the New York Shipbuilding Corporation when a representative of World's Work asked him whether he could do it again. "We could repeat the performance, but until we have enlarged our fabricating capacity I do not think we shall try to do so. What really spurred us to this demonstration was the suggestion that the Atlantic yards were lagging behind those of the Pacific Coast. After the launching of a ship in Seattle in 55 days from the laying of the keel, a world's

record at that time, Chairman Hurley of the Shipping Board wanted to send a committee of Atlantic Coast shipbuilders to the Pacific Coast to see why they were building ships so much faster out there. He asked me to appoint a member of the committee representing our company. I discussed the matter with our staff and we decided that we would make a record here, and so make it unnecessary for Mr. Hurley to send a committee to the west coast. I have heard nothing about the proposed committee since."

The *Tuckahoe*, the result of this proposal, is 332 feet 6 inches long, 49 feet 3 inches beam, 29 feet 6 inches depth and has a deadweight tonnage of 5,548. She is a single-screw steel collier, with triple expansion engines and two single-end boilers, and is capable of a speed of 10½ knots per hour.

MR. M. A. NEELAND, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK SHIP BUILDING CORPORATION

THE TUCKAHOE COMPLETED, PHOTOGRAPHED ON THE DAY OF HER ACCEPTANCE BY THE SHIPPING BOARD, MAY 15, 1918

The photographs used last month in "Man and His Machines" were furnished by the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men. Through an oversight, credit was not given the Institute for these pictures.

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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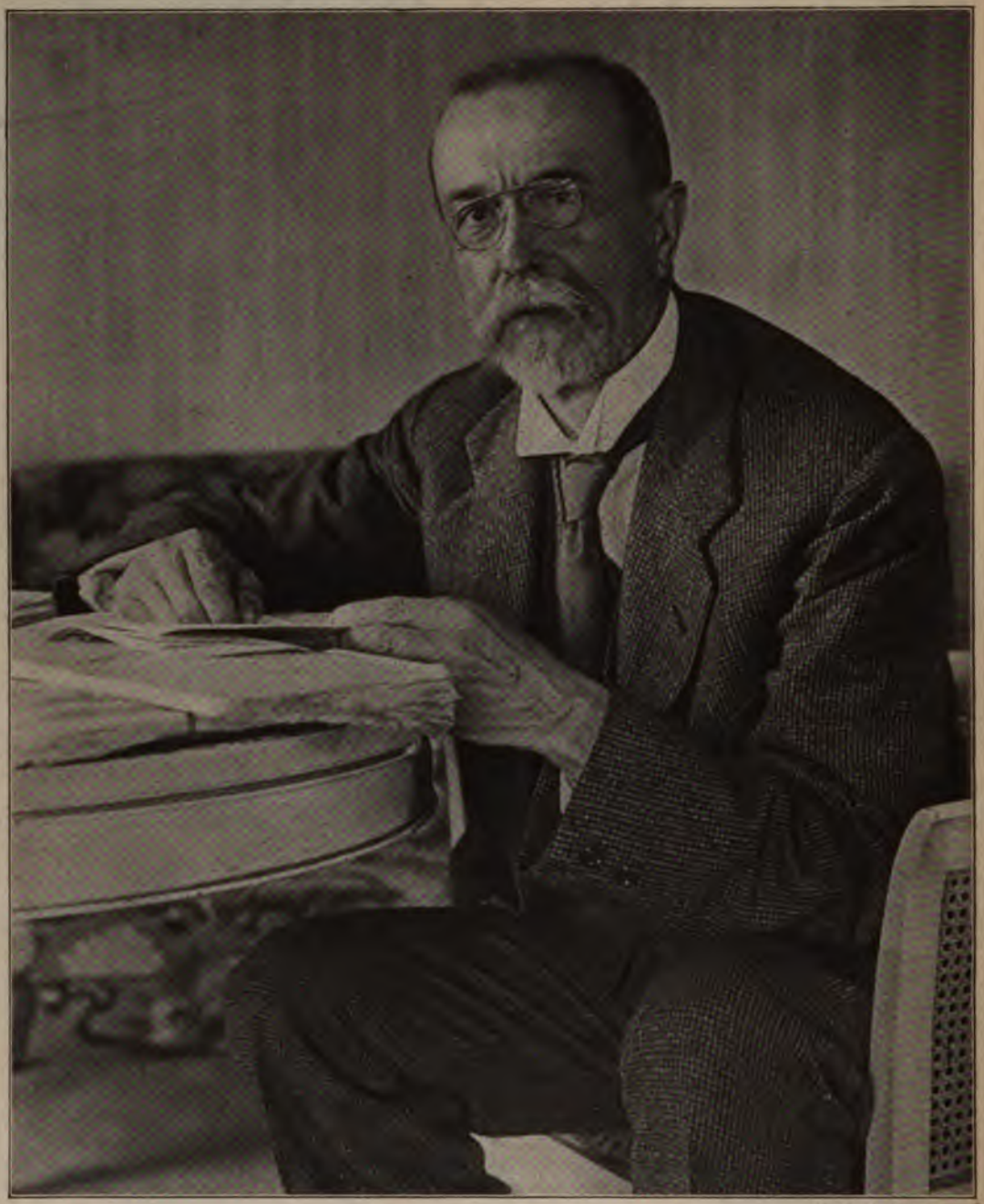

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PROFESSOR THOMAS GARRIGUE MASARYK

The distinguished leader of the Czecho-Slovak races of Austria-Hungary, who is chiefly responsible for the success of the Allies in enlisting the coöperation of the oppressed peoples of Austria-Hungary in disrupting the Dual Monarchy and in aiding those Russians who are working for a stable government

THE
WORLD'S WORK

AUGUST, 1918

VOLUME XXXVI NUMBER 4

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

FOUR years ago this August the war for civilization began. As the war has progressed the principles of humanity and liberty have been clarified and tested in the fire. The forces of civilization have won every moral victory. The world has nobler aspirations and higher ideals in August, 1918, than in August, 1914.

But civilization has lost much of the power it had in 1914 to put those ideals into practice.

The destruction of Belgium began in 1914 and it has been continuing ever since. Then, too, the destruction of Russia began, for with the closing of the Dardanelles the slow strangulation of Russia began.

In 1915 Serbia fell a victim to fire, sword, and pillage.

In 1916 Russia and Rumania suffered the military disasters which led the way to their collapse.

In 1917 the collapse of these two countries became complete.

This spring the Germans have been able to push forward again in France.

Belgium, Serbia, Russia, and Rumania have succumbed to the army of destruction, and when the war is over those nations which are still bearing the burdens of democracy in arms will have to take up the task of peaceful reconstruction, if civilization is not to perish from the devastated regions. Every year that the war continues that burden of reconstruction grows and the resources for the task diminish.

If, then, we wish to save civilization we must not only beat the German army of destruction thoroughly, but we must do it quickly. The victories of our enemies have thrown more than 200,000,000 people into economic helplessness. We can not allow this to go on.

Since the war began there has never been a time when the forces fighting for civilization have not been potentially the stronger—when their armies were not backed by larger populations than Germany and its allies have had at their disposal. But the unreadiness, repeatedly shown, and the hesitations of the different nations have allowed Germany the advantage of numbers or equipment in almost every campaign. We can not afford to continue this process if we expect to have much of our civilization left when the war is over. A league of nations, most of which are economic cripples is not the condition we hope to realize at the end of the great struggle, and yet for those who dare face the truth this is the prospect unless we destroy the German armies soon. To stop the German offensives may be one kind of victory, but not the kind that will end the war. We did not have the men in France this year to hold the initiative. Will we have the men and material there next spring to destroy the German armies in one campaign? That is our task.

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MR. A. W. SHAW

The editor of *System*, who is now Chairman of the Conservation Section of the War Industries Board

MR. A. M. BRIGGS

Founder of the American Protective League, an organization of 250,000 patriotic American business men who coöperate effectively with the Department of Justice in its operations against spies, slackers, and seditionists.

GENERAL ARMANDO DIAZ

Commander-in-Chief of the Italian Army, which checked the Austrian June offensive along the Piave River from Montello to the Adriatic Sea, and drove the enemy back with heavy losses in men killed and captured

MR. HENRY FORD

Whose industrial genius in applying the principle of "quantity production" has been utilized with extraordinary effectiveness in the rapid construction of mechanical essentials for the winning of the war

The Final Terrible Campaign

THE figures of our overseas troops given out by the President on the eve of the Fourth of July give us accurate data by which to judge our efforts in relation to the actual needs of the war. The first necessity confronting the armies of civilization this spring was to meet the German offensive. Far better than that, of course, would have been the inauguration of an offensive ourselves. But the combined forces were unequal to this. They were in fact able to stop the German drives only with the greatest difficulty, and in doing so suffered very considerable losses in prisoners and material. The first test of strength this spring came almost exactly a year after our entrance into the war. According to the figures given out by the President we had in France about 282,000 men March 1st. The course of events soon showed that the frequent calls for us to hurry that had been coming for some months had been based on well-founded forebodings. These calls had not aroused us to great activity but the German successes did. From the time the German troops hit the British line in Picardy until July 1st—in three months—we sent more than 600,000 men to France. These men could not affect the fighting which accelerated their going, but they should be of vital assistance in holding further German attacks this summer.

If we assume that the armies of civilization are now in a position to stop any further German attacks this year, which is a reasonably optimistic assumption, what is the next test that we must face? The next task is certainly to start an offensive that will destroy the German army. With their best efforts, France, Great Britain, and the United States can hardly be ready to do this before next spring. Whether or not all will be in readiness then depends chiefly on us.

There are many people who do not believe that the destruction of the German army is possible in one campaign; who look forward to a prolonged, slow, pushing butchery like the Battle of the Somme. But the Germans have demonstrated a quicker method of their undoing. The allied attack on the Somme was on a front of 30 kilometers. The continued pressure even on this restricted front used up most of the then available German reserves. But no quick decision could be obtained in an area so limited in relation to the total number of troops on both sides.

But this spring the Germans, with their armies reinforced from the Russian front, were able to make their attack in Picardy on a line of 80 kilometers. It took every allied resource to meet the pressure on this wide extending front. Had the German preponderance in numbers enabled them to launch the attack which they later made on the Chemin des Dames simultaneously with the one in Picardy, the allied reserves could not have stood the strain over the whole area of attack. Turn the tables around. If we have sufficient advantage in men and material next spring to launch an offensive on twice or three times the front of the German attack in Picardy, we shall achieve that which the Germans just missed—a decisive victory. Such an attack is a terrible thing to contemplate but if it succeeds it is less costly in blood and treasure than any other way of terminating the war.

The men that we sent this year were too late to prevent the very considerable successes of the first German attacks. They are, of course, too few to enable Foch to attempt a supreme offensive next spring. Whether that can be attempted or not depends chiefly on the numbers of men and the amount of war material which we send to France between now and the latter part of next winter. The record of the last three months is a good omen. The only discouraging thing about the President's announcement was the newspaper statement accompanying it that we could have 1,500,000 men in France in September *if necessary*. A million and a half, two million, or two million and a half may not be necessary to prevent defeat, but our utmost efforts can not get too many men there to insure victory.

The Material of Victory

THE President has told us exactly how many men we have in France. Concerning the other great necessity, war material, we have not the same authentic information. But the general indications are that we are now about to enter a period of production in a fair measure worthy of our resources.

It was inevitable that we should have to spend a certain period in getting ready to pro-

duce, for we did not even have plans when the war began. How long the period would be, depended on the management of the War Department. At the end of the first year we had not contributed enough of any implement of war to change radically the relation between the two contending forces. Gas, airplanes, artillery—we had none of these in sufficient quantities at the front to give our side any preponderance. The same was true 15 months after our entrance into the war.

But there is hope that by next spring this will be changed. There is good reason to hope that by that time we shall be past the stage of trying to catch up to the Germans in the quantity of gas, the number of guns, and such things, and have entered a period in which the shoe will be on the other foot.

This hope is based on the fact that our initial plan-making and factory-building phase has passed, and that we are definitely entering on the era of quantity production in almost all kinds of war material.

For example: in November, seven months after we entered the war, a company got an order for recoil mechanisms. It had to build a factory and make tools to make them. This company produced nothing until this spring. But when its production began it began big.

Similar conditions have existed in the manufacture of most implements of war here, and so many misleading stories, both official and semi-official, appeared that a great deal of skepticism has arisen over present reports of progress. There was so much talk of what we had done and were going to do when we had actually produced very little, that it discounts any accounts of present achievements which are very real.

On the other hand we are still liable to the error of judging our accomplishments without regard to the task which faces us. No amount of guns, gas, airplanes, machine guns, or anything else will form a respectable record for us next spring unless it is so much more and better than the Germans have that our men will have every advantage in the fighting.

The Unstinted Admiration of the World

THE other day a subscriber wrote to the WORLD'S WORK complaining that the magazine is a pessimist, because it has not been satisfied with our war accomplishments, which, our good friend assures us, are of a nature "naturally to evoke the unstinted admiration of the entire world." This satisfying conception of the world's view of us is quite common and more or less natural.

The newspaper correspondents abroad very properly devote most of their space to our own men at the front. This tends to magnify in our eyes our operations in relation to those of the other armies. The administration which is managing our war operations is a constant source of good news, and the foreign comments on our operations are all in pleasant vein, or else we should not get them. These influences not unnaturally lead us to believe that we are evoking the world's unstinted admiration.

But if Providence is kind enough "the gift to give us, to see ourselves as others see us," we shall look at ourselves from some very unusual points of view. Let us look at ourselves from the Frenchman's angle. To him we are a timely addition to his varying list of allies. He has been fighting consistently from the beginning. Sometimes the Russians are with him in force, sometimes the British, and sometimes the Italians. Various allies seem to come and go, but he began at the beginning and must stay to the finish. He has seen too much to be amazed by our entry. Or suppose we look at our record as if we were Englishmen. The English got more men into the war in the first year than we did, and their losses were about half a million at the time when our corresponding losses were 8,000. Let us turn back and compare our record to some of our own accomplishments in the past. If we put as many men in this war in proportion to our population as the North put into the Civil War we shall have 1 3/2 million men under arms. If we equal the record of some of the states of the Confederacy we shall arm nearly 20 million men.

Some things we have done very well, many things we have done very badly. There is nothing about our general result to evoke the unstinted admiration of a world that has had its emotional processes a good deal dulled by overuse. But if we have not aroused the amazement of the world we have had given freely to us the complete confidence, friendship, and thanks of the other nations which are fighting for civilization. If we keep a sufficient sense of perspective, and gear our energies to the task as it is we may yet evoke at least a part of the admiration which our friend believes we are now enjoying. We have

the courage, skill, and resources to meet the full measure of our task if we can clear our vision so as to see the task in its real proportions.

The Eastern Front

THE President unquestionably committed the United States to the task of freeing Russia from the German yoke when in his speech in New York, on May 18th, he said that we shall stand by Russia just as we stand by France.

The Secretary of State has committed us, in principle, to the liberation of the Poles, Czechs, Rumanians, and Slavs from the oppression of the Austrians and Hungarians.

His statement was:

> The Secretary of State desires to announce that the proceedings of the Congress of Oppressed Races of Austria-Hungary, which was held in Rome in April, have been followed with great interest by the Government of the United States, and that the nationalistic aspirations of the Czecho-Slavs and the Jugo-Slavs for freedom have the earnest sympathy of this Government.

These things, like the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, the amalgamation of Trieste and the Trentino with Italy, the resurrection of Belgium, Serbia, and Rumania—these are the tests of victory. If we leave any peoples subject to the Prussians, Austrians, Hungarians, Bulgars, or Turks, we shall have failed to complete our purpose. Great Britain, France, and Italy are committed to these same purposes. At the conference at Rome, Italy and the Jugo-Slavs even agreed, in general, on the future boundaries that shall unite them.

What are the forces of freedom doing to accomplish these liberations in the East and what can they do?

The British are occupying the entire attention of the Turks. Palestine and Mesopotamia are freed.

The allied French, British, Italian, and Greek army holds the Bulgarian army, and insures the freedom of Greece. But between Bagdad, Jerusalem, and Salonika and the subject races and subjugated peoples of the Balkans and Austria lie the Turk and Bulgar armies. Unless we can destroy one or the other of these we can give no direct aid to the millions awaiting liberation except by bringing aid to their revolutionary aspirations by airplane.

To Russia we have promised help. The way is open through Siberia. On June 26th a Washington dispatch stated:

> President Wilson has determined upon the basic principles of a plan for extending aid to Russia and is now engaged in formulating the details. Last night at a Cabinet council, called hastily for the purpose, he outlined his proposals and invited suggestions as to the best means of carrying the policy into execution.
>
> The President's plan does not contemplate military intervention to restore Russian nationality and save the Russian people from the German yoke. It aims at the commercial, industrial, and agricultural upbuilding of the great territory formerly ruled by a Czar, through a policy of mutual helpfulness arranged between the United States and whatever Russian authority is established through the efforts of this Government along the lines of the proposals which will be advanced in the President's name.
>
> * * *
>
> It is the understanding that his plan contemplates sending to Russia a commission of distinguished civilians with offers of assistance and with powers to discuss and arrange with Russian representatives a plan of coöperation designed to set that perturbed country on its feet. Troops might be sent to give protection to the commissioners and to police territory where native local Governments might be established to carry out the policy inaugurated by the United States, but it is contemplated that there shall be no military intervention in any sense of the term. The whole project, according to information obtained to-day, is of an economic and non-military character, and there is good reason to believe that the Administration will not tolerate any suggestion that the upbuilding of Russian nationality shall be accompanied by force of arms.

The great bulk of the Russian population both in Russia and in Siberia do desire freedom from German domination. But their greatest desire is that order may be reëstablished and commerce begun again so that they may sell their products and buy such necessities as shoes, clothes, sugar, etc. If, therefore, our Mission of Economic Help can reëstablish commerce, transportation, and order it will be laying the foundations for a reinvigorated Russia that might be able to help defend itself against Germany.

There are two primary requisites for the success of such a plan if the success is to have any bearing on the immediate future of the war. The first requisite is sufficient police protection to insure the commission's safe operation. The second is an operation of sufficient skill

and size to overcome the six months' lead which the Germans have had since the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

Our commission, even if truly desired by the majority of Russians, will be subject to many serious attacks unless it carries with it its own police protection. Moreover, unless this force is adequate there will be no way to prevent German raids on any supplies which we may design for Russian consumption.

For the six months since the Brest-Litovsk treaty, the Germans have been busily engaged trying to organize Russia for their own advantage. We have stood aside and given them a free hand seemingly on the assumption that any effort of this kind would hurt its maker more than it would help him. But the German activity—tactless as it is—has made more progress than our inactivity and we are now confronted with the necessity of following their lead, though in a different manner. Fortunately conditions are more favorable to us now than at any previous time.

The particular time and method of solving the Russian problem which we have adopted is not the product of foreign advice. It is our own. It, therefore, particularly behooves us to carry it to a successful conclusion. Our best opportunity to do this would seem to be to cast our operations upon a scale beyond the ability of the competition of the enemy. If we have given him six months' start of us we must make up the disadvantage in some other manner. It is not certain that our good intentions as contrasted with his evil intentions will serve to overcome his lead. In spite of our good intentions in Mexico the Germans have more popularity there than we have. But the actual resumption of commerce on a large scale for the benefit of Russians would be a demonstration which the Germans would find it difficult to meet.

It is obvious, of course, that we are busy and that the Pacific is a large barrier and that there are a hundred and one other difficulties to contend with. Those things are quite true, but as long as such difficulties or the fear of failure prevent us from great and hazardous undertakings, the Germans will continue "to get the jump on us." For, in spite of the terrible pressure they are under, they see things large and work on a great scale in every quarter of the globe. If we wish to succeed in Russia we must tackle the job with brisk energy and big intentions.

Profiteers

THE word profiteer is generally considered to apply to any one who is making money out of the war, and it has the odious connotations which at first thought would seem to belong to any one who would take profit from a condition which is costing the lives of thousands of his fellow citizens.

But the general acceptance of a righteous feeling based on this general sentiment will never allow us to gain any real conception of the curious economic condition into which the war has thrown us.

The transition from peace to war is a difficult and costly process everywhere, but it differs greatly in different countries. It was accomplished more easily in Germany than elsewhere because Germany had made the preparations beforehand. The barracks in which the German recruits are trained cost a normal peace time price to build. The barracks in which our recruits are trained were built at war time prices with added expense for speed. The Germans have not had to build munition factories as rush jobs in the dead of winter with labor and materials at the highest levels for 60 years. Their war activity has been done with perhaps the greatest economy, ours certainly with the least, simply for the reason that we have had to do everything at once. There is, for us, no other way of conducting a war but the method we have fallen into. We have properly recognized that speed is more important than economy, and, as a natural result, we are making haste at a very high price. We are quite willing to pay the price, but, while we are all curtailing our expenditures to put the money at the disposal of the Government, it is extremely irritating to see any one getting rich on our sacrifices.

And yet the whole foundation of our conduct of the war is excess payment in order to stimulate speed. The basic principle on which we are operating necessitates profiteers. We are going to make up in money what we lacked in foresight and preparation. The line of least resistance in trying to stimulate labor is higher wages. In spite of high costs, the labor in war industries is better off than in peace times. Laborers, skilled and unskilled, are, as a class, profiteers. They are profiting by the war. But the public sense has diagnosed the situation correctly. It attaches its odium on labor that loafs, not on that which makes profits. The

public enemy is not the munition worker who works steadily at unusual wages and makes a profit out of the war, but the laborer whose easy money induces him to loaf part of the time or to shift from job to job, or the labor leader who uses the necessities of his country to incite strikes. Moreover, there is considerable insurance against the spread of the idea that this war is for the benefit of capital in the general prosperity of labor.

But as a stimulus to production high wages have not been particularly successful. There has been so much unrest that in most cases the production per man has fallen below normal. Nor has the plea of patriotism, although effective in many places, been able to offset the decrease. So far neither the Government, private employers, nor labor organizations have been able to devise any method to prevent the strikes and the shifting of labor sufficiently to raise the average production above normal.

High prices in agriculture have worked better. Wheat at $2.20, cotton at 25 cents a pound, and sirloin at 45 cents a pound have resulted in extremely effective farming operations. The high prices and the urgings of patriotism have made the farmer do more work with fewer men, and if he is a profiteer—as he probably is—he is a profitable one for the country to have. Moreover, if the farmer and munition worker are profiteers, they are profiteers of low degree and they do not afford spectacular examples for the public displeasure.

The situation of the manufacturers is very different. A munition manufacturer might easily make enough money to attract the public's unfavorable attention. The Government has adopted several different and conflicting theories in dealing with the manufacturer. The War Industries Board deliberately fixed certain prices, such as the price of steel and copper, high enough to encourage even the less efficient concerns to operate. These prices naturally meant large profits for the low cost concerns. But they again were to be saved from excessive profiteering by the workings of the excess profits tax. This arrangement was founded on the sound theory that it is a good thing to have all essential industries in a healthy and prosperous condition, and that the high prices are not a detriment to the public because the Government gets most of the increase in taxes which the public would otherwise pay direct.

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glimmering. It is pretty certain, therefore, that she will make every effort to pass on to others by unfair trade practices the burdens which the war she started has laid on her. Her people have so far paid little more than a comparatively small war profits tax. After the war, they will be called upon for heavy taxes of every kind, and will not then be enjoying the war profits. Interest alone on the German war debt to date is more than a billion and a half dollars. The savings of the German people before the war were estimated at two billion dollars from a total income of nine and a half billions. With her world trade disrupted, they will not be more than that after the war. If to the interest charge is added German estimates of $700,000,000 for pensions, and then something more for gradual payment of the war debt, it is evident that there will be no savings for investment for many years. An economic collapse may be the means of ridding the world of the Hohenzollerns and making a republic in Germany.

The United States' War Financing

OUR method of paying the war bill differs radically from that followed by Germany. It is the difference between sound and unsound financing. Instead of attempting to shift the debt to our children, we are paying direct from taxes a larger proportion of our own war costs than any other belligerent and are buying Liberty Bonds largely from current savings and not from accumulated capital. By increased economy we are paying for the war as we fight it. We will repay some part of the cost to ourselves after the war—that is to those of us who have been wise enough to buy Liberty Bonds—but because we have met a good proportion of the war cost from taxes, it will not be hard to repay these borrowings. Our allies will repay a good part of them for the advances we are now making to them.

The Treasury Department greatly overestimated our first year's war requirements and underestimated the amount that would be derived from new taxes. Delays in our war preparations unfortunately explain a large part of the first error; we can, however, congratulate ourselves on the error in the tax estimates. Instead of less than two and a half billion dollars from the income and war excess taxes, these two brought to the Treasury by

June 15th approximately three billion dollars. When this is compared with our expenditures of nine billions for the first year we were in the war, of which more than half was money advanced to our allies, one gets a very favorable view of our war finances. Of course, our war expenditures are now running higher than this, but at the highest rate yet reached of 54½ millions a day, or approximately twenty billions a year, increased taxes will likely cover more than 25 per cent. of them. If loans to the Allies are deducted, the percentage will be much higher.

Great Britain has followed the soundest financial policy among our allies. Her Exchequer operates under the budget system, and the estimates of her Chancellors have been quite accurate. Bonar Law's recent estimates indicate that about 28 per cent. of Britain's expenditures are being covered by taxes. Her loans to her allies last year were little more than half those made by the United States. She borrowed from us only the amount of these advances. In other words, the United States has taken the place of Great Britain as banker for the Allies.

It is easier for us to finance our share of the war on a sounder basis than any of the other belligerents not only because they have been bearing the burden for nearly four years, but because we are richer. Our national wealth is more than twice that of Great Britain and our national income more than four times what hers is. Nevertheless there is every reason for more and more economy, for the war is far from over and the financing of reconstruction is going to be a problem commensurate even with the financing of the war.

Herr Herzog and His Book

EVERY day or two for the last month American correspondents in Holland or Switzerland have cabled long extracts from German papers on the prospects of German trade after the war. The Germans are much exercised over this subject and their anxiety is well founded, because the kind of commercial prosperity which they are planning for will never be theirs.

In another part of this magazine is printed a description of certain German trade plans as explained by an engineer named Herzog in a book which he published in Germany since the war began. The special significance of this book is that it circula
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THE PAPER REGULATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND AN INCREASED PRICE FOR THE "WORLD'S WORK"

I

THE War Industries Board is making regulations to save paper—an action which is timely and entirely in the public's interest. Perhaps the weakest link in our war preparation is transportation. The railroads are now under a severe strain. Next winter the strain will be greater. The raw materials of which the finished paper is made constitute the fourth largest item of freight which the railroads have.

The general theory on which the War Industries Board is working is the reduction in the weight and the waste of paper.

The reduction in weight means thinner papers and consequently in general poorer printing. The saving in waste means smaller margins. It means also that the news stands will be denied the privilege of returning unsold magazines.

The War Industries Board's regulations will result in the elimination of many trainloads a day in the hauling of paper. The locomotives and cars thus released will be used to transport soldiers, munitions, coal, and other war necessities. Every pound of paper saved means four pounds of coal conserved.

II

The curtailment will not deny the public any news or information.

The public will, on the average, have to pay more for its magazines, just as in most places it is already paying more for its newspapers. The saving in the weight of paper does not save anything in cost to the publisher. Cost of production is constantly rising.

The new postal law which went into effect on July 1st is another heavy burden on magazine cost.

III

This is a brief and general statement of the conditions which have made it absolutely necessary for the WORLD'S WORK to raise its price to 35 cents a copy and the yearly subscription to $4.00.

The standard of amount and the quality of the material which the magazine will contain we shall maintain and improve, but the quality of the paper and such luxuries as wide margins must be subject to the very proper and wise regulations of the War Industries Board.

The regulations to eliminate the return of unsold copies on the news stands will mean that these stands will buy only in such numbers as they are sure of selling. People who really want their magazines had, therefore, better either put in a standing order at a convenient news stand or bookstore, or subscribe direct to the publisher and get their magazines by mail. Subscriptions will be accepted at the old price until September 10th, 1918.

ADMIRAL SIR DAVID BEATTY

The Commander-in-Chief of the British Grand Fleet and of the American Fleet operating in European waters. A sketch from life by Francis Dodd

SPECULATIVE INVESTMENTS

Every month the WORLD'S WORK *publishes in this part of the magazine an article on investments and the lessons to be derived therefrom*

MR. WILLIAM H. WOODIN, president of the American Car and Foundry Company, talking on speculative investments, in which one expects a high return on money with the possibility of a large increase in the capital, said: "In my opinion, the art of investing money safely with a maximum return of income, unless instinctive in the individual, is most difficult to acquire. What is known as common horse sense seems to me to be almost axiomatic in the art of investing money.

"This faculty was possessed to a wonderful degree by the late J. B. Haggin, and, combined with his long experience in the mining field, made him a master in this department of investments. Some friends of mine came to me a few years ago with a copper proposition, and as I knew Mr. Haggin well, I raced across to him at once to ask his advice. I shall never forget the thorough and painstaking way in which he took the matter up, and I shall never forget the advice he gave me. It is certainly applicable to all mining investments, and new oil propositions as well. After spending an hour and a half going over a most wonderful set of maps that he had of the region where this mine was located, he delivered the following opinion: 'There is a great risk of losing money in this proposition for the simple reason that the copper ore in this locality is very uncertain, and I know cannot be developed in sufficient values to warrant the expense that must be met to make a copper proposition a success.' He then turned to me and said, 'My boy, whenever any one comes to you with a mining proposition, just think of this: If you were to place all of the mineralized wealth in the world in one spot and then put all of the rest of the earth in another, the comparison between the two would be as the point of a needle to, well, say the moon; and if you want to make money in mining you have to get on the point of that needle.'

"There is a type of man who is always seeing things that for some reason or other the rest of us are unable to perceive. Russell Conwell's great lecture, "Acres of Diamonds" illustrates this wonderfully. The discovery of one of the great gold mines of Nevada was brought about by this sort of an individual. He was a man in the cattle business in Chicago, and had probably never seen a mine. He grubstaked two miners, who went out to a spot which had looked to them as if it might develop into a mine. They worked for some time, and after sinking a shaft 75 or 100 feet deep and spending all of the money that the Chicago man had advanced, decided that there was no chance of getting gold from that particular location. They sent for him to come out, thinking that they might interest him in another prospect. They took him down the shaft to show him how the vein had pinched out. Coming up, when about twenty feet from the top, he called out, 'Hold, stop the bucket; lower a little,' and pulling the bucket over to the side, he took out his knife and said he wanted to see what that black streak was. He gouged out a few chunks and put them in his pocket. That night they assayed them and found a high percentage of gold. That was the first time gold was found in black ore. The next day they went down with mining tools and found that the small streak that had caught the watchful eye of this cattle man and aroused his curiosity, opened out like a fan. These men took out about six million dollars of gold before a company was even organized.

"Then there is the occasional case of pure luck, where neither knowledge nor experience, trained eyesight nor inquiring curiosity plays a part.

"In my experience, however," said Mr. Woodin, "successful speculative investments made by any of these three classes of men are exceedingly rare. Unfortunately, such investments become *out*vestments with most of us. After all, the safest plan to pursue is to put surplus earnings in high grade investment bonds. Although the return of income may not seem so large and the chance for appreciation of the capital may not be so great, yet the much greater risk of losing all your principal is largely reduced, and that, after all, is the consideration of greatest importance for most of us. At this time there seems to me to be wonderful opportunities for safe and conservative investments in this line of securities."

Herzog, the Trac
Bernhardi

His Book of the Secret Plans to Control the World by Trade Discove
States Government

I

HOW GERMANY INTENDS TO APPLY F
FRIGHTFULNESS TO BUSINESS

BY

RALPH W. PAGE

This article and the one that follows it in the next number are a digest of th which the Germans have circulated in their industries. A copy was obtained brought to this country, and will soon be published.—THE EDITORS

BERNHARDI notified us with brutal frankness anc detail precisely what Germany intended to do comparable army" and just how she proposed read and smiled and threw it aside as the vapo mad lunatic.

Now another warning, no less frightful and even mo fallen into our hands—nothing less than the complete for the conquest of the trade of the world after the wa ing plot reveals the full sinister significance of the va stubbornly reiterated by the War Lords demanding th and "delivery of raw materials." It strips naked th paign, disclosing an onslaught upon allied commerc minutely prepared, and no less ruthless in purpose a conduction than the bloodthirsty devastation of civili sword, foretold by Bernhardi and fulfilled in Louvain.

A single copy of this report exists in America. It was Germany by the United States Government since we we acquisition and safe transmission to Washington is n the accomplishments to our credit. It is the handwriti This time we shall not be found unready. It is of the terest to every man of business and patriot in the Unite it is the only guide to the enveloping manœuvres of invasion.

It bears the harmless title of "The Future of Gerr Exports." It was prepared by S. Herzog, and was circ the industrial leaders of the Empire.

tively complains this German arbiter of our domestic business, "that such a demand is an attempted intrusion upon the sovereignty of the state." Undoubtedly the United States might raise that objection. Well, he has a familiar answer all ready—the usual German answer to everything. "The patience of Germany before the war was stretched further than was really well; it was exercised only to keep the peace. We have gained nothing by generously yielding a point time after time, instead of insisting upon our rights. . . . It must be a matter of figures and put down in black and white. The duty of the guarantors will be to see that the pledged security goes unforfeited because the guarantee is fulfilled."

Another item that this Prussian sabre is to cut out of us is set forth thus:

"As an integral constituent of the commercial treaty, there must be an import guarantee given by the foreign power in figures for each individual kind of German industry (the figure understood as the percentage of German goods to all other imported goods of the same industry).

To conclude, it is laid down that all German governmental or commercial agencies established in any country to oversee and enforce these "minimum demands" remain unhampered and tax free.

WHY GERMANY HIDES PEACE TERMS

German reports do not make light summer reading. But it seems essential that they should be presented verbatim to the business world, and that they be taken in detail for careful study. They embody clearer than anything else the present and unrelinquished purpose of the German people not only to take by force and upon their own terms whatever we have which is of use to them, but to compel us to build up their commercial—and incidentally thereto their military—power upon orders permanently given in Berlin.

It is small wonder that the German chancellors all insist upon revealing their peace terms only in secret. To publish such demands as these baldly and plainly, as they have them drawn up, would be to add fury and flame to the already universal determination not to treat with them at all, on any basis.

The proposed treaties can be met with the bayonet. They really constitute no menace of commercial slavery, for the reason that they are purely military adjuncts. If the Germans can enforce them, then they can enforce anything, for they will own the earth. But they reveal the ultimate goal of the commercial warfare.

But in this coming commercial warfare the German preparation provides an alternative and supplementary plan of operations which leaves no conceivable weapon, trick, or contingency out of its calculations.

This consists in the maintenance of industries whose output are to be absolutely indispensable to foreign customers—the "shock troops" of the commercial invasion, called by Herr Herzog "unsurpassable goods" of "protective industries." The German Government is to keep a monopoly of these by every means, fair or foul, lenient or oppressive, that can be conceived by the mind of man. And with these products as a club, a wide open market for all German exports is to be assured in every corner of the globe—hostile countries in particular.

At the outset it is naïvely admitted in Herr Herzog's illuminating book that "German export trade must enter hatred as a liability" and that it will meet the "passive resistance of her present enemies, of whom there are, to be sure, more than is necessary or profitable."

To meet this German plan of conquest, Herzog declares that German houses are to open their campaign through neutral countries: the German "make-up" is to be discarded for an American or English masquerade in appearance and in inscription—the German looms, presumably will be turning out the "Abraham Lincoln Liberty Petticoat." Great stress is laid upon the necessity for German agents not only speaking and writing English, but in disguising themselves as "natives" down to the last cocktail and baseball game.

With this humorous suggestion, and a chapter devoted to entirely praiseworthy emphasis upon the necessity for good workmanship, the best materials, and scrupulous honesty in commercial dealings, the programme turns from legitimate to Teutonic methods of competition.

The foundation of the offensive is to be a Bureau of Trade Statistics. Every German abroad, whether ambassador, paid spy, drummer, traveler, professor, or workman, is to be enrolled in this service. Reporting upon uniform blanks, the result is to be an accurate

and up-to-date return from all fronts, showing exactly what German products are normally, or *ought* normally, to be taken by every country, and which are "indispensable." The General Staff can then tell every day "whether, and to what degree, the proportional amounts are being altered by the open or concealed attacks of foreign countries" or firms. And it can thereby decide "what German products foreign countries can not do without, and for what ones they substitute (openly or secretly) the products of (other) foreign countries."

THE "FOREIGN BRIGADE" OF SPIES

The very foundation and heart of the whole plan is based upon a military control of all industry and of every German by the Government. Americans cannot too often be warned that every single German is to be under orders from Berlin, and is to act as a spy and Government agent. The success of the whole scheme depends upon immediate and accurate information from the front. Nor are trade statistics the least of it. Every German inventor and chemist, every laboratory and plant in the empire are to be under the orders of the General Staff—the Commercial Federation —and are to be kept working constantly improvising substitutes for raw material, and improved methods and processes. Every individual connected with any of this work, including all workmen, managers, directors, and financiers of the "Indispensable Industries" are to be guarded under military authority, and absolutely prevented from giving or divulging anything whatever outside the empire. On the other hand all members of the "foreign brigade" are to report in minutest detail every discovery, invention, innovation of process, or sign of progress in every foreign industry throughout the world. If it be true that the Intelligence Service is the backbone of battle, we are to be checkmated at the outset. They are to have all our plans—we are to have none of theirs.

With this information in hand, the General Staff is to prepare for invasion by mobilizing under five great organizations the entire commercial strength of the country. This is not to be a trust or combination. It is to be an army of manufacturers and miners and bankers, under command of a staff composed of the heads of the trades and the state officials and controlled by the Government. It is to be the

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The methods they propose to employ to make sure that none of these "weapons of protection" or their secrets are ever transplanted to any other soil are illuminative of their whole conception of business, and conduct of every affair under the sun.

"All persons who are employed in industries of protective value must be entered in special lists by the body controlling manufacturing processes, so as to safeguard these industries. From the general lists a special list is to be drawn up which contains the names of employees in protective industries, who work with manufacturing methods or procedures, over which foreign countries hostile to our exports have no control. . . . These persons whether they are directors, operating or scientific officers, or laborers, must be subject to state organization similar to that of the army. Without permission of this organization no emigration of persons in these lists can take place. They are subject to especially strict rules for safeguarding manufacturing secrets and methods. Foreigners can not be permitted to find employment in concerns of this sort. . . . There will always be deserters. They must expect severe punishment meted out according to the amount of responsibility attached to the post which they left."

The same military tribunal is to have final authority over all transfers of ownership or shares in these industries.

"The exclusive maintenance of such industries for the empire demands a further control which extends to change in ownership. . . .

The state control will limit itself to ascertaining whether the future owner exhibits those peculiarities which in a material, technical, and moral connection offer a guarantee that the industry in question will remain at its former height and capacity for development, and banish all possibility of its being transplanted to foreign countries by the new owner. . . . The exclusion of foreigners is important in all cases."

Let us suppose a great factory to be established in Germany making its finished products out of raw material also obtainable in Germany, and that it is operated upon some technical secret process making some universally used product. And then let us suppose that all the raw material it can use is supplied to it and at its own price before any one else ny obtains any, regardless of the market; that every chemist, mechanic, and inventor in the empire is required to report to it every invention and improvement he makes, and that a world-wide corps of expert spies report the same from every country under the sun and that these improvements, patented or not, are at the disposal of this factory for nothing. More than that, that every process or machine it uses is being worked upon for improvement by the best experts in the country, *free of charge*, and that every new invention is put into operation *at once*, regardless of the cost of scrapping other new machinery; that this factory has a full complement of skilful labor that never leaves for any other employment, and never under any circumstances strikes; that none of its processes or methods can possibly reach the ears of any competitor; that in case it has the slightest fear of competition every industry in Germany instantly contributes to make good any loss from cutting prices; that it has the right to fix its own freight rates, its own export premium, its own taxes, its own tariff upon any needed supplies it may import; and that in case of need it can instantly call upon the German Ambassador in the United States to threaten any action by the German Government or army that might induce Uncle Sam to remove any impediments to its business developing in America. Imagine such a concern, and *voila!*—you have precisely one of these industries with which we shall have to compete after the war.

In contemplating the enormous disadvantage that any private business, no matter how large or how well organized, will have in competition with these gigantic Government industries, we must be actively alive not only to the danger threatening our own interests, with which it may be that our Government is competent to cope by tariffs, but to the certain dependence and ruin they entail upon our weaker, and the possibly unendurable strain they put upon our stronger, Allies. If the threat is to be met—if knowledge of the enemy's intention thus put into our hands is to serve in any way in this struggle to free the world, we shall have to meet in joint action with all our Allies. Our salvation and our honor both require that in the commercial field, as in the battlefield, we leave no people to be devoured any more by "protective industries" than by "protective invasions."

With these "indispensable" or "protective"

industries thus subsidized and militarized and guarded and loaded ready to shoot, Herr Herzog's plan proceeds to show how it is to be linked up with every transaction made by German traders over the s and to display the detail in the camps of the ener dollar-mad Americans.

(This exposure of Germany's plans will be continued in the September issue of

ITALY'S GREAT SERVICE IN TH

Effects of Her Destruction of the Triple Alliance—An Example of aration Before the Plunge into War—Her Moral Greatness in Starvation, German Propaganda, and the Misunderstan of Her Allies—Her Present Military Aid

BY

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER

ITALY has been the most misunderstood and consequently the most misjudged of all the Allies. It was only after the serious disaster at Caporetto, in October, 1917, that we and the French and English came to recognize officially the greatness of the task which Italy had had to accomplish and the reasons for her partial failure. She had three difficulties to overcome—diplomatic entanglements, material and financial obstacles, and internal enemies.

Her chief diplomatic entanglement when the war began, came from the fact, that for thirty-two years she had been a partner with Germany and Austria in the Triple Alliance. This secret agreement had proved to be the most lasting of all Bismarck's international arrangements. Having created the German Empire in 1871, as the first fruits of his victory over the French, he laid about to discover the means by which he might assure the permanence of the German Empire. He saw clearly enough that the day would come when an irresistible conflict would break out between the rising forces of Democracy and the long established power of Despotism, and he intended to strengthen and prepare Germany to be the last stronghold of Despotism. He knew that the House of Hohenzollern had won all its victories at home and abroad under despotic principles; he ridiculed publicly the incapacity of the Germans for self government, and he understood clearly that their innate servility toward their rulers and their devotion to militarism made them willing tools of their despots.

In his desire to render Despotism invincible he thought of uniting Austr Germany in an alliance fo But Russia declined his ove Czar had any intention o potism in governing Russia ferred to be his own despo ficiently astute to see that on the same horse with B behind. Foiled in this sch to look round for another p France both as the chief ch racy in continental Europe, which would be most lik league and to seize any occ Germany, he tried less th the Franco-Prussian War another quarrel with her, i would "bleed her white" recovery; and he never cea he had not reduced her to 1871. To isolate her bec purpose of his statecraft. this was to kindle hatred France. There being alre friction between those coun dynamic by an overt act. eted Tunis as an African colo shore of the Mediterranean. already possessed Algeria, over Tunis also, and Bisma neither he nor the English objections. So the French thereby aroused a storm them throughout Italy. T Bismarck nothing, but it fo which he desired between t tries. It also created in t

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When the war was imminent, in July in that year, the world speculated as to what Italy would do. She being a member of the Triple Alliance, it was assumed by those who form their opinions hastily, that she would take part on the side of her allies. The suspense we all felt was almost intolerable. Finally, late in the night of July 31st, Italy announced to France that she would not take part against the Allies, but would denounce the Triple Alliance and retire from it. The relief caused by this announcement was almost incalculable. Italy's action permitted the French to withdraw several army corps from the Italian frontier, and to transfer them to the North to meet the German shock. The moral significance was equally great: the Italians, having had, as partners of the Teutons, special means of knowing the origins of the war, declared that it was aggressive and not defensive, thus exposing for all time the pretexts and excuses of the German statesmen, and the lies of the German Kaiser.

WHAT THE TREATY SAID

The Germans cried out that the Italians had betrayed the pledge they had given in the Triple Alliance, but this charge was false, as the terms of that treaty made evident. In order that the reader may have no doubt of this, I quote Article III of the treaty, "If one or two of the High Contracting Parties should be attacked without direct provocation on their part, and be engaged in war with two or several Great Powers not signatory to this Treaty, the *casus foederis* shall apply simultaneously to all the High Contracting Powers." It was tacitly understood, however, that Italy should not be drawn into war with England, in case that country were at war with Germany or Austria. In 1914 the Germans were bent on discrediting Italy, so that the Allies would put no trust in her. The great joy that we experienced on knowing that Italy would not aid the Teutons, was soon followed by a puzzled surprise. We took it for granted that her break with them implied that she would fight against them. Nevertheless, week followed week during that awful month of August, when the Huns swept through France, but Italy made no sign of moving. In early September, Foch defeated the German hosts at the Marne, and then they made their first great drive for Calais, but still the Italians did not move. Then

rumors flew about—rumors which the Germans did their utmost to spread—that the Italians were soulless mercenaries, vilely waiting to see which of the combatants would pay them best for their support.

THE ITALIANS KEPT OUT, BUT ALSO PREPARED

The autumn passed by, winter came on, the Germans intrenched themselves from the Channel to Switzerland; the French and English urgently needed reinforcements on the western front; still the Italians remained impassive. Impassive, but not idle, for they devoted themselves to getting ready a large army, because the outbreak of the war had found them exhausted in munitions and supplies as well as in troops; their two years campaign in Tripoli and against the Turks having left them quite unprepared for a new and greater conflict. Now this was the reason, this unpreparedness, which caused Italy to remain neutral throughout the winter of 1914-15. She was not, as the Germans insinuated, putting her support at the service of the highest bidder, although Rome was infested by German intriguers and by the agents of the Allies, each of whom tried to win her over by the strongest inducements. Just as the Kaiser sent over here some of his glib corruptors, like Dernburg, so he sent a lot of them into Italy, and it was perhaps evidence that he then regarded it more important to win Italy over than the United States, that he despatched to Rome the oiliest, sleekest, and most resourceful of all his trained seducers, Prince Bülow.

To understand how promising the field was in which Bülow worked, we must remember that for twenty-five years German capital had been dominating northern Italy. Under its impulse, banks, factories, mills, steamship companies and a vigorous foreign trade had sprung up and prospered. Naturally, the Germans, who had the money, controlled these enterprises and put Germans in to manage them. German interests gradually became very powerful, and the native Italians found that deputies representing those interests were elected to parliament, and had much influence, direct or indirect, on legislation. So Prince Bülow could count on this support. He could count also on a certain section of the Italian nobility; either because it had never forgotten its allegiance to its former petty rulers before the days of United Italy, or because the aristocratic class was more o
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Germany, she would deny her guiding principles, and become herself the tool of Despotism. No doubt also they urged her to understand that in the long run her material prosperity was likely to be bound up in friendship with the western powers and not with the Teutons. They, too, promised her that at the close of the war she should have back Unredeemed Italy, and they were willing to give her immediately a subsidy—not very large—toward paying the cost of putting her army into the field.

Two things prevented her from being lured by Prince Bülow: first, the loyalty of King Victor Emmanuel to the tradition of liberty, and, next, the rising tide of anti-German public opinion among the masses and the intellectual leaders of the country. At last, on May 24th, 1915, her military preparations having been completed, Italy, amid a burst of popular enthusiasm, declared war on Austria.

Why on Austria alone? Because she regarded Austria as the actual provoker of the war. The ultimate criminal was unquestionably Germany, which had been waiting for many years for a pretext for war. Recently, Germany had instigated Austria to force the issue with Serbia, and at the last moment, when Austria seemed on the point of coming to a peaceful understanding with Russia, the German Emperor had sent to France and to Russia his ultimatums which made peace impossible. Italy had also other reasons for aiming at Austria rather than Germany, or at both; Austria was her immediate neighbor; Austria held the territory of Unredeemed Italy which was to be delivered from bondage; Austria, as Italy's hereditary enemy and oppressor, kindled the instinctive animosity of the Italians.

II

Once at war, Italy prosecuted it with all her resources. In the course of a year she had a million men under arms at or near the front. She drilled two million more, but she had not enough arms or munitions or uniforms to equip them. She had to fight over the most difficult terrain in Europe—in the valleys and on the ridges of the Alps which formed the frontier between her and Austria. When that frontier was drawn by Austria, in 1866, it left all the approaches to Italy through the Alpine passes open to Austrian invasion, and this of course made it doubly difficult for the Italians to advance into the enemy's country.

I do not intend to describe the campaign in detail. Suffice it to say that the Italians succeeded in taking and holding a strip of the mountainous territory, and that on the east they occupied all of the Venetian Plain as far as the Carnic Alps. Their feats of engineering by which they constructed roads over the mountains, and made tunnels through them; the fortitude with which month after month they clung to crags and peaks and intrenchments amid the snow in perilous positions, sometimes 10,000 feet high; the ingenuity with which they transported heavy guns and all their supplies on wire cables slung from crag to crag far above the valleys; the stern pluck with which they endured unremittent cold and Alpine blizzards and slowly diminishing rations, are among the marvels of even this war.

ITALY'S ISOLATION BREEDS TROUBLE

We see now that the cause which, in a measure, checked all these efforts was that fatal lack of a single military command over all of the Allied armies in the West—a defect which was remedied only in March, 1918, after the first colossal German drive in Picardy had startled the British and French. Then they appointed General Foch and secured a unification of military direction which will, let us hope, bring a speedy victory. But in 1915, 1916, and 1917, the armies fought without proper coördination. If this handicapped the British and French, campaigning side by side in France, still more did it harm the Italians, isolated from the Allies on the west both by the whole stretch of Switzerland and by the feeling that they had no direct contact with them. In time it came to seem as if Italy were fighting a war of her own, which only remotely concerned the Great Cause. The despatches gave brief reports of her exploits among the Alps and along the Isonzo, but few persons stopped to consider what these exploits meant.

To the lack of unison inherent in the general Allied plan, was added the suspicion that the French and English did not sympathize with some of Italy's objects. It was whispered that in coming into the war the Italians had stipulated that, at its close, if the Entente won, they should receive certain territory along the shore of the eastern Adriatic. These expectations did not please the French and English, who had plans of their own for Dalmatia, and

yielding prosecution of the war to the acceptance of peace—peace on any terms, regardless of consequences.

The gradual diminishing of rations caused a slackening of determination and morale. A soldier requires a modicum of food in order to maintain his resolve at the highest pitch; slow starvation saps valor. You can judge how near the Italian soldiers were to starvation when you know that for awhile before Caporetto some of the troops were reduced to seven dried chestnuts apiece for their morning ration. More even than for themselves they worried over the destitution of their wives and children from whom they had infrequent or no news. The rumor that several officers proved traitors at the moment of the Hun's camouflaged attack has not yet been fully verified. But there is reason to believe in its truth because a dozen or more of the suspected traitors were shot.

IV

Note that Italy was now waging war against both Germany and Austria. She broke with Germany in 1916. Many outsiders, Americans among others, wondered why she delayed so long, but the reason was obvious and sufficient. As I hinted above, thirty years of "peaceful penetration" had left northern Italy in the hands of Germany. She owned the capital, she managed the industries and commerce. Italy had to wait until she could train men of her own to replace the German experts who directed the mills and factories and other works. When she was sure that this necessary business would go on under her own superintendence, she declared war on Germany also. She had provocation enough, for since 1915 German officers and even German troops had fought in the Austrian armies against her; the airplanes which began to harass her beautiful cities were German; and German were the submarines which glided out of Pola and other ports, and destroyed her shipping.

We ought not to forget that it took courage on the part of Italy to throw down the gauntlet to Germany, because the fate of Belgium and of Poland warned her that if the German armies entered her territory they would shrink from no atrocity and no bestiality. If the Huns won the war, Austria would undoubtedly make the Italians pay dearly; but the Germans would, according to their nature, vent their hatred in ways more outrageous than the Austrian. Looking far ahead also, Italy foresaw that so much of her trade as depended on German connections would be greatly affected if the quarrel were between her and Germany instead of merely between her and Austria. Nevertheless, when the time was ripe she dared to confront Germany.

Only when Cadorna's army was rolled back to the Piave, did France, England, and the United States realize the situation. When the possibility that Italy might go to pieces, stared them in the face, they at last understood how really important, not to say essential, her help had been. They rushed two armies to check her retreat and to give her aid in reforming her shattered corps and in stiffening them for further resistance. Then we saw the havoc which lack of coördination had wrought, and we accepted the assertion that the Italian front should not be regarded as an isolated and detached line but as an integral part of the entire western front, of which it was in fact the right wing.

ITALY EXPECTED MUCH FROM US

As we perceived the causes of the mistakes and blunders, we could measure also the determination, resourcefulness, and tenacity of the Italian army during its two years and a half of fighting. The difficulties at home against internal conspirators and pro-German propagandists were revealed, and we were filled with admiration as we beheld, in the retrospect, Italy's plucky and proud resistance in the face of her waning resources. For example, when her coal supply, which she drew from England, was nearly exhausted, she extended the system of electrification, by which her industries in the north were run from power generated by Alpine rivers, as far south as she could. And her hungry people let no murmur of complaint and no whimper of their poignant suffering be heard by the world outside. When the United States entered the war in April, 1917, the Italians received the news with a frenzy of joy. They felt that American coöperation was both a guarantee of final victory and of immediate relief from acute distress. We had everything—men, money, munitions, fuel, and above all, food. But the spring passed and nothing more than usual reached Italy. Spring turned to midsummer and midsummer to autumn, and still no American succor. Cadorna's army,

burrowing, and crawling forward up in the northeast and seeing its food supply dwindle to the ration of those seven dried chestnuts, began to wonder whether the talk about help from America was all an illusion, a cruel falsehood. They began to fear that Italy was abandoned by her allies and by the world. They had done their utmost; they knew that they could not hold out much longer, and they saw no prospect of being rescued. This dark doubt also, sank into their hearts and depressed their morale.

The eyes of our Government being opened, it sent, and has continued to send to Italy, so far as the scanty means of transportation permitted, the supplies of first importance. But no American of fine instincts can fail to acknowledge with regret and humiliation the part which our official neglect played in causing the Italian *débâcle* last autumn. It took that to rouse our officials to comprehend the imperative need of saving Italy, just as it took the German drive at Amiens last March to rouse them to the desperate need of sending our troops to France in all haste and to speed up every preparation, unless we would allow the war to be lost through our delays.

IF AUSTRIA HAD COLLAPSED

We deplore now not only the actual *débâcle*, with all that it involved, but the victory which might have been won, if the other Allies had given the Italians sufficient support. For it now seems indisputable that they were right in urging that the most feasible way to end the war in 1917 was by crushing Austria. At Caporetto, the farthest point of their advance, the Italians were only a few miles from Laibach, and if they had succeeded in reaching that place they could have driven so deep a wedge into the heart of Austria that she would have collapsed. She was very near collapse: how near, is proved by the fact that the Germans took care to transfer their forces from the Russian front to the Austrian. Had Austria crumbled before the Germans came to her rescue, it is difficult to see how the Germans could have gone on fighting alone. The collapse of Austria would have smashed the Middle-Europe dream and have cut off the Bulgarians and the Turks from their German overlord. The loss of this vital possibility must be charged to the lack of a central control and of close coöperation among the Allies.

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FUTURE WILL PRA

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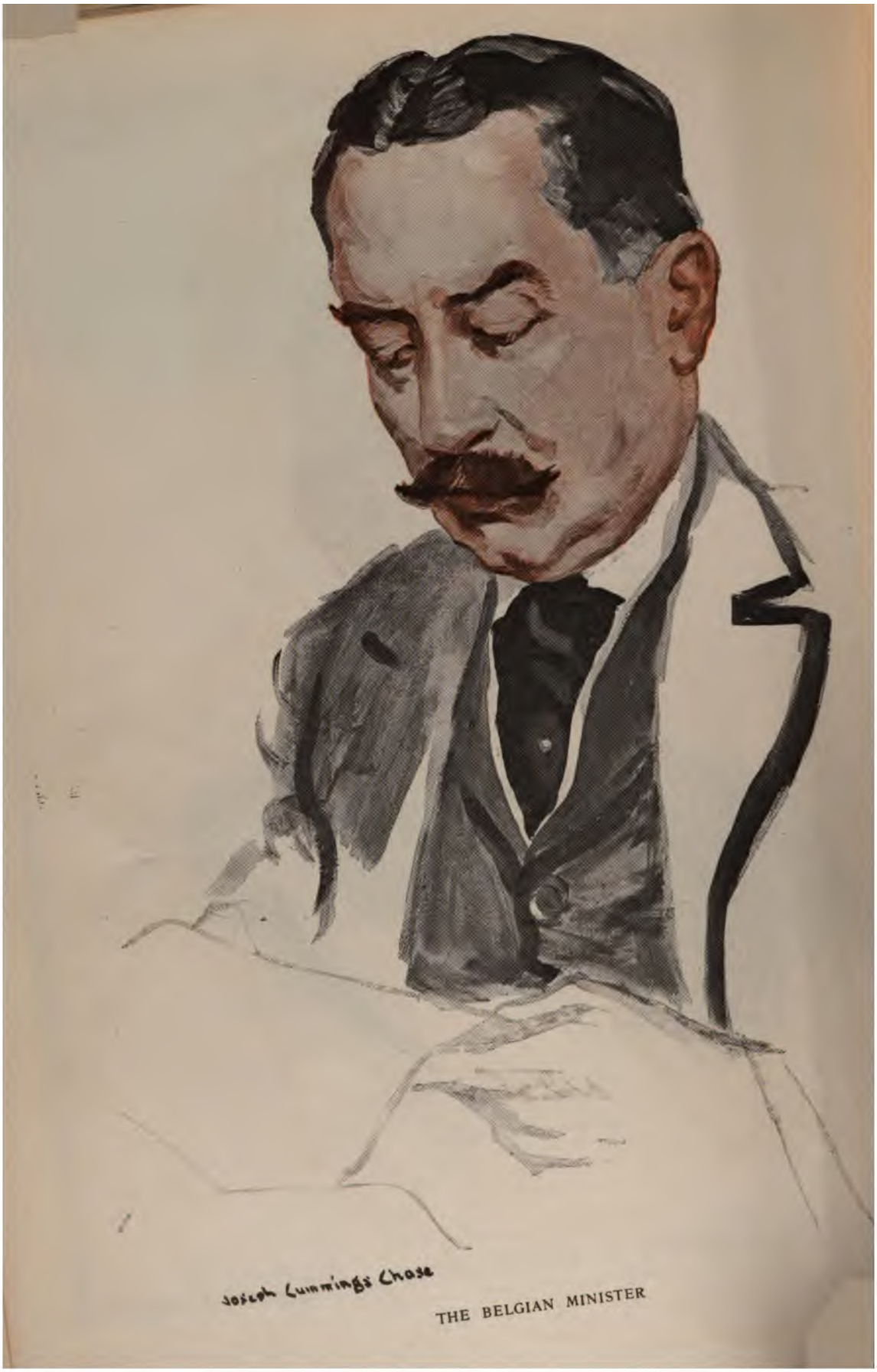

THE BELGIAN MINISTER

THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR

Joseph Cummings Chase

THE BELGIAN MINISTER

THE STORY OF THE "CORNV

II. THE BATTLE OF THE FALKLAN

The Sinking of the German Squadron off Port Stanley—Von Spee's S
—His Mistakes—The Race to Battle and the Running Fight—
Plucky Finish—The Battered *Cornwall* Limps to P

BY

LEWIS R. FREEMAN

(Lieutenant Royal Naval Volunteer Reserves)

THE captain had come on the quarter-deck for a breath of fresh air at the end of a gray winter day, and it was the memories called up by the appearance of the low, rounded, treeless hills which ringed the northern base that set him to talking of the Falklands.

"They're very much like these," he said, "those wind-swept hills around Port Stanley. Their people, too, are a good deal like the northern Scots and Orcadians, with a dry sense of humor that usually manifests itself at your first meeting with them, when they tell you that the Falklands have two seasons, the cold and the snowy. The latter, they tell you—because the snow stops up the chinks and keeps out the wind—is rather the warmer of the two. They are a sturdy, resolute lot, too, and we found that, quite expecting the coming of the German fleet and with no sure knowledge that British naval help would arrive in time, they had made all preparations to fight the enemy to the limit of their very primitive resources.

"And a jolly good fight they would have put up, too. The old *Canopus* (the battleship which did not come up in time to help Cradock at Coronel) had been grounded in the inner harbor and turned into a land fort. Her heavy turret guns had been left aboard her, while those of her secondary batteries had been mounted at the most favorable positions on the hills. The standing army—of something like thirty-five, I believe—had been recruited up to several times that number, and all over the island firearms, ancient and modern, had been taken down and made ready for use. Von Spee's sailors and marines would have had many a ridge-to-ridge skirmish on their hands before they completed the conquest of the Falklands.

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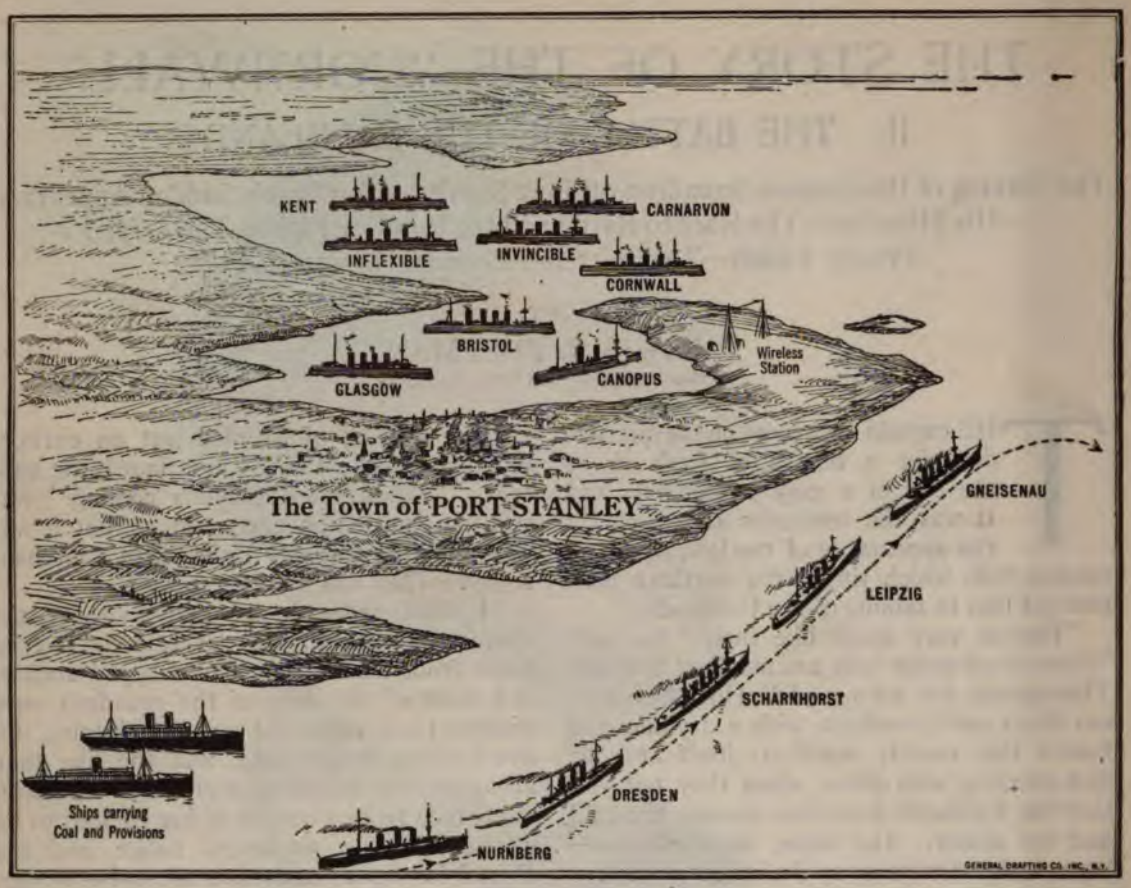


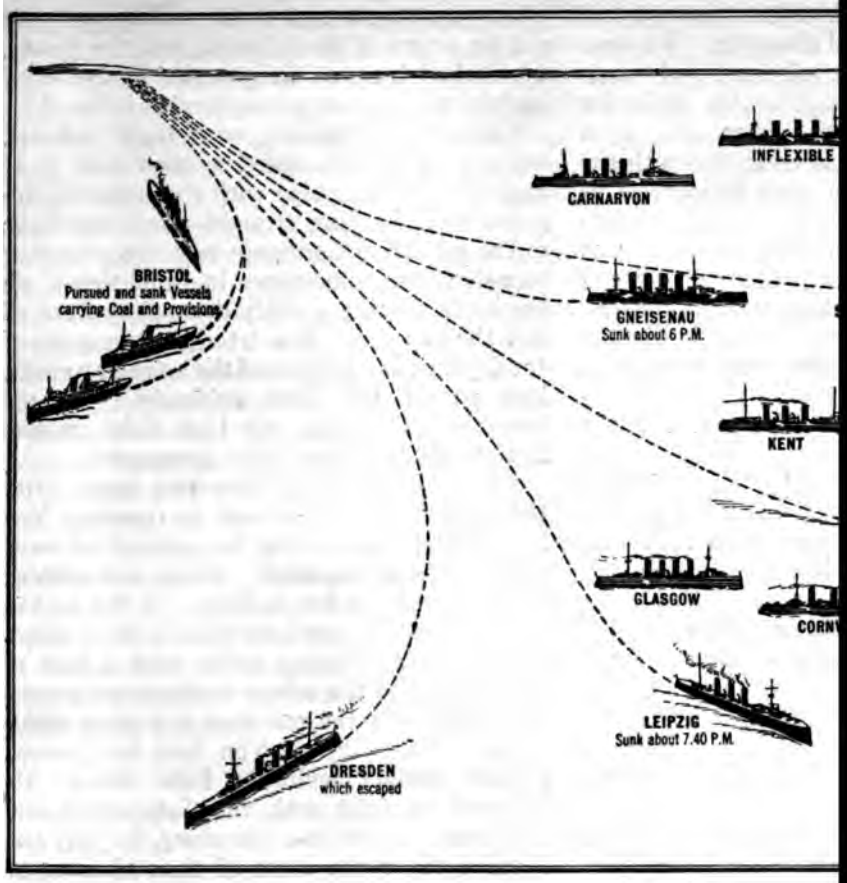
THE BATTLE OF THE

The German squadron under Admiral von Spee, after sinking Admiral Cradock's British squadron off Coronel, Chile, amazed to find the English reinforced by two heavy cruisers which had just arrived under command of Admiral Sturdee. he must fight. The German then ordered his ships to scatter, hoping that by engaging the British with his two armored

upon my memory, for it was the *Leipzig*, coming up with the *Gneisenau* to destroy the Port Stanley wireless station. From the foretop of the *Canopus* they were able to see the Huns clearing for action, and the *Glasgow* and the *Bristol*, both of which were in the inner harbor, also had a clear view across the depressed neck of the peninsula. The other ships of the squadron saw no more than topmasts until they had raised steam and reached the open sea.

"Just how the Huns came to make the disconcerting discovery that there were modern battle cruisers concealed by the higher seaward end of the peninsula I learned from an officer who was saved from the sinking *Gneisenau* and who told me the story in guttural, broken English. They had expected to find the *Canopus* at Port Stanley, he said, and perhaps the *Cornwall* and *Carnarvon* and other light cruisers; but anything of the class of the *Invincible* and *Inflexible*—'*mein Gott, nein!*'

"If Von Spee ever had any time for regret before the sea closed over him," the captain resumed, "he must have reproached himself bitterly for not pushing on in force and attacking us in the harbor before we had steam up. If his whole squadron had come up as the *Gneisenau* and *Leipzig* did, it could undoubtedly have given us a very unpleasant hour or two while we were raising steam. We should have polished them off in the end, of course, but they would have done us a deal more harm than by the tactics they did follow. Again, there is a chance that, if the two armored cruisers had pressed the attack alone, as they eventually were forced to do, they might have inflicted enough damage to our light cruisers to have made the escape of all three (instead of only one) of theirs a possibility.



FALKLAND ISLANDS

rounded Cape Horn, and, heading northeast, reached the Falkland Islands early Decembe
Von Spee steamed away with all possible speed, but about noon realized that Sturdee was
cruisers he could make possible the escape of his light cruisers to South American ports.

"The battle of the Falklands was really won in the harbor of Port Stanley. It was all a question of how soon we could get out. If we could reach the enemy in anything like full force there was little doubt of the result. A delay of an hour or two, however, might have easily resulted in their scattering so effectually that the running down of the last of them would have been a matter of months, and months, too, marked with great losses of—and greater delays to—the merchant shipping of two hemispheres. Nothing short of the truly splendid efforts of the engine-room and stokehold personnel of Sturdee's ships would have given our gunners the chance to win the battle of the Falklands.

"Of the *Cornwall's* achievement in this respect I am especially proud. With one of the engines partially dismantled, we would have been doing all that was expected of us if we had been under
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other things, a large cask of beer and a lot of salt pork had just moored alongside. We were really in great need of the salt pork, and—well, there seemed to be a considerable desire for the beer also. However, when the devil drives, or a reckoning is to be settled with the Hun, one can't wait for such incidentals as food and drink. Knowing that we had enough aboard to keep going on until the game was played out, I ordered the lighter cast off and turned my attention to more pertinent matters. I recalled later that I heard the winch grinding once or twice after I gave the order, but, seeing the lighter floating away with the tide presently, thought no more about it for the moment.

"Carried hither and yon by the conflicting harbor currents, the lighter was half a cable's length or so off our port bow when the battle cruisers, spouting smoke like young volcanoes, came charging out to take up the chase of the Hun, and, by a strange chance, it was lounging indolently squarely athwart the course of the flagship. The sharp bows of the *Invincible* cut it through like a knife, and her propellers, with those of the *Inflexible*, quickly reduced boat and cargo to bobbing bits dancing in their bubbling wake.

"It really hurt me to see that good food and drink snatched almost out of our mouths, as it were, but I tried to put on a brave front and turn the matter off as a joke. 'Beer and pork sausage,' I remarked to one of my officers who had just come up to the bridge to report; 'the battle cruisers seem to have a good appetite for Hun diet this morning. I hope they'll have as good luck gulping down the Huns themselves.'

"'It's only sausage they put their teeth in I'm glad to say, sir,' he replied with a grin. 'The men managed to hoist the beer aboard somehow before casting off the lighter, and as I came along just now I heard some one ordering that the cask be put down in a "syfe plyce wher' hit won't be 'oled if th' 'Un 'its us."'

VON SPEE SEES HE MUST FIGHT

"The *Kent*, which was at five minutes' notice, was the first ship to get under way, probably with orders to keep the enemy in sight, but not, of course, to try to engage him. The *Glasgow* was the next out, and then the *Carnarvon*. The *Cornwall* was ready to follow close on the heels of the latter, but, as I have told you, had to wait for the battle cruisers, which were now under way. We went out not far astern of the *Inflexible*, and the *Bristol*, which had been on long notice in the inner harbor, was last, at a considerable interval.

"The battle cruisers, with their turbines, worked up to full speed a good deal more rapidly than the ships with reciprocating engines, and, heading straight down the wake of the retreating Germans—now showing their fore-shortened silhouettes in 'line ahead' on the horizon—they quickly drew away from all but the *Glasgow*. The latter, not long out of the drydock and swiftest of the lot in any event, had passed the *Kent* evidently with the intention of keeping the Hun light cruisers in sight and reporting their movements.

"It took something like two hours after the British ships were out to convince Von Spee that all his efforts to outspeed us were going to be of no avail. There was nothing left for him to do but to fight. In this he had two alternatives—to fight with all of his ships, or to fight a delaying action with a part of them and give the others a chance to escape. His choice was the one that any other sailor as gallant and able as Von Spee had proved himself would inevitably have taken. He plumped to fight with the *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*, and let the *Nurnburg*, *Leipzig*, and *Dresden* make the most of their chances of scattering to safety. His signal, as we learned it later from prisoners, was substantially this: 'Light cruisers will make every endeavor to escape to South American ports. Armored cruisers will engage enemy and endeavor to delay.'

"COME ON 'KENT'"

"It was just about noon that I saw the tower-like, smoke-crowned silhouettes of the German ships gradually begin to lengthen and I realized at once what Von Spee's decision had been. The armored cruisers were going to try to draw the pursuit while the light cruisers sought safety by 'starring' on divergent courses.

"The battle cruisers altered course instantly to continue the chase of the enemy armored cruisers, but the admiral, doubtless realizing that, scattered as we were, each of us already conversant with his general instructions, would be his own best judge as to where he could be most useful, left us to pick our own quarries. I made up my mind at once to go after the light cruisers, and, signalling 'Come on, *Kent*'

(the captain of the *Kent* was my junior, and therefore subject to my orders in a case of this kind) headed off in the direction of what was still little more than three dark blurs on the horizon. The *Glasgow* which was a long way ahead to port, also in view of instructions, decided, in favor of going after the light cruisers, and, altering course sharply, passed astern of the battle cruisers and converged with the *Kent* and *Cornwall* in the chase. The *Carnarvon*, which for some reason was not steaming her best, and had been left a good distance astern, held on after the battlecruisers. The *Bristol*, which had been delayed in getting out of harbor, had been ordered to look after some steamers which had been following Von Spee, and which we believed to carry coal and provisions. We afterward learned that one of them had a cargo of potatoes, and as potatoes chanced to be another of the many things which the *Cornwall* was short of at this time, I have always harbored the same kind of grudge against the *Bristol* for sinking these as I have against the *Invincible* for putting down my salt pork.

THE "CORNWALL" OPENS FIRE

"As soon as it became evident what courses the Hun ships were steering, I signalled to the *Kent* to go after the port ship, which turned out to be the *Nurnburg*, while I gave my attention to the middle one of the three, the *Leipzig*. This would have left the *Glasgow* free to pursue and engage the third ship, the *Dresden*, which her twenty-six knots of speed should have enabled to do handily. This plan, if it could have been carried out, would have made a clean sweep of Von Spee's squadron then and there, instead of giving the *Dresden* a new lease on life, and some weeks more of uncertainty for merchant vessels of both the South Atlantic and Pacific. Where it slipped up was through the fact that the *Glasgow* could not avoid engaging the *Leipzig* while endeavoring to get within range of the *Dresden*, and, once having taken on the latter, she was, bulldog-like, reluctant to draw off until her opponent was finished. As there was no other ship fast enough to catch up with the *Dresden*, her escape was inevitable.

"It was a little after four in the afternoon—almost to a minute the time I had reckoned it would be—that the fine burst of speed the *Cornwall* had been putting on brought the *Leipzig* well within range, and I gave the order to open fire. Previous to this the latter had been engaging in a very lively little running fight with the *Glasgow*, neither appearing to be inflicting serious damage to the other. The Hun's four-point-ones were about balanced by the *Glasgow's* equal number of four-inch, but the latter's two six-inch gave her a comfortable margin that would have decided the issue in her favor in the end. The German gunners, always at their best at the beginning of an action, were making good practice, however, and the *Glasgow* would have known she had had a fight on her hands before it was over.

"At the intervention of the *Cornwall*, with her fourteen six-inch guns, the *Leipzig*—very pluckily and properly—turned her attention to the heavier armed, and therefore the more dangerous, of her two adversaries. We began hitting her at our third salvo, and it must have been about the same time that a shell from one of her well-served four-point-ones came crashing into the *Cornwall*. I must say it was good work for such comparatively small guns. The extremely high angle they had to be fired at, though, reduced their chances of hitting, and I recall especially one beautifully bunched salvo which struck the water so close to the far side of the ship that it might almost have been dropped from an airship.

VACCINATING THE HUNS

"One of the gunners told me an amusing incident in connection with that first hit. A boy, engaged in passing six-inch shells, was inclined to be rather nervous at the outset, and was coming in for a good deal of chaffing from his more callous mates. When the bang and jar of that first explosion ran through the ship a shell had just been handed him to shove along, but, quivering all over, he stood rooted in his tracks and demanded to know what the noise was. A guffaw of laughter ran round, at the end of which an old gunner replied, 'That, me son, is our fust vaxinashun mark.' Gradually a grin of comprehension and reassurance replaced the look of terror on the lad's face as he realized that it isn't necessarily so serious a thing after all to have a shell burst above your head. 'Right-o,' he cried, passing the shell smartly on; ''and this prodge on to the 'Un an' prevent a small-pox epydemick breakin' out 'board '*is* ship.' The joke had passed all the way round the ship before the fight was over, and there was red hot rivalry

to the end to keep the Hun's small-pox rate down by 'vaxinashun.' When you think of it, there's nothing funny about the joke at all; but there's nothing equal to the roughest of chaff to keep men's spirits up and their nerves steady in a fight, and it's because these lads of ours take fighting in the same happy-go-lucky spirit that they take their sport that they're such incomparable stayers—that they're always going stronger at the finish than when they started, no matter what the course.

THE "LEIPZIG" FIGHTS WELL

"Everything considered, the *Leipzig* made as gallant a fight as it is possible to conceive. Under the fire of two ships, either of which was faster and more heavily gunned than herself, knowing all the time that her sister ships—almost as completely outclassed as herself—could never be counted upon to come to her aid, and, finally, desperately short of ammunition, the way in which she carried on to the end was worthy of the traditions of any navy. Indeed, it has often occurred to me that Von Spee and his officers—from their long service on the China Station—had kept themselves entirely free of the contaminating influences of Potsdam which have made the names of the High Seas Fleet and the U-boats words anathema. British naval officers who had met those of the *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* in the Orient still speak of them with kindness, and even occasionally with affection, and certainly no one could have faced defeat and death with a finer or more resolute spirit than they did at the Falklands. Perhaps, for the sake of their souls, it was fortunate that they never got nearer home than the South Atlantic.

"As I have told you, it was about our third salvo which made our first hit upon the *Leipzig*—a shell of this carrying away her topmast. The latter, in falling, appears to have killed the gunnery lieutenant, which must inevitably have made at least a temporary interference with the control. The torpedo lieutenant, whom we picked up among the survivors, took over the direction of the firing from the foretop from that time on.

"There was no appreciable falling off in the *Leipzig's* firing until the fight had been in progress about two hours. Then the hammering from our shells began to tell rapidly, and at about six-thirty—when I noted that both her mainmast and after funnel had been carried away and that she was blazing with heavy fires in several places—the firing became spasmodic, and finally, with the exception of a single gun, ceased altogether. At this juncture as I learned subsequently, there were but eighteen unwounded men left on the ship, and it was a 'scratch' crew of these, who, bringing up odd shells from wherever they could find them, continued the fight as long as they had anything to fire. Then they lit their pipes, sat down on the deck, and waited for the end.

THE GERMAN'S LAST SHOT

"At seven-fifteen, seeing her engines had failed her and that she was lying an apparently helpless hulk in the trough of the now rising sea, I gave the order to cease firing. Scarcely had I done so, however, when there came another flash from that one unsilenced gun, and its well-placed shell pierced the paint-room in the *Cornwall's* forepeak. The ensuing clouds of smoke were so dense that I gave orders for the fire to be extinguished with all dispatch. Luckily, the fumes proved to have come almost entirely from the shell itself. It was only afterward, of course, that I learned in what really desperate straits the *Leipzig* was at this moment. At the time, as she still appeared desirous of carrying on the fight, I had no choice but to commence firing again. This last salvo or two was quite thrown away, however, that is, so far as settling the fate of the enemy was concerned. Indeed, the injury done to her in the first two hours of the fighting would ultimately have sent her to the bottom, while the fact that her shells—except for the odd ones chivvied together for the one gun—must have been at an end about the same time would have left her quite incapable of doing us much harm save with a torpedo. As I have said, however, I did not know these things then, and so could only continue trying to inflict the heaviest damage possible as long as she kept firing.

"That shot through my paint-lockers was the last fired by the *Leipzig*, and I have good reason to believe that the shell was literally the last four-point-one left on the ship. Two or three of Von Spee's ships had wasted a good bit of their quite irreplaceable munitions in what must have been an almost useless bombardment of Papeete, in the Frenc
cieties while on their way across the Pa
Coronel made still further inroad

magazines. I do not know whether any other ship, like the *Leipzig*, exhausted all of its heavy shells before being sunk, but all of them must have been very low in any case.

SIXTEEN RESCUED FROM THE ICY WATER

"As soon as it became evident that the *Leipzig* was incapable of further resistance, the *Glasgow* (as the senior ship) signaled 'Do you surrender?' but to this there was no reply. Whether this failure to respond was fortuitous or deliberately intentional I was never able to learn definitely, but, from the fact that her flag was kept flying to the last, I am inclined to the belief that it was the latter. It is still possible, however, that she had no halyards, flags, lights, or anything else to signal with, even had she so desired. She did send up a Very's light at this juncture, but whether that was intended to convey some message to us, in lieu of any other means of doing so, or whether it was a sort of gesture of farewell to any of her sisters that might still be afloat, we never knew. If the latter, it failed of its purpose, for the *Dresden*, the only one of Von Spee's ships still above water, had melted into the mists of the horizon hours before.

"On the chance that the rocket was meant as a distress signal, we steamed in as close as seemed wise considering the fact that even a sinking ship may launch a torpedo most effectively, and lowered away our boats with all dispatch. The fact that, with a seven per cent. list to port due to being holed twice below the water-line on that side, it was difficult to lower the boats to starboard, as well as the fact that several of our port boats had been smashed by shell-fire, hampered the work of relief, and the *Leipzig* went down while the nearest whaler was still some distance away. Any of the wounded that may have got clear of the sinking ship succumbed quickly to the icy coldness of the water, but of the eighteen unwounded men remaining after the action closed, sixteen were picked up—eleven by the boats of the *Glasgow*, and five by those of the *Cornwall*.

"One burly Hun, picked up by my cockswain whom I had sent in charge of my galley, gave the lad the surprise of his life when he exclaimed, in impeccable cockney English, the instant he was safe aboard: 'G'blyme, myte, but ein't hit bally cold?' I found out later that he had been for a number of years an interpreter in the law courts of Sydney, Australia. An extremely
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Djemal, the Expectant "Conqueror of Egypt"—Von Kühlmann in Constantinople in 1914—Germany Asks Washington to Intercede for Peace—Preparation of the Ambassadors and the Turkish Government to Flee to Asia Minor, Regarding the Fate of Constantinople as Assured

BY

HENRY MORGENTHAU

(Formerly American Ambassador to Turkey)

FOURTH ARTICLE

IN EARLY November, 1914, the railroad station at Haidar Pasha was the scene of a great demonstration. Djemal, the Minister of Marine, one of the three men who were then most powerful in the Turkish Empire, was leaving to take command of the fourth Turkish army, which had its headquarters in Syria. All the members of the Cabinet and other influential people in Constantinople assembled to give this departing satrap an enthusiastic farewell. They hailed him as the "Savior of Egypt," and Djemal himself, just before his train started, made this public declaration:

"I shall not return to Constantinople until I have conquered Egypt!"

The whole performance seemed to me to be somewhat bombastic. Inevitably I called to mind the third member of another bloody triumvirate who, nearly two thousand years before, had left his native land to become the supreme dictator of the East. And Djemal had many characteristics in common with Mark Antony. Like his Roman predecessor, his private life was profligate; like Antony, he was an insatiate gambler, spending much of his leisure over the card table at the Cercle d'Orient. Another trait which he had in common with the great Roman orator was his enormous vanity. The Turkish world seemed to be disintegrating in Djemal's time, just as the Roman Republic was dissolving in the days of Antony; Djemal believed that he might himself become the heir of one or more of its provinces and possibly establish a dynasty. He expected that the military expedition on which he was now starting would not only make him the conqueror of Turkey's fairest province, but make him one of the powerful figures of the world. Afterward, in Syria, he ruled as

independently as a medieval robber baron—whom in other details he resembled; he became a kind of subsultan, holding his own court, having his own selamlik, issuing his orders, dispensing freely his own kind of justice, and often disregarding the authorities at Constantinople.

DJEMAL A TROUBLESOME MARK ANTONY

The applause with which Djemal's associates were speeding his departure was not entirely disinterested. The fact was that most of them were exceedingly glad to see him go. He had been a thorn in the side of Talaat and Enver for some time, and they were perfectly content that he should exercise his imperious and stubborn nature against the Syrians, Armenians, and other non-Moslem elements in the Mediterranean provinces. Djemal was not a popular man in Constantinople. The other members of the triumvirate, in addition to their less desirable qualities, had certain attractive traits—Talaat his rough virility and spontaneous good nature, Enver his courage and personal graciousness—but there was little about Djemal that was pleasing. An American physician who had specialized in the study of physiognomy had found Djemal a fascinating subject. He told me that he had never seen a face that so combined ferocity with great power and penetration. Enver, as his history showed, could be cruel and bloodthirsty, but he hid his more insidious qualities under a face that was bland, unruffled, and even agreeable. Djemal, however, did not disguise his tendencies, for his face clearly pictured the inner soul. His eyes were black and piercing; their sharpness, the rapidity and keenness with which they darted from one object to another, taking in apparently everything with a few lightning-like glances, signalized cunning, remorselessness, and selfishness to an extreme degree. Even his laugh, which disclosed all his white teeth, was unpleasant and animal-like. His black hair and black beard, contrasting with his pale face, only heightened this impression. At first Djemal's figure seemed somewhat insignificant—he was undersized, almost stumpy, and somewhat stoop-shouldered; as soon as he began to move, however, it was evident that his body was full of energy. Whenever he shook your hand, gripping you with a vise-like grasp and looking at you with those roving, penetrating eyes, the man's personal force became impressive.

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more pained the national pride than the English occupation of Egypt. All during this occupation, Turkish suzerainty had been recognized; as soon as Turkey declared war on Great Britain, however, the British had ended this fiction and had formally taken over this great province. Djemal's expedition was Turkey's reply to this act of England. The real purpose of the war, the Turkish people had been told, was to restore the vanishing empire of the Osmans and to this great undertaking the recovery of Egypt was merely the first step. The Turks also knew that, under English administration, Egypt had become a prosperous country and that it would, therefore, yield great treasure to the conqueror. It is no wonder that the huzzahs of the Turkish people followed the departing Djemal.

About the same time Enver left to take command of Turkey's other great military enterprise—the attack on Russia through the Caucasus. Here also were Turkish provinces waiting to be "redeemed." After the war of 1878, Turkey had been compelled to cede to Russia certain rich territories between the Caspian and the Black Sea, inhabited chiefly by Armenians, and it was this country which Enver now proposed to reconquer. But Enver had no ovation on his leaving. He went away quietly and unobserved. With the departure of these two men the war was now fairly on.

II

Despite these martial enterprises, other than warlike preparations were now under way in Constantinople. At that time—in the latter part of 1914—its external characteristics suggested nothing but war, yet now it suddenly became the great headquarters of peace. The English fleet was constantly threatening the Dardanelles and every day Turkish troops were passing through the streets. Yet these activities did not chiefly engage the attention of the German Embassy. Wangenheim was thinking of one thing and one thing only; this fire-eating German suddenly became a man of peace. For he now learned that the greatest service which a German ambassador could render his emperor would be to end the war on terms that would save Germany from ruin; to obtain a settlement that would reintroduce his fatherland to the society of nations.

In November Wangenheim began discussing this subject. It was part of Germany's system, he told me, not only to be completely prepared for war but also for peace. "A wise general who enters battle always has at hand his plans for a retreat, in case he is defeated," said the German Ambassador. "This principle applies just the same to a nation beginning war. There is only one certainty about war—and that is that it must end some time. So, when we plan our campaign for war, we must consider also a campaign for peace."

But Wangenheim was interested then in something more tangible than this philosophic principle. Germany had immediate reasons for desiring the end of hostilities, and Wangenheim discussed them frankly and cynically. He said that Germany had prepared for only a short war because she had expected to crush France and Russia in two brief campaigns, lasting in all perhaps six months. Clearly this plan had failed and there was little likelihood that Germany would win the war; Wangenheim told me this in so many words. Germany, he added, would make a great mistake if she persisted in fighting the war to exhaustion, for such a fight would mean the permanent loss of her colonies, her mercantile marine, and her whole economic and commercial status. "If we don't get Paris in thirty days, we are beaten," Wangenheim had told me in August, and though his attitude changed somewhat after the battle of the Marne, he made no attempt to conceal the fact that the great rush campaign had collapsed, that all the Germans could now look forward to was a tedious exhausting war, and that all which they could obtain from the existing situation would be a drawn battle. "We have made a mistake this time," Wangenheim said, "in not laying in supplies for a protracted struggle; it was an error, however, that we shall not repeat; next time we shall store up enough copper and cotton to last for five years."

GERMANY FEARS TURKEY IN EGYPT

Wangenheim had another reason for wishing an immediate peace, and it was a reason which shed much light upon the shamelessness of German diplomacy. The preparation which Turkey was making for the conquest of Egypt caused this German ambassador much annoyance and anxiety. The interest and energy which the Turks had manifested in this enterprise were particularly causing him concern. Naturally I thought at first that Wangenheim

was worried that Turkey would lose; yet he confided to me that his real fear was that his ally would succeed. A victorious Turkish campaign in Egypt, Wangenheim explained, might seriously interfere with Germany's plans. Should Turkey conquer Egypt, naturally Turkey would insist at the peace table on retaining this great province and would expect Germany to support her in this claim. But Germany had no intention then of promoting the reëstablishment of the Turkish Empire. At that time she hoped to reach an understanding with England, the basis of which was to be something in the nature of a division of interests in the East. Germany desired above all to obtain Mesopotamia as an indispensable part of her Hamburg-Bagdad scheme. In return for this, she was prepared to give her endorsement to England's annexation of Egypt. Thus it was Germany's plan at that time that she and England should divide Turkey's two fairest dominions. This was one of the proposals which Germany intended to bring forth in the peace conference which Wangenheim was now scheming for and clearly Turkey's conquest of Egypt would have presented complications in the way of carrying out this plan. On the morality of Germany's attitude to her ally, Turkey, it is hardly necessary to comment. The whole thing was all of a piece with Germany's policy of "realism" in foreign relations.

VON KÜHLMANN ARRIVES ON THE SCENE

Nearly all German classes, in the latter part of 1914 and the early part of 1915, were anxiously looking for peace and they turned to Constantinople as the most promising spot where peace negotiations might most favorably be started. The Germans took it for granted that President Wilson would be the peacemaker; indeed, they never for a moment thought of any one else in this capacity. The only point that remained for consideration was the best way to approach the President. Such negotiations would most likely be conducted through one of the American Ambassadors in Europe. Obviously Germany had no means of access to the American ambassadors in the great enemy capitals, and other circumstances made it inevitable that she should turn to the American Ambassador in Turkey.

At this time a German diplomat appeared in Constantinople who has figured much in recent history—Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, at

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ered that Kühlmann had been called to Berlin to receive all the latest details on this subject, and that he had come back with the definite instructions that Wangenheim should move at once. In all my talks with the German Ambassador on peace Kühlmann was always hovering in the background; at one most important conference he was present, though he participated hardly at all in the conversation, but his rôle, as usual, was that of a subordinate and quietly eager listener.

JANUARY, 1915, A GOOD TIME TO END THE WAR

Wangenheim now informed me that January, 1915, would make an excellent time to end the war. Italy had not yet entered, though there was every reason to believe that she would do so by spring. Bulgaria and Rumania were still holding aloof, though no one expected that their waiting attitude would last forever. France and England were preparing for the first of the "spring offensives" and the Germans had no assurance that it would not succeed; indeed, they much feared that the German armies would meet disaster. The British and French warships were gathering at the Dardanelles; and the German general staff and practically all military and naval experts in Constantinople believed that the allied fleets could force their way through and capture the city. Most Turks by this time were sick of the war, and Germany lived in constant fear that Turkey would make a separate peace. Afterward I discovered that whenever the military situation looked ominous to Germany, she was always thinking about peace, but that if the situation improved she would immediately become warlike again; it was a case of sick-devil, well-devil. Yet, badly as Wangenheim wanted peace in January, 1915, it was quite apparent that he was not thinking of a permanent peace. The greatest obstacle to peace at that time was the fact that Germany showed no signs that she regretted her crimes, and there was not the slightest evidence of the sackcloth in Wangenheim's attitude now. Germany had made a bad guess, that was all; what Wangenheim and the other Germans saw in the situation was that their stock of wheat, cotton, and copper was incomplete. In my notes of my conversations with Wangenheim I find him frequently using such phrases as the "next war," "next time," and, in confidently looking forward to another greater world cataclysm than the present, he merely reflected the attitude of the dominant junker-military class. The Germans apparently wanted a reconciliation—a kind of an armistice—that would give their generals and industrial leaders time to prepare for the next conflict. At that time, nearly four years ago, Germany was moving for practically the same kind of peace negotiations which she has suggested many times since and is suggesting now; Wangenheim's plan was that representatives of the warring powers should gather around a table and settle things on the principle of "give and take." He said that there was no sense in demanding that each side state its terms in advance.

"For both sides to state their terms in advance would ruin the whole thing," he said. "What would we do? Germany, of course, would make claims that the other side would regard as ridiculously extravagant. The Entente would state terms that would put all Germany in a rage. As a result both sides would get so angry that there would be no conference. No—if we really want to end this war, we must have an armistice. Once we stop fighting, we shall not go at it again. History presents no instance in a great war where an armistice has not resulted in a permanent peace. It will be so in this case."

Yet, from Wangenheim's conversation I did obtain a slight inkling of Germany's terms. The matter of Egypt and Mesopotamia, set forth above, was one of them. Wangenheim was quite insistent that Germany must have permanent naval bases in Belgium with which her navy could at all times threaten England with blockade and so make sure "the freedom of the seas." Germany wanted coaling rights everywhere; this demand looks absurd because Germany has always possessed such rights in peace times. She might give France a piece of Lorraine and a part of Belgium—perhaps Brussels—in return for the payment of an indemnity.

Wangenheim requested that I should place Germany's case before the American Government. My letter to Washington is dated January, 1915. It went fully into the internal situation which then prevailed and gave the reasons why Germany and Turkey desired peace.

A particularly interesting part of this incident was that Germany was apparently ignoring Austria. Pallavicini, the Austrian Ambassador, knew nothing of the pending negotiations until I myself informed him of

them. In thus ignoring his ally, the German Ambassador meant no personal disrespect; he was merely treating him precisely as his Foreign Office was treating Vienna—not as an equal, but practically as a retainer. The world is familiar enough with Germany's military and diplomatic absorption of Austria-Hungary. But that Wangenheim should have made so important a move as to attempt peace negotiations and have left it to Pallavicini to learn about it through a third party shows that, as far back as January, 1915, the Austro-Hungarian Empire had ceased to be an independent nation.

Nothing came of this proposal, of course. Our Government declined to take action, evidently not regarding the time as opportune. Both Germany and Turkey, as I shall tell, recurred to this subject afterward. This particular negotiation ended in the latter part of March, when Kühlmann left Constantinople to become Minister at The Hague. He came and paid his farewell call at the American Embassy, as charming, as entertaining, and as debonair as ever. His last words, as he shook my hand and left the building, were—subsequent events have naturally caused me to remember them:

"We shall have peace within three months, Excellency!"

This little scene took place, and this happy forecast was made in March, 1915!

III

Probably one thing that stimulated this German desire for peace was the situation at the Dardanelles. In early January, when Wangenheim persuaded me to write my letter to Washington, Constantinople was in a state of the utmost excitement. It was reported that the Allies had assembled a fleet of forty warships at the mouth of the Dardanelles and that they intended to attempt the forcing of the strait. What made the situation particularly tense was the belief, which then generally prevailed in Constantinople, that such an attempt would succeed. Wangenheim shared this belief, and so, in a modified form, did Von der Goltz, who probably knew as much about the Dardanelles defenses as any other man, as he had for years been Turkey's military instructor. I find in my diary Von der Goltz's precise opinion on this point as reported to me by Wangenheim, and I quote it exactly as written at that time: "Although he thought it was almost impossible to forc
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weather to join the Allies. At this moment the Russian fleet was bombarding Trebizond, on the Black Sea, and was daily expected at the entrance to the Bosphorus. Meanwhile the domestic situation was deplorable; all over Turkey thousands of the populace were daily dying of starvation; practically all able-bodied men had been taken into the army, so that only a few were left to till the fields; the criminal requisitions had almost destroyed all business; the treasury was in a more exhausted state than normally, for the closing of the Dardanelles had stopped all imports and customs dues; and the increasing wrath of the people seemed likely any day to break out against Talaat and his associates. And now, surrounded by increasing troubles on every hand, the Turks learned that this mighty armada of England and her allies was approaching, determined to destroy the defenses and capture the city. At that time there was no force which the Turks feared so greatly as they feared the British fleet. Its tradition of several centuries of uninterrupted victories had completely seized their imagination. It seemed to them superhuman—the one overwhelming power which it was hopeless to contest.

ALL EXPECT CONSTANTINOPLE TO FALL

Wangenheim and also nearly all of the German military and naval forces not only regarded the forcing of the Dardanelles as possible, but they believed it to be inevitable. The possibility of British success was one of the most familiar topics of discussion, and the weight of opinion, both lay and professional, inclined in favor of the allied fleets. Talaat told me that an attempt to force the strait would succeed—it only depended on England's willingness to sacrifice a few ships. The real reason why Turkey had sent a force against Egypt, Talaat added, was to divert England from making an attack on the Gallipoli peninsula. The state of mind that existed is shown by the fact that, on January 1st, the Turkish Government had made preparations for two trains, one of which was to take the Sultan and his suite to Asia Minor, while the other was intended for Wangenheim, Pallavicini, and the rest of the diplomatic corps. On January 2nd, I had an illuminating talk with Pallavicini. He showed me a certificate given him by Bedri, the Prefect of Police, passing him and his secretaries and servants on one of these emergency trains. He also had seat tickets for himself and all of his suite. He said that each train would have only three cars, so that it could make great speed; he had been told to have everything ready to start at an hour's notice. Wangenheim made little attempt to conceal his apprehensions. He told me that he had made all preparations to send his wife to Berlin, and he invited Mrs. Morgenthau to accompany her, so that she too could be removed from the danger zone. Wangenheim showed the fear, which was then the prevailing one, that a successful bombardment would lead to fires and massacres in Constantinople as well as in the rest of Turkey. In anticipation of such disturbances he made a characteristic suggestion. Should the fleet pass the Dardanelles, he said, the life of no Englishman in Turkey would be safe—they would all be massacred. As it was so difficult to tell an Englishman from an American, he proposed that I should give the Americans a distinctive button to wear, which would protect them from Turkish violence. As I was convinced that Wangenheim's real purpose was to arrange some sure means of identifying the English and of so subjecting them to Turkish ill-treatment, I refused to act on this amiable suggestion.

Another incident illustrates the nervous tension which prevailed in those January days. As I noticed that some shutters at the British Embassy were open, Mrs. Morgenthau and I went up to investigate. In the early days we had sealed this building, which had been left in my charge, and this was the first time we had broken the seals to enter. About two hours after we returned from this tour of inspection, Wangenheim came into my office in one of his now familiar agitated moods. It had been reported, he said, that Mrs. Morgenthau and I had been up to the Embassy getting it ready for the British Admiral, who expected soon to take possession!

All this seems a little absurd now, for, in fact, the allied fleets made no attack at that time. At the very moment when the whole of Constantinople was feverishly awaiting the British dreadnaughts, the British Cabinet in London was merely considering the advisability of such an enterprise. The record shows that Petrograd, on January 2nd, telegraphed the British Government, asking that some kind of a demonstration be made against the Turks, who were pressing the Russians in the Caucasus. Though an encouraging reply was

immediately sent to this request, it was not until January 28th that the British Cabinet definitely issued orders for an attack on the Dardanelles. It is no longer a secret that there was no unanimous confidence in the success of such an undertaking. Admiral Carden recorded his belief that the strait "could not be rushed, but that extended operations with a large number of ships might succeed." The penalty of failure, he added, would be the great loss that England would suffer in prestige and influence in the East; how true this prophecy proved I shall have occasion to show. Up to this time one of the fundamental and generally accepted axioms of naval operations had been that warships should not attempt to attack fixed land fortifications. But the Germans had demonstrated the power of mobile guns against fortresses in their destruction of the emplacements at Liége and Namur, and there was a belief in some quarters in England that these events had modified this naval principle. Mr. Churchill; at that time at the head of the Admiralty, placed great confidence in the destructive power of a new superdreadnaught which had just been finished—the *Queen Elizabeth*—and which was then on its way to join the Mediterranean fleet.

PALLAVICINI THINKS THE END OF AUSTRIA NEAR

We in Constantinople knew nothing about these deliberations then, but the result became apparent in the latter part of February. On the afternoon of the nineteenth, Pallavicini, the Austrian Ambassador, came to me with important news. The Marquis was a man of great personal dignity, yet it was apparent that he was this day exceedingly nervous, and, indeed, he made no attempt to conceal his apprehension. The allied fleets, he said, had reopened their attack on the Dardanelles, and this time their bombardment had been extremely ferocious. At that time things were going badly for the Austrians; the Russian armies were advancing victoriously; Serbia had hurled the Austrians over the frontier, and the European press was filled with prognostications of the break up of the Austrian Empire. Pallavicini's attitude this afternoon was a perfect reflection of the dangers that were then encompassing his country. He was a sensitive and proud man; proud of his emperor and proud of what he regarded as the great Austro-Hungarian Empire; and he now appeared to be overburdened by the fear that this extensive Hapsburg
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dor's performance. He had brought the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* into Constantinople, and by this manœuvre had precipitated Turkey into the war. The forcing of the strait would mean more than the transformation of Russia into a permanent and powerful participant in the war; it meant—and this was by no means an unimportant consideration with Wangenheim—the undoing of his great personal achievement. Yet Wangenheim showed his apprehensions quite differently from Pallavicini. In true German fashion, he resorted to threats and bravado. He gave no external signs of depression, but his whole body tingled with rage. He was not deploring his fate; he was looking for ways of striking back. He would sit in my office, puffing forth mighty clouds of smoke from his black German cigars, and tell me all the terrible things which he proposed to do to his enemy. The thing that particularly preyed upon Wangenheim's mind was the exposed position of the German Embassy. It stood on a high hill, one of the most conspicuous buildings in the town, a perfect target for the enterprising English admiral. Almost the first object the British fleet would sight, as it entered the Bosphorus, would be this yellow monument of the Hohenzollerns and the temptation to shell it might prove irresistible.

"Let them dare destroy that Embassy!" Wangenheim said. "I'll get even with them! If they fire a single shot at it, we'll blow up the French and the English Embassies! Go tell the Admiral that, won't you? Tell him also that we have the dynamite all ready to do it!"

WANGENHEIM FEARS THE TURKS

Wangenheim also showed great anxiety over the proposed removal of the government to Eski-Shehr. In early January, when everyone was expecting the arrival of the allied fleet, preparations had been made for moving the government to Asia Minor; and now again, at the first rumbling of the British and French guns, the special trains were prepared once more. Wangenheim and Pallavicini both told me of their unwillingness to accompany the Sultan and the government to Asia Minor. Should the Allies capture Constantinople, the Ambassadors of the Central Powers would find themselves cut off from their home countries and completely in the hands of the Turks. "The Turks could then hold us as hostages," *said Wangenheim*. They urged Talaat to establish the emergency government at Adrianople, from which town they could motor in and out of Constantinople, and then, in case the city were captured, they could make their escape home. The Turks, on the other hand, refused to adopt this suggestion because they feared an attack from Bulgaria. Wangenheim and Pallavicini now found themselves between two fires. If they stayed in Constantinople, they would naturally become prisoners of the English and French; on the other hand, if they went to Eski-Shehr, it was not unlikely that they would become prisoners of the Turks. Many evidences of the flimsy basis on which rested the German and Turkish alliance had come to my attention, but this was about the most illuminating. Wangenheim knew, as did everybody else, that in case the French and English captured Constantinople, the Turks would vent their rage not mainly against the Entente, but against the Germans who had enticed them into the war.

It all seems so strange now, this conviction that was uppermost in the minds of everybody then—that the success of the allied fleets against the Dardanelles was inevitable and that the capture of Constantinople was a matter of only a few days. I recall an animated discussion that took place at the American Embassy on the afternoon of February 24th. The occasion was Mrs. Morgenthau's weekly reception—meetings which furnished almost the only opportunity in those days for the foregathering of the diplomats. Practically all were on hand this afternoon. The first great bombardment of the Dardanelles had taken place five days before; this had practically destroyed the fortifications at the mouth of the strait. There was naturally only one subject of discussion: Would the allied fleets get through? What would happen if they did? Everybody expressed an opinion. Wangenheim, Pallavicini, Garroni, the Italian Ambassador, D'Anckarsvard, the Swedish Minister, Koloucheff, the Bulgaria Minister, Kühlmann, and Scharfenberg, First Secretary of the German Embassy, and it was the unanimous opinion that the allied attack would succeed. I particularly remember Kühlmann's attitude. He discussed the capture of Constantinople almost as though it was something which had taken place already. The Persian Ambassador showed great anxiety; his embassy stood not far from the Sublime

THE CROWN PRINCE OF TURKEY

The prince was fully in sympathy with the Allies and opposed to the Germans. This probably accounts for his tragic death. The officer on the left is Col. Djavid Bey, and on the right is Capt. Nourey Bey

ENVER AT HIS DESK IN THE MINISTRY OF WAR

He was the only person of importance who believed that the Turks could keep the allied fleet from passing the Dardanelles

VON DER GOLTZ AND TURKISH OFFICERS

The German Field Marshal (the fourth from the left) who served for many years as Turkey's military instructor. He probably knew more about the Dardanelles defences than any other living man. It was his opinion that the allied fleet, by sacrificing 10 ships, could take Constantinople

Porte; he told me that he feared that the latter building would be bombarded and that a few stray shots might easily set afire his own residence, and he asked if he might move his archives to the American Embassy. The wildest rumors were afloat; we were told that the Standard Oil agent at the Dardanelles had counted seventeen transports loaded with troops; that the warships had already fired 800 shots and had leveled all the hills at the entrance; and that Talaat's bodyguard had been shot—the implication being that the bullet had missed its intended victim. It was said that the whole Turkish populace was aflame with the fear that the English and the French, when they reached the city, would celebrate the event by a wholesale attack on Turkish women. The latter reports were, of course, absurd; they were merely characteristic rumors set afloat by the Germans and their Turkish associates. The fact is that the great mass of the people in Constantinople were probably praying that the allied attack would succeed and so release them from the control of the political gang that then ruled the country.

And in all this excitement there was one lonely and despondent figure—this was Talaat. Whenever I saw him in those critical days, he was the picture of desolation and defeat. The Turks, like most primitive peoples, wear their emotions on the surface and with them the transition from exultation to despair is a short one. The thunder of the British guns at the strait apparently spelled doom to Talaat. The letter carrier of Adrianople seemed to have reached the end of his career. He again confided to me his expectation that the English would capture the Turkish capital and once more he said that he was sorry that Turkey had entered the war. Talaat well knew what would happen as soon as the allied fleet entered the Sea of Marmora. According to the report of the Cromer Commission, Lord Kitchener, in giving his assent to a purely naval expedition, had relied upon a revolution in Turkey to make the enterprise successful. Lord Kitchener has been much criticized for his part in the Dardanelles attack; I owe it to his memory, however, to say that on this point he was absolutely right. Had the allied fleet once passed the defences of the strait, the administration of the Young Turks would have come to a bloody end. As soon as the guns began to fire, placards appeared on the hoardings, denouncing Talaat and his associates as responsible for all the

LORD KITCHENER

British Minister of War in 1915, when the British Cabinet decided to make a purely naval attack on the Dardanelles. Mr. Morgenthau thinks that Kitchener was justified in thinking that such an attack would succeed

LORD JOHN FISHER

Who thought that the British fleet by sacrificing 12 ships could force the Dardanelles.

WINSTON CHURCHILL

First Lord of the Admiralty, when the attack on the Dardanelles was undertaken. Mr. Churchill believed such an attack would succeed and practically all the German military and naval leaders held the same view

that had come to Turkey. Bedri, the Prefect of Police, was busy collecting all the unemployed young men and sending them out of the city; his purpose was to free Constantinople of all who might start a revolution against the Young Turks. It was a common report that Bedri feared this revolution much more than he feared the British Fleet. And this was the same Nemesis that was every moment now pursuing Talaat.

A single episode illustrates the nervous excitement that prevailed. Dr. Lederer, the correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, made a short visit to the Dardanelles, and, on his return, reported to certain ladies of the diplomatic circle that the German officers had told him that they were wearing their shrouds, as they expected any minute to be buried there. This statement went around the city like wild fire, and Dr. Lederer was threatened with arrest for making it. He appealed to me for help; I took him to Wangenheim, who refused to have anything to do with him; Lederer, he said, was an Austrian subject, although he represented a German newspaper. His anger at Lederer for this indiscretion was extreme. But I finally succeeded in getting the unpopular journalist into the Austrian Embassy, where he was harbored for the night. In a few days, Lederer had to leave town.

In the midst of all this excitement, there was one person who was apparently not at all disturbed. Though ambassadors, generals, and politicians might anticipate the worst calamities, Enver's voice was reassuring and quiet. The man's coolness and really courageous spirit never shone to better advantage. In late December and January, when the city had its first fright over the bombardment, Enver was fighting the Russians in the Caucasus. His experiences in this campaign, as already described, had been far from glorious. Enver had left Constantinople in November to join his army an expectant conqueror; he returned in the latter part of January, the commander of a thoroughly beaten and demoralized force. Such a disastrous experience would have utterly ruined almost any other military leader, and that Enver felt his reverses keenly was evident from the way in which he kept himself from public view. I had my first glimpse of him, after his return, at a concert given for the benefit of the Red Crescent. At this affair Enver sat far back in a box, as though he intended to keep as much as possible out of sight; it was quite apparent that he was uncertain as to the

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GENERAL MERTENS

The German chief technical officer at the Dardanelles and Admiral von Usedom, inspector general of Ottoman coast defences

THE RED CRESCENT
It here marks a landing place for aviators. The building is a Turkish field hospital

cordiality of his reception by the public. All the important people in Constantinople, the Crown Prince, the members of the Cabinet, and the ambassadors attended this function, and, in accordance with the usual custom, the Crown Prince sent for these dignitaries, one after another, for a few words of greeting and congratulation. After that the visiting from box to box became general. The heir to the throne sent for Enver as well as the rest, and this recognition evidently gave him a new courage, for he began to mingle with the diplomats, who also treated him with the utmost cordiality and courtesy. Enver apparently regarded this favorable notice as having rëestablished his standing, and now once more he assumed a leading part in the crisis. A few days afterward he discussed the situation with me. He was much astonished, he said, at the fear that so generally prevailed, and he was disgusted at the preparations that had been made to send away the Sultan and the Government and practically leave the city a prey to the English. He did not believe that the allied fleets could force the Dardanelles; he had recently inspected all the fortifications and he had every confidence in their ability to resist successfully. Even though the ships did get through, he insisted that Constantinople should be defended to the last man.

HALIL BEY IN BERLIN
President of the Turkish Parliament and a leader of the Young Turks—afterward Minister for Foreign Affairs

Yet Enver's assurance did not satisfy his associates. They had made all their arrangements for the British fleet. If, in spite of the most heroic resistance the Turkish armies could make, it still seemed likely that the Allies were about to capture the city, the ruling powers had their final plans all prepared. They proposed to do to this great capital precisely what the Russians did to Moscow, when Napoleon appeared before it.

"They will never capture an existing city," they told me, "only a heap of ashes." As a matter of fact, this was no idle threat. I was told that cans of petroleum

THE DARDANELLES

The closing of this strait in 1914 isolated Russia from her allies, led to the defeat of the Russian armies in 1915, and ultimately caused the collapse of the Russian Empire and the strengthening of Germany on the western front. In March, 1915, the allied fleet attempted to reopen the Dardanelles. Had this attempt succeeded the war would have ended long ago in Germany's defeat. From a naval point of view there was apparently no reason why it should not have succeeded

had been already secreted in all the police stations and other places, ready to fire the town at a moment's notice. As Constantinople is largely built of wood, this would have been no very difficult task. But they were determined to destroy more than these temporary structures; the plans aimed at the beautiful architectural monuments built by the Christians long before the Turkish occupation. The Turks had particularly marked for dynamiting the Mosque of Santa Sophia. This building, which had been a Christian church centuries before it became a Mohammedan mosque, is one of the most magnificent structures of the vanished Byzantine Empire. Naturally the suggestion of such an act of vandalism aroused us all, and I made a plea to Talaat that Santa Sophia should be spared. He treated the proposed destruction lightly. "There are not six men in the Committee of Union and Progress," he told me, "who care for anything that is old. We all like new things!"

TALAAT AND DR. RICHARD VON KÜHLMANN

Kühlmann, now Foreign Minister, was in 1915 in Constantinople, acting as go-between in peace negotiations

That was all the satisfaction I obtained in this matter at that time.

Enver's insistence that the Dardanelles could resist caused his associates to lose confidence in his judgment. About a year afterward, Bedri Bey, the Prefect of Police, gave me additional details. While Enver was still in the Caucasus, Bedri said, Talaat had called a conference, a kind of council of war, on the Dardanelles. This had been attended by Liman von Sanders, the German general who had reorganized the Turkish army, Usedom, the German admiral who was the inspector-general of the Ottoman coast defences,

and Bronssart, the German Chief of Staff of the Turkish army, and several others. Every man present gave it as his opinion that the British and French fleets could force the strait; the only subject of dispute, said Bedri, was whether it would take the ships eight or twenty hours to reach Constantinople after they had destroyed the defences. Enver's position was well understood, but this council decided to ignore him and to make the preparations without his knowledge—to eliminate the Minister of War, at least temporarily, from their deliberations.

BOMBARDING THE DARDANELLES FORTS

The guns were already in action when this picture was made. Several of the guns of the *Suffren* are seen in the foreground

THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR REFUSES TO LEAVE

In early March, Bedri and Djambolat, who was Director of Public Safety, came to see me. At that time the exodus from the capital had begun; Turkish women and children were being moved into the interior; all the banks had been compelled to send their gold into Asia Minor; the archives of the Sublime Porte had already been carried to Eski-Shehr and practically all the ambassadors and their suites, as well as most of the government officials, had made their preparations to leave. Many of Constantinople's finest works of art had been buried in cellars or covered for protection, the Director of the Museum being one of the six Turks to whom Talaat had referred as liking "old things." Bedri came to arrange the details of my departure. As ambassador I was personally accredited to the Sultan, and it would obviously be my duty, said Bedri, to go wherever the Sultan went. The train was all ready, he added; he wished to know how many people I intended to take, so that sufficient space could be reserved. To this proposal I entered a flat refusal. I informed Bedri that I thought that my responsibilities made it necessary for me to remain in Constantinople. Only a neutral ambassador, I said, could forestall massacres and the destruction of the city, and certainly I owed it to the civilized world to prevent, if I could, such calamities as these. If my position as ambassador made it inevitable that I should follow the Sultan, I would resign and become honorary Consul-General.

Both Bedri and Djambolat were much younger and less experienced men than I, and

I therefore told them that they needed a man of maturer years to advise them in an international crisis of this kind. I was not only interested in protecting foreigners and American institutions, but I was also interested, on general humanitarian grounds, in safeguarding the Turkish population from the excesses that were generally expected. The several nationalities, many of them containing elements which were given to pillage and massacre, were causing great anxiety. I therefore proposed to Bedri and Djambolat that the three of us form a kind of a committee to take control in the approaching crisis. They consented and the three of us sat down and decided on a course of action. We took a map of Constantinople and marked the districts which, under the existing rules of warfare, we agreed that the allied fleet would have the right to bombard. Thus, we decided that the War Office, Marine Office, telegraph offices, railroad stations and all public buildings could quite legiti
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(Mr. Morgenthau in the September number will describe what is perhaps th
history—the failure of the allied fleet to pass the Dardanelles

[Ambassador Morgenthau's Story is copyrighted in France and England. All righ

Fighting Germany's

VIII

THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE LEAGU

A Volunteer Organization of 250,000 Private Citizens Who are Workir ment to Stop German Intrigue and Propaganda in This C

ON GOING[1] to war with the great masters of spy-craft last year, the United States had only a handful of secret service men to guard its internal frontier. Within our borders were a million and a half men and youths who were enemy aliens. Not all of them hostile, it is true; but all potentially dangerous because great national organizations existed—even shooting societies—through which German influences might reach in a few hours or days. And in every centre of population there were captains and field marshals of German intrigue, supplied with unlimited money, to appeal to their feelings and to lead ther
come to strike.

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Attorney-General Thom

fact, had solid grounds for declaring to the executive committee of the American Bar Association recently: "I do not believe that there is to-day any country which is being more capably policed than is the United States." *He added that for every man engaged in detecting and investigating violations of federal laws in April, 1917, there are at least one thousand to-day;* while reports on new cases are coming in at the rate of fifteen hundred a day!

That sounds like a miracle of organization, doesn't it? Even the army, with its pride-compelling record of expansion, is a slow coach beside these legions of "plain-clothes" soldiers who hold our inner lines. Let's see how it happened.

When the war broke, the only secret service work done by the Government was handled by five small organizations. The Department of Justice had its Bureau of Investigation, charged with the discovery of offenses against the federal statutes—not a large force, but quite adequate to its peace-time job. The Treasury Department maintained a secret service with two definite functions—to protect the President's life and person, and to prevent counterfeiting. The Army and Navy had each a few officers detailed to its intelligence service—the gathering of military and naval information and the protection of our own plans and operations. And finally the State Department possessed a small intelligence section of its own. But by comparison with the territory to be covered and the number of active German and Austrian agents in the country, there were few experienced men available for counter-espionage. And there in the background were that million and a half enemy aliens who would bear a lot of watching.

The declaration of war, then, instantly brought an emergency. Part of it the Department of Justice met by striking swift and hard at all who were unquestionably enemy agents. Because of their propaganda and other activities against the Entente Allies, these agents had been under observation for some time. Within forty-eight hours the more dangerous had been rounded up—under the hoary old act of 1798, which gave the President power to intern enemy aliens when their being at liberty might constitute a menace to the public safety.

There remained the urgent need of an immense increase in the Government's counter-espionage forces. It would take thousands of trained and intelligent operatives to keep watch of the German agents and German sympathizers who swarmed throughout the country. As a class, such operatives did not exist: to draft the right kind of raw material from civil life would involve delays, great personal sacrifices on the part of the men drafted and an enormous yearly budget. Thousands of business and professional careers would be interrupted at critical stages. Most of the men who accepted the call would be risking after-the-war failure in their chosen callings. The work simply couldn't be done that way.

Then it was that the American Protective League found a way to do it.

The League is a volunteer body of 250,000 patriotic Americans, organized with the approval and operating under the direction of the Department of Justice, Bureau of Investigation. It cross-cuts every commercial, industrial, professional, social, and economic level in American life. Bank presidents and bell hops, judges and janitors, managers and mechanics—all ranks meet on its common platform of loyalty and service. It has woven a net of discreet surveillance across more than a thousand American cities and towns; and the meshes are so small that few active German agents slip through. It reaches out into the country as well. More than 52,000,000 people—about half the population of the United States—live in communities where the League has active and effective organizations; where, too, propaganda or sedition, sabotage or plain slacking are neither popular nor healthy.

THE MEN CHOSEN TO CRUSH PLOTTING

The League was born in March, last year, two weeks before we declared war. The idea originated with Mr. A. M. Briggs of Chicago. Mr. Briggs is now Chairman of the National Board of Directors of the American Protective League. He secured authority to establish it as a volunteer auxiliary of the Department of Justice on March 22, 1917. Within a month he had the League in operation with several thousand members. With him, Capt. Charles Daniel Frey and Mr. Victor Elting were responsible for its development and the organization of the work. Mr. Frey is organizer and First Chief of the Chicago District, the original working unit of the American Protective League. The plan, the policies, and the methods developed in the Chicago District, which included 280 cities and towns, were ap-

proved by the Department of Justice, and have been generally followed throughout the country as the model and standard for subsequent organizations. Mr. Elting, as Assistant Chief at Chicago, has from the inception of the League been active in the development of its policy. These three, now national directors with headquarters at Washington, are modest about taking any credit for the amazing extension of the League and its extraordinary present usefulness. They insist that the first great response was due to the general recognition of a national crisis, the impulse to do something to meet it, and the patriotic and unselfish coöperation of every local chief and individual operative in the country.

At all events, it was knowledge of how widespread and unscrupulous was the German spy system and how seriously it was affecting the temper and loyalty of aliens and naturalized citizens that launched the League. Proposal was made to the Department of Justice that a volunteer auxiliary of simon-pure Americans be formed to keep watch for the Government in every neighborhood and to make most of the Department's investigations for it. The service would be without pay. No inquiries would be undertaken without reference of the case to the Department first. And no expense accounts would be presented for money spent. Doubts may have existed regarding the feasibility of the plan. Such men as were needed would be hard to interest in the drudgery of police investigation. But Mr. Briggs was confident that there were thousands of business and professional men past service age and necessary to their families and communities who still were fired with patriotism and filled with wrath at the progress of German propaganda and plotting in this country. They were successful men of affairs—men of proved judgment, intelligence, initiative, and energy. The Department could not buy their full time at any price, but it could command their spare time, plus as many work-hours, on occasions, as were necessary to complete any task. There were also men of service age, eager to fight but held at home by obligations or other causes, who would not stint either time or energy in the League's service.

Given authority to go ahead March 22, 1917, the League was organized on military lines. The plan was that each city and its tributary country should be broken up into divisions, in charge of inspectors. Divisions were cut up into districts, with captains
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Custodian, the Food Administration, the Shipping Board, the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A. and with various other offices at Washington.

The number and variety of cases handled has not constituted the major service of the League, however. Rather, it has been the character and intelligence of the membership—the ability to enter and comb any social, professional, or business circle for information without betraying that an inquiry was afoot. From this angle alone, the original idea was pretty close to an inspiration, since it improvised in the hour of need such an organization as not even a generation of effort and many million dollars could have built up.

Just because it was improvised and its personnel kept secret, the League could meet the most dangerous German agents on their own ground and paralyze their efforts by keeping them guessing. Propaganda dies on the lips of the man who can't be certain that his listener is not making mental notes for an official report of the conversation. And the most subtle scheme of spying or sabotage is bound to drag when the plot master is harassed by doubts of the native-born or naturalized accomplices he must enlist for its execution.

HOW A SAILOR STOPPED PROPAGANDA

One instance to show how much a local organization must depend upon its specialists. Last summer it became necessary to know beyond question whether or not a prominent young German-American in a sea-board city was supplying the funds for the local agitation against the draft. Suspicion attached to him because he spent many evenings aboard his fast racing schooner in the yacht club harbor, and could not be induced, in any polite and casual way, to invite any of the League's yachting members aboard. His crew, two Scandinavians, were as voluble as oysters.

The schooner was being tuned up for the annual club cruise late in July. Two extra sailors would be needed for the race. The League provided one of them. An upstanding young American too young for the first officers' training camp but in line for the second, was taken into the League, carefully coached, and turned loose in the harbor with a loaned cat-boat to impress the German-American skipper with his sailing skill. The boy finessed his approach successfully and was asked to train with the crew. But he found nothing material to

thrill of espionage cases have been the thousands of investigations made of claims for exemption or deferred classification under the selective service law.

Anything like a divided allegiance, of course, would destroy the usefulness of an army or naval officer—if, indeed, it did not make him a positive menace to his country. Every character and loyalty inquiry, therefore, has this background of danger, especially when the subject is of German or of Austrian ancestry. And sometimes the League operative must have a keen scent for significant minor details to find the danger signal.

GERMAN, SINN FEIN, OR AMERICAN?

For instance, one of the candidates for a recent special officers' training camp was a young Cincinnati man with a German name. He was a citizen, of draft age, of such intelligence, experience, and physique that his acceptance was a foregone conclusion if his loyalty were assured. Investigation showed him to have been pro-German in his sympathies before our declaration of the war, and practically silent on war subjects since. His attitude was correct; and his application for training was a positive count in his favor. But the League investigator, digging around for information, learned that his man had been a contributor to a fund raised by a Gaelic newspaper for the defence of Sir Roger Casement, when that famous Irish rebel was on trial in London.

If the man had been of Irish blood such a contribution would have had little significance; natural sympathy for a compatriot in trouble might have prompted it. Such an act by a German or an American, however, suggested more than a passing interest in the violent pro-German, anti-English propaganda which this particular weekly exploited. Verifying the story by reference to the files of the newspaper, the investigator called attention to the fact in his report, and gave it as his opinion that the candidate wanted a commission to escape the draft and that he lacked the whole-hearted loyalty and enthusiasm an army officer must have to be successful. And the final decision coincided with the investigator's; the application was refused.

Another incident—double-barreled in its effect—has also its humorous side. One of the Chicago League officials picked up two deserters on Michigan Avenue early one evening last December.
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before surrendering them.

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tain's uniform came ov
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"Excuse me," he began
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"May I ask yours," the
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GERMAN LIQUID FIRE

An Interesting But Ineffective Bit of Frightfulness—How the Flame Attacks are Made —the Equipment Used—the Present Status of the Flammenwerfer

BY

MAJOR S. J. M. AULD

(By authority of the British Military Mission to the United States)

WHEN the German army entered on its policy of frightfulness there was none of its new and unprincipled methods which had more immediate and striking success than the use of liquid fire. And there is now none of all its methods of frightfulness which has fallen more into disrepute, and which has had less success when once the first surprise was over.

A great deal of attention has been drawn in the newspapers to the use of liquid fire, but the average man, even in the fighting forces, knows very little about the German methods and the appliances for its use. Yet Germany still has special troops trained in the use of liquid fire, and seeks continually to alter and develop the fire weapons and their tactical employment in order to take advantage of the undoubtedly terrible appearance and destructive power of the high temperature flames which can be emitted. This article is intended to show the stage to which the development has attained and the reasons for the relatively innocuous character of what is probably the most terror-inspiring method of modern warfare.

Throughout 1915 England was pouring new divisions of its national army into France. As with all new troops the procedure adopted at the time was to bring these divisions by easy stages to within a short distance of the front line, and then send them in by companies for a four day "instructional tour" in the trenches to pick up all the wrinkles and habits from the seasoned troops holding the line. After the whole formation had been put through it in this way the division would be allotted a definite part of the line, taking it over possibly from the troops with whom it had been in for instruction and allowing the latter to get out for a much needed rest, or to get "fattened up" for some impending or progressing show elsewhere.

One such new division, absolutely fresh from England and with no war experience whatever, was the target selected by the Boche for his new deviltry. The portion of line allotted to this division was on the outermost part of the Ypres salient and included the ruins of the little village of Hooge right at the point of the salient. This position had always been a hot corner—"unhealthy" in the British army parlance—and had changed hands several times. The trenches there were poor as it was almost impossible to get effective work done on them owing to their exposed position. Indeed there were many parts of the line where no movement was possible by day and the men on the posts had to lie "doggo" until night. The two lines were very close together—in many places less than twenty yards—and it was quite possible to hurl hand grenades from one set of trenches to the other. It was on this position of the line, over a front held by two battalions, that the attack was made.

After a bombardment of several days, a mine was exploded under the front line and then immediately afterward, at 3:20 A. M. on the morning of the 29th of July and without the slightest warning, the front line troops were enveloped in flames. Where the flames came from could not be seen. All that the men knew was that they seemed surrounded by fierce curling flames which were accompanied by a loud roaring noise and dense clouds of black smoke. Here and there a big blob of burning oil would fall into a trench or a saphead. Shouts and yells rent the air as individual men, rising up in the trenches or attempting to move in the open, felt the force of the flames. The only way to safety appeared to be to the rear. This direction the men that were left took. For a short space the flames pursued them, and the local retirement became a local rout. Then the flames stopped and machine guns began to take toll of the fugitives. Only one man from the front

trenches is known to have returned. German infantry following up, poured into the breach in the line, widened it, took our positions as far back as Sanctuary Wood, and then consolidated.

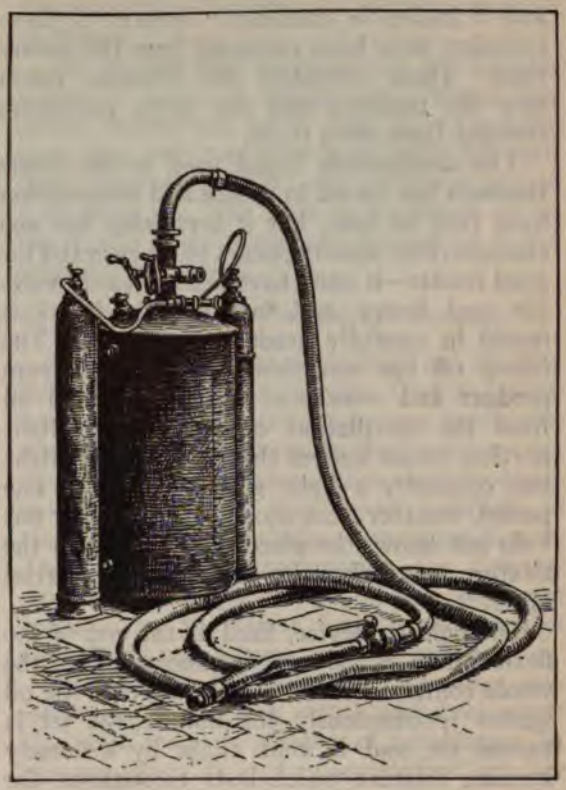
Ten days afterward we counter attacked and won back the whole of the line concerned but at very considerable cost. Incidentally, we captured two of the German flame projectors, one of them complete, and they proved to be of the greatest possible use to us subsequently for educating the army in the new warfare, and for inspection by our own experts with a view to their duplication for retaliation.

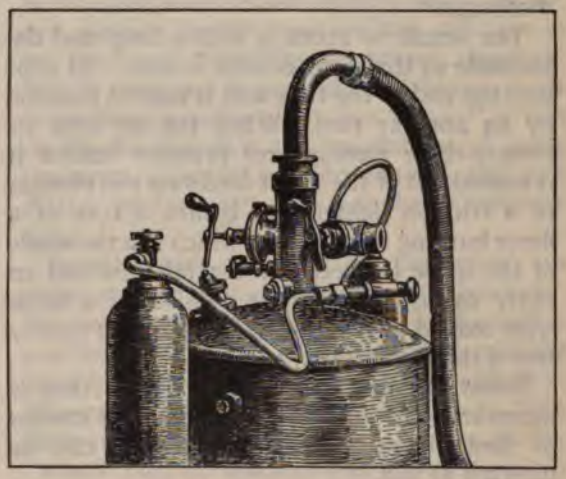
Any one attempting to blame the troops attacked for their retirement can hardly appreciate the circumstances, and, I am convinced, over-estimates his own capacity for resistance. This attack was an utter surprise —the kind of warfare was unknown and unheard of. Imagine being faced by a spread of flame exactly similar to that used for the oil burners under the biggest boilers, but with a jet nearly sixty feet in length and capable of being sprayed round as one might spray water with a fire hose. Personally, I am pretty sure, had I been there, that I should have hopped it if I had not been fried by the heat or frozen with terror. Later, when we knew the limitations of these things it was different, though even then it is a pretty good test of a man's nerve.

THE APPARATUS

The flame projectors taken by the 14th Division in the counter attack were simple but very interesting in construction. The main part was a cylindrical vessel of steel about two feet in height and fifteen inches in diameter provided with straps so that it could be carried on a man's back. At one side about two-thirds of the way up was a filling hole for oil, closed by a screw cap. Near the top was a pressure gauge attachment and toward the base was a lock closed by a lever handle and to which could be attached a long length of flexible hose ending in a peculiar shaped nozzle.

On examination it was found that the body of the projector was divided internally into two compartments which could be connected by opening another tap. The upper compartment was the compressor and the lower the oil reservoir. The compressor chamber was filled to a pressure of twenty-three at-





CAPTURED FLAME PROJECTORS

mospheres with deoxygenated air or nitrogen. Air itself cannot be used because of its oxygen content forming an explosive mixture with the vapors from the oil, and any heating on compression, or back-flash from the flame or fuse, might make things very unpleasant for the operator. The nitrogen required for the flame projectors is carried into the field in large cylinders about 4 feet 6 inches in length

and 6 inches in diameter. Several of these cylinders have been captured from the enemy since. These cylinders are actually taken into the trenches and the flame projectors charged from them there.

The combustible liquid used in the flame throwers has varied in source and composition from time to time, but it invariably has one characteristic which appears to be essential for good results—it must have light or easily volatile and heavy and less volatile fractions mixed in carefully graded proportions. The heavy oil has sometimes been a petroleum product and sometimes a tarry residual oil from the distillation of wood. The light portion, which insures the jet's keeping alight was originally a light gasolene, but at one period, whether from shortage of petrol or not I do not know, the place of the latter in the mixture was taken by ordinary commercial ether.

The lighting device, fixed at the end of the flexible hose, is the most ingenious part of the whole contrivance and is so made that the oil ignites spontaneously the minute the jet is turned on, and is kept alight by a fiercely burning mixture which lasts throughout the discharge.

The nozzle is about 9 inches long and detachable so that replacement is easy. It clips into the end of the tube and is held in position by an annular ring. When the oil with its twenty-three atmospheres pressure behind it is rushed out of the jet, it forces up the plunger of a friction lighter and ignites a core of a fierce burning fuse mixture which fills the whole of the space between the central tube and an outer casing. The latter consists of a thick wick soaked in paraffin wax and fitting loosely into a thin brass case.

When the nozzle is in position all that is necessary is to turn on the tap, and the stream of flame issues from the tube and can be directed at will.

THE FLAMMENWERFER COMPANIES

The official name for this instrument we discovered was the "*Flammenwerfer*" (flame thrower) and it is now never known in the British army by anything else than its German name. Indeed this is one of the very few German words we have adopted as an outcome of the war, the only others I can remember being "*strafe*" and "*Kamerad.*"

Flammenwerfer attacks are made by the 3rd and 4th Guard Pioneer Battalions and by the Guard Reserve Pioneer Regiment—all of which troops are specially trained in flame tactics. Each battalion is composed of six companies and each company is equipped with 18 small or portable projectors similar to that described above, and with 20-22 large projectors of greater range. The latter larger flammenwerfer are built on the same principle as the former, but are too heavy to be used as mobile weapons. They are consequently built in to the trenches at about 27 yards from the opposing lines, and, if the trenches are not close enough together for the purpose, special saps are pushed out and the flammenwerfer installed at the end. The range of these large projectors is 33-44 yards and they can cover a front of 55 yards with flames.

It is probable that in the attack at Hooge that both large and small flammenwerfer were employed.

It is possible with the above equipment for a flame company to cover a total front of 1100-1600 yards.

Service in the Guard Reserve Pioneers is apparently a form of punishment. Men convicted of offenses in other regiments are transferred either for a time or permanently, and are forced under threat of death to engage in the most hazardous enterprises and carry out the most dangerous work. The following incident will serve to show how the German soldiers are hounded to their death in these engagements.

A NEW TYPE OF FLAMMENWERFER

In the summer of last year a small flammenwerfer attack was made against our line at a point near Monchy, south of Arras. Two Boches armed with flame projectors of a modified pattern were instructed to attack one of our advanced posts which was at the head of a sap running out toward the German trenches. In broad daylight and with no covering fire worth talking about these two poor devils were forced over the top with revolvers pressed into their backs. One was shot down immediately. The other managed to get clear of his own barbed wire and then discarded his apparatus, with the intention of crawling over to us and deserting. By this time, however, he had been badly shot up—whether by his own people as well as by us, I cannot say. His left arm and his right thigh were both smashed, and he had two bul-

lets in his abdomen. Nevertheless this man managed to crawl into our lines and was taken care of. He was sent down to a Casualty Clearing Station in a perilous condition, but despite his terrible injuries I understand the doctors managed to patch him up, and that he recovered completely.

The portable flammenwerfer used in the attack just described was brought in by our patrols the following night, the spot where he had left it being accurately described by the wounded prisoner. It was found to be of a new pattern and other specimens of the same construction have since been captured, chiefly in the neighborhood of Lens where they were employed by the Boche in the course of abortive counter attacks against the Canadians.

THE LATEST FLAMMENWERFER

In this pattern, which is shown in detail in the photograph, the compressed nitrogen is contained in a spherical-vessel which is contained inside a ring-shaped oil container. The whole thing looks like a life preserver and is mounted on a light frame so that it can be comfortably carried on the back. For a man who may suddenly have to get down on his stomach and crawl, the apparatus is much more compact and better fitting to the body than the original type, but it has no advantage over the older varieties
duration.

The flexible hose which
nozzle is made of canv
enemy documents which
show that only one tube
three reservoirs. After t
apparatus the long tube
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others in succession.

GERMAN FLAME PROJ

The flammenwerfer cor
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In the case of attacks
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the trenches. If it was
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As it is necessary to sap ou
of our lines in order to get
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Attacks with the port
more possible owing to th
But here again the essenti
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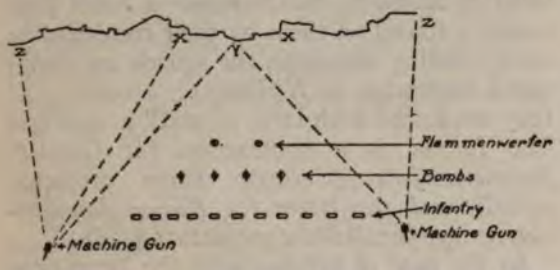
The range is only fifty
German idea is to cover
"*Kleif*" men by machine
the accompanying diagram

In an attack on the port
ed XX the advance is cov
fire over the front YZ,
force, the "*Kleiftruppe*" i
of bombers, and finally the
party takes up its position
crawls as far forward as p
tected area." As soon
jectors are within range,
switch outward to XZ,

discharged and the bombers rush in and try their luck in the trench. If things go well, the infantry follows the bombing party and proceed to its objectives.

In an attack of this kind, or a less well supported attack such as that at Arras, mentioned above, the attackers suffer from two such severe disadvantages that against well disciplined troops they stand little chance. These disadvantages are (1) the flammenwerfer carriers have to get so near their objective that they are almost certain to be shot, and they then become a source of danger to their own side; (2) men in trenches know they are



HOW MACHINE GUNS COVER A FLAME ATTACK

perfectly safe from frontal flame attack if they keep well down and hug the parapet side of the trench. The reason for this is that the flame will not sink down into a trench, but having little force behind it at the end of its journey is curled *upward* by the rising currents of hot air. The result is that any sort of head cover (unless made of wood) makes perfect protection, and a man crouching in a trench or even lying prone in a shell hole, is very unlikely to be more than slightly scorched at the very worst. I can vouch for this, for I have lain at the bottom of a trench with the flames playing over my head and have not been injured in the slightest, though I confess to being very much relieved when the flame stopped. The only danger in trenches to men who keep their heads is that of "blobs" of burning oil falling from the end of the fiery stream, but this is not a very serious chance.

Another serious disability in the German liquid fire is its very short duration. The stream of flame from the portable flammenwerfer lasts rather less than one minute. It is impossible to charge up again on the spot, and the result is that once the flame stops the whole game is finished and the operators are at our mercy. Without making the apparatus of a prohibitive weight, the duration of the flame cannot be increased. Even the heavy projectors give only a flame lasting at the best one minute and a quarter.

It must be realized that it is discipline and coolness (if one may use the word) which count, and that the moral effect on unsteady troops, unaware of the fact that the appalling flames have little destructive value, may be very great indeed. When men have bolted from the trenches into the open they are an easy prey.

An enfilade attack, i. e. one made from a flank, would be much more dangerous were it not for the difficulty of approach and the fact that the traverses of a fire-trench are as good protection against flame as the parapet. Only where the "*Kleif*" squad can approach under cover and get in its shot at an exposed target is the flammenwerfer likely to have much success nowadays.

A certain amount of value was obtained from their use in this way in the attack on Verdun for reducing isolated strong-points, notably fortified farmhouses and broken down cottages in the ruined villages. In certain cases the flame projector carriers were enabled to approach under cover or by crawling among the ruins and heaps of débris, to within striking distance of the otherwise well protected machine gun emplacements and positions. By suddenly playing the fire jet into the loopholes, enough flame penetrated into the interior of the emplacement to put the machine gun and its crew out of action—either temporarily or permanently. This was the opportunity awaited by the covering party of bombers who would rush the post the minute the flame ceased, having made their approach while the projectors were in action.

But even for special cases like these the circumstances must be so favorable and the inherent disadvantages are so great that the flammenwerfer cannot be counted on to attain the required result.

The low value placed by the Allies on the German flame attack can be realized from the fact that no special form of cover is provided against it. There is no special form of fireproof clothing or other protection issued to the troops, and the instructions for meeting the attack may be summarized as "Shoot the man carrying the apparatus before he gets in his shot if possible. If this cannot be done take cover from the flames and shoot him afterward."

THE CHEMIN DES DAMES

Remarkable Photographs of the Famous Ridge at the Heart of the C
Paris, made by French Aviators for the Personal Use of General c

The panorama of the Battle of the Malmaison from which the following plate of the most beautiful and historic photographic documents to reach America since war. Though they were taken in preparation for the French attack of last October, of even greater interest now as illustrating the famous ridge of the Chemin des D first objective of the German offensive in June. The photographs were taken heights ranging from 2,000 to 2,500 metres, and record the destruction of the Germa the French artillery during the six days and nights of preliminary bombardment. photographs show the gradual obliteration of the Boche trenches, the ruin of the for Fort de la Malmaison and, at times, the destruction of certain villages. As mo oblique, one sees frequently the tortured trunks of trees—with their shadows if th glimpses over the northern slopes of the Chemin des Dames, down which the Frenc Many of the photographs show the quarries where the invaders clung to the last, sands of shell holes.

The shadows of trees are especially to be noticed in the view of the quarri plate was taken on the 22d of September at four o'clock in the afternoon. Anothe est, taken October 24th at 9:30 o'clock in the morning, shows the quarries of the C line trenches of the French are full of poilus, the glint of whose helmets can be seen graph. The same is true of the plate taken at the same hour above the trench of th the most beautiful plates represents the bombardment of the quarries of Bobery 5 o'clock in the afternoon. There was no breeze stirring, and the white smoke of lies like a cloud above the trench, known as the Boyau de la Rancune.

There are twenty-five plates in the album, and, at the close, twelve others, re graphs taken by the French immediately after their occupation of the conquered terr

Mr. Raymond Weeks, of Columbia University, to whom this historic album de Maud'huy, intends to sell it to asist the French orphans of the war—THE EDITO

THE BATTLE OF THE MALMAISON

BY
RAYMOND WEEKS

THE Battle of the Malmaison was fought by the army of General Maistre, October, 23-25, 1917, and resulted in liberating entirely the Chemin des Dames and in driving the Germans back behind the Ailette. The left of General Maistre's forces was formed by the 14th Army Corps, under General Marjoulet; then came, in the centre, the 21st Army Corps under General Degoutte, at whose right advanced the 11th Army Corps under General de Maud'huy. The right was held by General Deligny, with certain elements of the 39th Corps. The front of attack covered twelve kilometers, and the French planned an advance of about three and a half they ended by considerably

The attack had been pr careful manner. There wa tion of artillery. For seve battle the American camio their French companions ha among other material, ten new kind of gas shells whi with their compliments. very successful.

Because of the enormou terrain, the French artille passed anything which ha During the six days and nig

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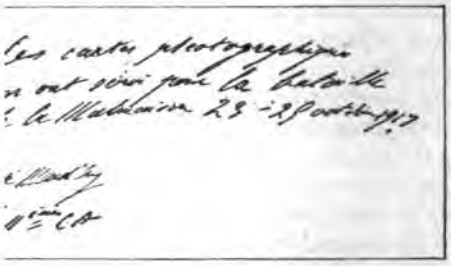
of the luck the Boches usually had in the weather. Fortunately it did not rain, nor was it foggy.

Although the trenches, blockhouses, and wire entanglements of the enemy had suffered as never before, he had taken refuge in the numerous deep quarries and immense caverns for which this region is celebrated. Many of these caverns are prehistoric. It has been possible to enlarge them safely, because of the dry chalky rock formation. In some of these caves, as in those of Montparnasse, it is said that 10,000 men can be hidden. Some of the caverns had been crushed in by the heavy French 400's, but most of them were intact. When the rapid French charge reached such a place, it swept on, leaving the capture to special second line troops.



ERAL DE MAUD'HUY'S INSCRIPTION

bum containing the photographs from which the
s on the succeeding pages are reproduced.
ral says, in French: "Ces cartes photographiques
pour la bataille de la Malmaison 23-25 octobre
de Maud'huy, Ct. le 11ème C. A." Translated
"These photographic maps served me for the
he Malmaison, October 23-25, 1917. General
uy, Commander of the 11th Army Corps."

Nowhere was the German position stronger than opposite the army of General de Maud'huy. His soldiers had distinguished themselves by their dash and power of resistance in the battle of the Marne, at Verdun, on the Somme, and in the first attack on the Chemin des Dames. When word was passed along their line that they had opposite them the same two divisions of the Prussian Guard which they had vanquished at Verdun and on the Somme, their fury knew no bounds. In forty-five minutes these troops had swept by the deadly quarries of Bohery, of the Bovettes, the Orage, and the Tonnerre, had captured the Pantheon and planted their flag on the top of the Fort of the Malmaison, whose sombre mass dominates the high plateau.

Equally brilliant work all along the line gave the French possession of every one of their objectives, together with more than 11,000 prisoners, of whom 257 were officers, and with much booty, including nearly 200 cannon. The Boches, driven down the northern slopes, withdrew beyond the Ailette.

THE QUARRIES OF CHARBON AND THE CHEMIN DES DAMES

The French first line trenches on the second day of the battle, showing, as white dots, the glint of light on the helmets of the poilus in the trenches, just as the French are about to advance. This photograph was taken October 24, 1917, at 9.30 o'clock in the morning

THE WESTERN SIDE OF FORT MALMAISON

And (in the foreground) the difficult quarries of Bohery. Above them, the line from left to right is the Chemin des Dames. The plateau descends rapidly to the north. In the distance, is the village of Chavignon. This photograph was taken September 16, 1917, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon

THE EASTERN SIDE OF FORT MALMAISON
The highest part of the Chemin des Dames

THE FOREST OF VEAU
Which was defended by the fifth division of the Prussian Guards

THE TRENCH OF THE FANION

All that remains of this formidable trench and its communications. Here, as usual, the steep northern slope is full of caverns

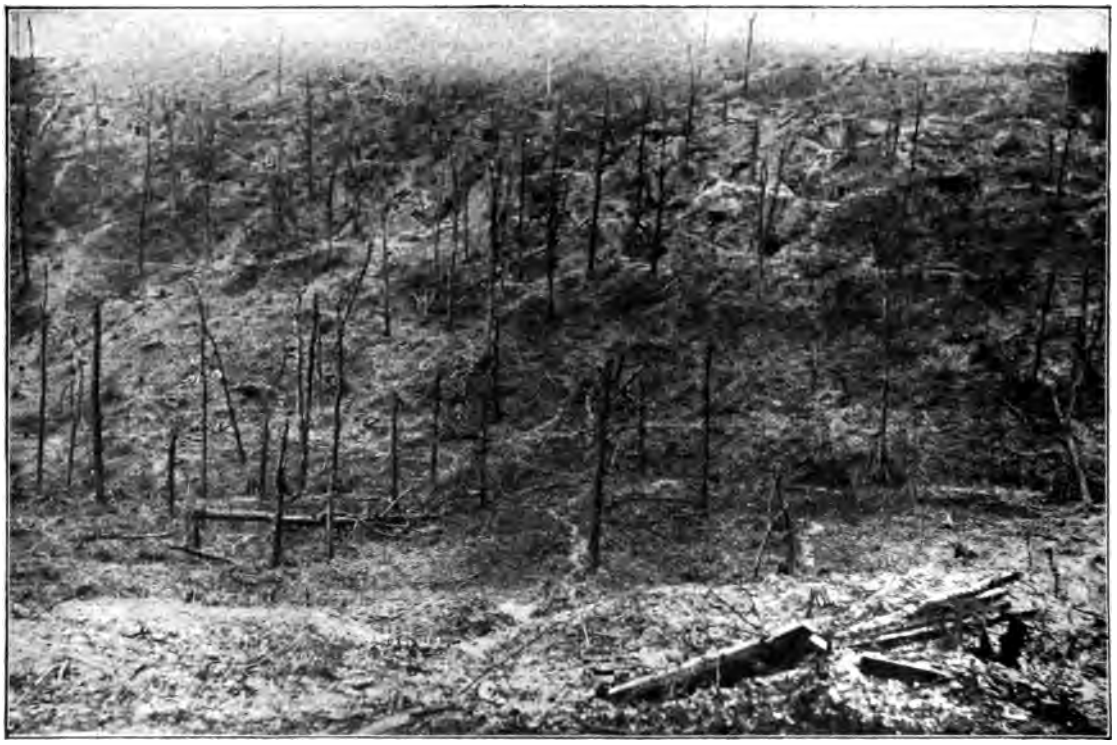
THE QUARRIES OF TONNERRE

Are seen on the northern slope of the ridge. In these subterranean passages there was fierce fighting with grenades and bayonets

THE QUARRIES OF BOHERY

French heavy artillery reducing the formidable trench of the Rancune. As there was almost no breeze, the course of the trench is defined by the smoke. In the foreground are parts of the quarries of Bohery. This photograph was taken September 30th, at 5 o'clock in the evening

A SECTION OF THE CHEMIN DES DAMES
Immediately after the French victory. In the distance, the plateau of Craonne



THE RAVINE NEAR PARGNY
The southeastern slopes of the ravine of the Gibet near Pargny, showing the numerous entrances to caverns

PHOSPHORUS AND FOOD

Another Famine in Fertilizing Materials—War's Demand for Sulphuric Acid Complicates the Problem

BY

FRANK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

AS IMPORTANT for the maintenance of our food supply as potash and nitrogen, discussed in previous articles in WORLD'S WORK (May and June), are two other elements, phosphorus and sulphur. As with potash and nitrates, American agriculture is facing a condition of short supply and high prices of these commodities also.

Out of approximately 7,000,000 tons of commercial fertilizing material consumed annually in normal times in the United States, more than one half consists of phosphate rock and acid phosphate, produced by the action of sulphuric acid on phosphate rock. The domestic consumption of sulphuric acid for this purpose in 1914 was about 1,750,000 tons, with about the same amount of phosphate rock. The shortage below normal requirements for 1918 is probably more than 25 per cent.; certainly enough to reduce the average fertility in the regions where commercial fertilizers are essential, principally the Atlantic Coastal Plain, with its light and comparatively exhausted soils.

We have been almost wholly dependent upon overseas sources for potash and nitrates. Within the territorial bounds of the United States are the largest known available deposits both of sulphur and of phosphate rock. The obstacles to their utilization to the fullest requirements of agriculture are purely technical and economic, arising from the war emergency and continually facing changing conditions as the kaleidoscope of war's necessities presents new aspects from day to day.

These obstacles are being overcome, somewhat more rapidly than the obstacles in the way of the resumption of full normal supplies of nitrates and potash. In the meantime, moreover, we have the consolation of knowing that so far as phosphates are concerned Germany is in worse plight than we are. Offsetting to a considerable extent Germany's ability to withhold potash from the rest of the world, is America's ability to withhold phosphate from Germany, for this country has been the largest producer and exporter of this commodity, and Germany the largest foreign customer. In 1913 we exported 1,366,508 long tons of phosphate rock, of which about half went to Germany. In 1915 our exports had dropped to 253,421 tons and Germany got only 745 tons of it and received none at all in 1916 except what went through Sweden, whose imports of this material from the United States showed a suspicious jump from 26,746 tons in 1915 to 56,475 tons in 1916. Germany is now dependent for its phosphate supply upon basic slag, the refuse by-product from the smelting of phosphoric iron ores. The ores of Lorraine, from which Germany draws its chief supply of iron, are especially rich in phosphorus.

Our difficulty is not shortage of available raw materials but lack of means of converting them into fertilizers, and of transportation. The phosphate situation in the United States hinges largely upon the sulphuric acid situation; the two products are inextricably bound together, so far as the fertilizer market is concerned.

The principal sources from which phosphate rock is now obtained are Florida, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Florida furnishes about three quarters of the entire present annual output of around 2,000,000 tons. This compares with a total production of 3,111,221 tons in 1913, the difference being mainly due to the falling off of the export business. Many of the Florida mines have been closed down entirely since the export trade began to disappear. Since the entrance of the United States into the war there has been a further decline in output, partly due to labor scarcity, in part to high transportation cost and insufficient supply of shipping, and partly because of shortage of fuel oil, upon which the mining operations, in Florida especially, largely depend. The chief matter, however, to reduce

the available supply of phosphate fertilizers, is the high cost of sulphuric acid and the heavy demand for this product for munitions manufacture and in a vast range of industrial processes that have been stimulated to increase activity because of war conditions.

Phosphate rock in its raw or pulverized state is of little or no value as fertilizer, because its phosphorus content is an insoluble form that cannot be assimilated by plants. To convert a ton of phosphate rock into acid phosphate, making the phosphorus available as phosphoric acid, requires the treatment of the rock with almost an equal amount of sulphuric acid.

While we have in the United States the largest and purest known deposits of sulphur, and these have been developed very extensively in the last few years, the greater proportion of our sulphuric acid production has until recently been from Spanish pyrites from the Rio Tinto mines.

The increasing demand for sulphuric acid in munition and other industries has developed its manufacture from sulphur sources heretofore regarded as too valuable to be utilized in this way.

AN IMPORTANT ACID

There is almost no industry in which sulphuric acid, often termed the most important of all chemicals, does not enter at some stage.

For this increased supply of sulphuric acid we are relying in part on an accelerated output of by-product sulphuric acid from the smelters of sulphide-bearing ores, but chiefly upon the great deposits of pure native sulphur in Louisiana and Texas.

More than half a century ago, in 1865, drillers boring for petroleum about fifteen miles west of Lake Charles, Louisiana, encountered a mass of pure sulphur 100 feet thick, lying below several hundred feet of quicksand. For thirty years thereafter divers efforts were made to win the sulphur by means of shaft mining. Quicksand and poisonous fumes rendered all these attempts futile. In 1891 the problem in industrial chemistry presented by this sulphur deposit, intrigued the professional curiosity of the late Herman Frasch, an American chemical engineer of German birth who had won fame and fortune through his discovery of manifold processes for the recovery and purification of petroleum. For twelve years Mr. Frasch worked on the problem. In 1903 the recovery of sulphur on a commercial scale began. By 1905 the output had reached 175,000 tons annually, about the amount we had been importing from Italy up to five years before. The world had for years been dependent for its sulphur supply upon the Sicilian mines. Their impure product, requiring refining operations after mining by crude and wasteful methods, could not compete with the perfectly pure sulphur drawn from the Louisiana field. By 1910 our imports of Sicilian sulphur had entirely ceased and we were beginning to export to the rest of the world. In 1914 the combined output of the original Louisiana field and a similar deposit discovered later at Bryan Heights, Texas, was 350,000 tons, of which 100,000 tons was exported, the remainder being consumed in the United States by our rapidly developing rubber and oil refining industries and the various other industrial processes requiring sulphur in their operation.

PUMPING UP MOUNTAINS OF SULPHUR

The Frasch process for the recovery of this deep-lying sulphur is simplicity itself. In essence it consists in pumping superheated steam at 335° F. to the sulphur bed and forcing the sulphur melted thereby through a pipe to the surface.

The molten sulphur is cooled in large bins. As soon as the water evaporates there is left only a residue of pure sulphur, ready to be loaded into cars. The Louisiana and Texas deposits now provide 98 per cent. of this country's sulphur. Production can be enormously accelerated with little trouble. It took nearly nine months to sink the first ten-inch pipe through 200 feet of sulphur; it can be done now in three days. Once, for demonstration purposes, Mr. Frasch pumped six wells continuously for two months; the output was 122,000 tons of sulphur, or at the rate of 732,000 tons annually! Literal mountains of sulphur have been accumulated in a surprisingly short time. Blocks of pure sulphur 250 feet long, 150 feet wide and 65 feet high requiring blasting into fragments before the steamshovels that load a 35-ton car in fourteen minutes can handle it, are regular practice.

The extent of these sulphur deposits, formed by deep volcanic action and forced to the surface through the expansion of crystallization, has not been even approximately determined. The presumption that their life even under the

extraordinary demand of war conditions, may be measured in decades rather than years, has the indorsement of Government scientists. Their product in normal times, valued at around $20 a ton, has been deemed too expensive to divert to sulphuric acid production. With a return to pre-war conditions it is probable that the manufacture of acid from Spanish pyrites will be resumed, while conservation methods now being extended to the smelter waste already referred to will gradually build up a sulphuric acid supply for America that will render us completely independent and at the same time permit the reservation of the more valuable pure sulphur for the purposes to which is is more economically adapted. Even were present supplies adequate in volume for all normal fertilizer needs in addition to the abnormal war requirements, the necessarily high cost of acid as now produced would operate to cut down the distribution of acid phosphate fertilizer.

ACID FROM SMELTERS

There is coming into the market, however, an increasing volume of sulphuric acid produced by the treatment of the fumes from smelters treating sulphur-bearing ores. Almost all gold, copper, and zinc ores mined in this country contain sulphides. At almost every smelter the sulphur content is neglected and allowed to escape into the air, not only with a direct economic loss, but in some localities ruining the adjacent countryside by the fumes, which are highly destructive to vegetation as evidenced by the barren landscape of Butte, Montana. As a result of efforts for the prevention of atmospheric pollution, notably the action of the State of Georgia against the State of Tennessee for the suppression of fumes from a smelter situated close to the boundary line, processes for the recovery of these gases and the conversion of their sulphur content into sulphuric acid have been so perfected that even under normal conditions they pay well for their installation. Several such installations have been made and more are under way. Early in 1917 the American Smelting and Refining Company announced its intention to build a sulphuric acid plant with a capacity of 1,000,000 tons a year.

Since the smelting industry is naturally concentred in the Far West, where the chief metal mining operations are carried on, sulphuric acid produced at smelters has to contend with an adverse fr
destined for use in the
centres or for treating Fl
phosphates. With the f
of sulphuric acid productio
ever, there is likely to g
development of what are
deposits of phosphate roc
touched in the vast belt o
extending from Salt Lak
Montana. The total visi
phate rock in the Eastern
by the United States Geolo
amounts to three hund
million tons, or about
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this, however, includes so
in Arkansas as yet unde
erable areas of undevelope
doubtful grade in other
The total amount of Eas
of grades comparable with
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half the figure given, or al
ply for the whole world
sumed per annum than
diately preceding the be
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increased agricultural op
after the war.

WESTERN DEPOSITS

But in the Western
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that his ability to mark down and stalk ga
is almost uncanny and compares with
exploits of story-book Indians.

A man of strong and forceful personali
Admiral Rodman leaves a permanent impr
sion, and a friendly one, upon everybody w
whom he comes in contact. He is one of
men whom nobody forgets who has once m
him. Always cheerful, he has the faculty
imparting cheerfulness to others arou
him. A thorough optimist, he sees alwa
the bright side of things and is never dow
cast for long.

Admiral Rodman was born at Frankfo
January 6, 1859, and entered the Na
Academy at sixteen, in 1875. His car
at Annapolis as one of his classmates te
it, was devoted mainly to devising schem
to outwit the instructors. Once in act
service, however, he showed a rema
able mastery of the practical details of
profession, winning the confidence of
superiors as he won the affection and ent
siastic coöperation of his subordinates. Ev
officer and man who ever served with h
swears by him. As a junior officer he h
rather more than the average amount of
duty in important posts. As a captain
commanded successfully the *Connecticut*,
Delaware, and the *New York*, was captain
the Mare Island Navy Yard, in charge
operations at Panama, member of the Na
General Board, and director of the Pana
Railroad Company. He won his Rear-A
miral's rank in May, 1917, and has since co
manded four different battleship divisions
the Atlantic Fleet, including his present det

Admiral Henry B. Wilson

ersonification of energy and never spares himself

erican Naval
the French
in which the
Rear-Admiral
is officially
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up and down
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ore in all his-
times—with
y for convoy-
safely through
ndeed.

"Stormy" Wilson, as he has been kno
since his Annapolis days, has made his j
unofficially, even bigger than that, for throu
his coöperation with the French Navy a
the contacts of his men and ships with t
French coastwise and seafaring populati
he is building up a tradition of good w
coupled with efficiency that compares w
the similar link between the two nations th
Pershing and his soldiers are forging fart
inland. French naval men have expres
their delight in a hundred ways at the coura
audacity, and seamanlike skill of Admi

Drawn from a photograph © Harris & Ewing

abroad was of real service to his country at that time. Then came the winning of the battle efficiency pennant by the *Michigan*. It is difficult to convey to a landsman just what the winning of this annual trophy means to the officers and crew of a warship, especially to her commanding officer. It is somewhat like getting the *croix de guerre*, the "V.C.", and the Congressional Medal of Honor all at once. It means that the ship winning the right to fly this pennant has made the best record of any unit of the American Navy for an entire year, both in gunnery and in engineering; it is proof conclusive that her commanding officer is a master of his profession from every point of view. The *Michigan* won the pennant for 1914. Then, just at the turn of the year, she went aground. A shoal in the shifting, sandy bottom off the shallow Jersey coast where the charts said no shoal should be; a current setting inshore—"it might have happened to any of us," as one of Admiral Niblack's professional associates put it. The ship was uninjured and floated next high tide—but Navy regulations call for a court-martial when a ship runs aground, though ever so lightly, and Captain Niblack was found technically guilty of negligence and sentenced to be reduced twenty numbers. The Secretary of the Navy reduced the sentence to the loss of five numbers and sent him back to command the *Michigan* again. Detail to the General Board of the Navy was followed by promotion last August to Rear-Admiral.

Admiral Niblack was born at Vincennes, Indiana, July 25, 1859. His Annapolis class of '80 had rather a difficult time finding things to do, for at that time there were more officers in the Navy than there were ships for them. Young Niblack put in a good deal of time at this period in work for the Smithsonian Institution. One of his classmates, commenting on his scientific certainty on all subjects connected with his professional work, recently attributed his accurate habits of study and classification of knowledge to his Smithsonian experience. In the Spanish War he saw service in the Philippines, and his diplomatic experiences include a two years' term as Naval Attaché at Buenos Aires. He is an excellent linguist, speaking all the western European tongues, and it is violating no confidence to say that he is likely to have use for them all.

Drawn from a photograph © by the Western Newspaper Union

Rear-Admiral Herbert O. Dunn

He is neat and courteous, and is "forceful without being noisy about it"

IF YOU happen to be sailing the North Atlantic and meet a short, rather chunky American Naval officer wearing the uniform of a Rear-Admiral; if that uniform is tailored to the ultimate of sartorial perfection, with every last inch of braid, gold lace, and insignia varying not a hairsbreadth from their proper places as prescribed in the regulations; if the officer inside of this uniform is as precise and trim in manner and personal appearance as his outward garb, you would be justified in guessing that you were face to face with "Herbie" Dunn.

Don't gather the impression that Admiral Dunn is a martinet. Rather, if he had to be characterized in a single expression, he might be called whatever is the deep-water equivalent for *beau sabreur*. He is as accurate and precise in his manner and methods as he is in his personal appearance; dignified without being aloof, genial without being familiar, [illegible] everything "ship-shape and Bristol fashion" and who gets what he wants from his subordinates by the simple process of letting them understand what he expects of them, and then letting them alone, each to achieve the results in his own way. Which, among other things, explains why his juniors in the service refer to him as "Herbie," but in addressing him are especially punctilious about the salutes and formalities imposed by the Navy regulations and the traditions of the service.

It may be related that he has been concerned in at least one spectacular incident of war since his detail to duty in European waters last November. A U-boat captain thought he would inflict a little *schrecklichkeit* upon the inhabitants of the Azores, who, being Portuguese, were the Kaiser's enemies. He approached the harbor of Ponta Delgada and fired a few shells into the town. He had not noticed, however, that an American naval craft [illegible] harbor, hidden from his view

by the sea wall. Just how the American vessel fired over the breakwater and gave the apostle of *kultur* a swift and fatal dose of his own medicine has been told by Admiral Dunn in official reports, and some day the public will have a chance to hear the details.

Admiral Dunn's rise in the Navy and his selection for his present important post of duty have not resulted from spectacular exploits nor been due to accidental causes. From his early days in the service, he has been known among his associates as a clear thinker, a hard worker of the "plugger" type, and a most enthusiastic student of every phase and branch of Naval affairs. While still a lieutenant he invented and patented the "Dunn anchor" which has since become a world-wide standard. It was one of the most important improvements in the stockless anchor, then just coming into general use, and has been adopted by and is quite generally used in our own Navy.

"Admiral Dunn is forceful without being noisy about it," is the way one of his Navy associates expressed it. "He always knows exactly what he is doing and everybody about him recognizes that fact and listens when he talks. There are few me are as well poised at all ti

Admiral Dunn's hobby Island Sound, not far fro Westerly, Rhode Island. fess to be a farmer, but development of the little and which, until the deat years ago, was as much " can be called home by a N his studious and quiet tast Admiral Dunn has the rep of the best bridge players i saying a good deal in vie bridge that may be found room. Here, again, his st mental alertness stand hin

Admiral Dunn's 45 yea been marked by a wide including command of the a captain, and such shore of New York Harbor an gineering materials. Whe entered the war, Admiral flag rank in 1915, was in c Five of the battleship fo fleet, with the *Connecticut*

RESTORING CRIPPLED SOLDIER USEFUL LIFE

Thinking Affected More Than Walking by the Loss of a Leg—The Cr That He Can Enjoy Life and Be Useful—Coddling by Frie timentalists Has Done Much Harm—Canada Leads the in Restoration Work—Her Methods

BY

THOMAS GREGORY

WHEN a man loses his leg in war it affects his thinking more than it affects his walking. Science can supply him with an artificial leg that will answer almost all his needs. But if he finds he is maimed in any way, his first thought is "Nobody has any use for a cripple." He feels that he is done for, and unless he can be quickly shown that he still has a chance, he *is* done for. He lost his nerve when he lost his leg.

After nearly four years nations are just learning cripple back on the indus have done the pioneer wo —we may have half a mil to be spared the painful e disheartening failures of early years of the war. I The difficulties to be ove the experience of our allies that experience there sta lying principles that we sh

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and friends as well. The "patriotic" hysteri of the public has seriously hampered effort to give the war cripple a fair start in civilia life in some communities. Public glorificatio of the returned soldier has mounted to suc heights of sentimentality that the police hav been afraid to attempt to restrain him, n matter what excesses he might indulge in "Treating" the returned soldier resulted i France in a huge crop of habitual drunkard among the maimed veterans of the first yea or two of war. "Hospital-itis," or the habi of doing nothing but be taken care of, wa responsible in the first year of war for th fact that only about 4 per cent. of cripples wer willing even to attempt to go back to thei former status as wage-earners. Coddling c disabled soldiers in "convalescent homes" i England and Canada resulted so disastrousl that these amateur hospitals have been severel condemned by the Army medical authorities.

It is difficult for the public to understan that the returned soldier is human, like th rest of us, and just as likely to imbibe fals notions and have his head turned by adulatio as any one else. The nation owes a speci debt of gratitude to the men who have bee disabled in its service, but the expression c that gratitude must be made with due regar to the interests of the veteran himself. In stead of being persuaded that he is helple and condemned to pauperized idleness, th inevitable result of over-sentimentality, h must be convinced that his family, his friend and his community expect him to prove him self a real hero by continuing to play a man part in life. The one calamity to which it unjust to sentence the crippled soldier is a li of idleness; the one greatest service the natio can render him is to fit him to utilize all hi remaining powers to the greatest possibl advantage, to become again a man among mer

CRIPPLE CAN AND MUST FINALLY COMPET

In the first flush of enthusiasm over th returned soldier there are always many job and many more promises of jobs for cripple The Bureau of Employment of the Pennsyl vania Department of Labor recently an nounced that, in response to a questionnair sent to every employer of labor in the state positions had been offered for no less tha 42,111 disabled American soldiers and sailor But after the patriotic fervor has died dow the disabled veteran must compete with th

physically sound if he is to continue to hold his job. Already there is a decided reaction among French manufacturers and business men against the employment of the war cripple unless he is particularly skilled. A prominent American manufacturer expressed the business view recently thus:

"I am first an American and a patriot, and as such I will aid these men in every way possible. I am also a manufacturer, with economical responsibilities to my stockholders, employees, and others, and as such I cannot consider these men as employees unless I am convinced it is a sound business proposition."

That the crippled soldier *can* be returned to industry on the basis of a sound business proposition for the employer, provided he is properly trained to the trade or occupation he engages in, has been proved in all of the allied countries, and, through experience with industrial cripples, in America. Ten per cent. of the 4,000 members of the National Association of Manufacturers are employing men who have been disabled in some way. Information recently collected by F. W. Keough, editor of *American Industries*, the official organ of the association, shows that, in the opinion of the majority, any intelligent man, no matter how disabled, can, by the aid of some special device, hold his own with other workers.

CONGRESS IS RUINING A GOOD PLAN

To fit the war cripple to work under fair conditions calls for the establishment of a scheme or programme that will carry him beyond the point where the Army surgeons have done all they can for him. Our Government has as yet arrived at no defined policy as to this vocational rehabilitation of the disabled soldier, which includes his reëducation in his old calling, or in a new one if he is unfitted for the old. There is plenty of information available. and the pitfalls to be avoided are clearly indicated by the experience of France, Great Britain, and Canada. In January, 1918, a conference was called by Surgeon-General Gorgas, at which there were representatives of every governmental and private agency that could conceivably have any interest in the future of the crippled veteran. A comprehensive plan that satisfied all requirements was embodied in a bill which was prepared for submission to Congress. Then politicians took a hand; motives were questioned, jealousies aroused, personal ambitions insinuated.

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None of the other belligerents has gone as far as that; not even Germany. Canada, the only one of the allied governments that made the rehabilitation of the war cripple a governmental concern early in the war, has tried many experiments and progressed farther than any of the others. Canada, however, still leaves it to the individual to determine whether he shall be reëducated or not. In England, the proposal to reduce the crippled soldier's pension by the amount of his earning capacity had to be abandoned and a fixed minimum pension established as an inducement to war cripples to undergo vocational training. In France the work is still in private hands, in coöperation with the military authorities. There is no one in France who can say to the discharged French soldier: "You must learn a trade or suffer a penalty for not doing so."

"A good many people who have not had actual experience in dealing with cripples have glibly advanced the proposal that the disabled soldier should be given no choice as to whether or not he should undertake training," says Douglas C. McMurtrie, Director of the Red Cross Institute and an acknowledged authority on the cripple in industry. "Retain him under military discipline, they say, and assign him to attend trade school as he would be assigned to sentry duty. Such a theory is nothing short of pernicious and, if put in practice, would end in confusion. While a soldier may submit to be ordered to a classroom, no authority in the world can make him receptive to the instruction or interested in the subject. In fact, compulsion would effect just the opposite result. Then, again, public opinion, always at an emotional stage as the returned men begin to arrive from the front, will not tolerate such a course. The public takes the attitude—and the soldiers themselves second it—that though men have enlisted for military service to defend their country, they have not enlisted for compulsory trade school attendance, and that upon returning from the front, disabled and weary, they should at least have the right to go back home to their families.

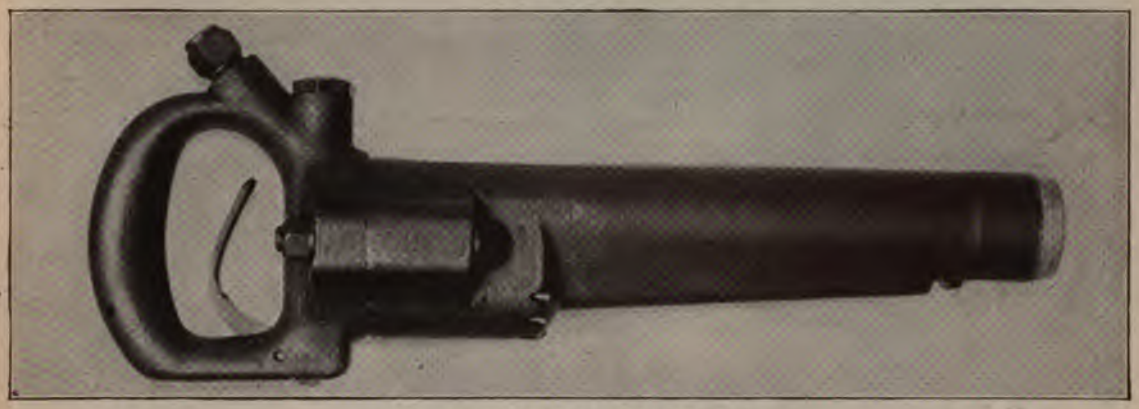
"There are two attitudes the man may take. One is that he has done his duty by his country, been seriously crippled in its performance, and, therefore, it is incumbent upon the Government to support him for the rest of his days —it would be an outrage to expect a disabled hero to go out again to toil for his daily bread! As no pension is adequate to live on, this means at least partial dependence, either upon relatives or the community. The second attitude is that he must continue to do his full duty to his country, as befitting a soldier and a man; that he will make an earnest effort to fit himself for a position of independence and self-support. He must be influenced to make for himself this latter decision, and in the great majority of cases he can be brought to do so. And his family must be converted as well—persuaded that time spent now in thorough preparation will pay in the long run. Though the voice of authority is impotent, persuasion, backed by the right type of personal influence, will accomplish the desired end."

Until the crippled soldier is finally discharged from service, however, Canada's experience indicates the advisability of unmixed military control. Without it, it is impossible to give the invalided soldier the essential medical and surgical care. Under the experiment of mixed control, too, discipline collapsed utterly.

While the wishes of the man himself must be considered when his preparation for civil life begins, there is required a certain degree of control to keep him from electing employment of a kind likely to be overcrowded. Many disabled men take a fancy for a trade that carries no insurance of continuous livelihood. The occupation of chauffeur, for example, has been blacklisted in Canada, as an unsuitable trade for which to train the disabled soldiers; there will be more able-bodied chauffeurs after the war than there is room for. So too, they are discouraged from undertaking to learn purely clerical occupations unless they have very exceptional qualifications.

The Canadian view is that men in process of recuperation from their wounds are not normal; that they should not be harshly criticized or blamed for their unwillingness, but that all the time, patience, and tact required to induce them willingly to enter selected occupations and receive special training for them should be given without stint. Canada has come nearer to working out a complete and unified scheme for the care of the war cripple than has any of the other countries engaged in fighting Germany. Racially, temperamentally, geographically, and economically Canada is more like the United States than any other belligerent. Canada's conclusions as to the war cripple, therefore, should be the best lamp-posts for our guidance.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES



THE GUN THAT WILL WIN THE WAR
One type of the "air-gun" or pneumatic hammer used in ship construction for riveting and for a variety of other purposes

EARLY in the war we heard a great deal about the German 42-centimeter gun. Then the English "four-point-seven" anti-aircraft gun attracted attention. Lately we have read of the remarkable performances of the French three-inch gun, the wonderful little "seventy-five." Now the German gun that has been shelling Paris at a range of 75 miles has added a new chapter to the record of *schrecklichkeit*.

But the gun that will win the war is none of these. It is a weapon of which America already has countless batteries in action. Its bore is only an inch and an eighth, a mere toy beside even the "seventy-five," but it has a range of 3,000 miles. Hats off to the "air-gun"!

The Allies are crying GIVE US ships and ships and MORE SHIPS and it takes RIVETS to build ships and considerable AIR to drive rivets AND DO a lot of other things around a SHIPYARD and a 1/16 inch hole will leak 5 CU. FT. of AIR per MINUTE and the power-house has to burn 2 LBS. of COAL to pump this air STOP THE LEAKS and help us give you GOOD AIR for your tools so you can DRIVE a LOT of RIVETS in the KAISER'S COFFIN

The SHIPS you are BUILDING are LIFEBOATS for these MEN and it will take about 310 MILLION RIVETS a YEAR to build all the SHIPS and in the MEANTIME, the U-BOATS are getting about 3 TIMES as many SHIPS as are being LAUNCHED; and it takes 575,000 rivets to build one DESTROYER to catch a U-BOAT: NOW it takes a MIGHTY SMALL LEAK to WASTE enough AIR TO RUN A HAMMER and WHILE the AIR is LEAKING away and the MEN are SENT HOME for WANT of AIR and LOSING their PAY, the SHIPS are DELAYED and OUR BOYS OVER THERE are in DANGER and the U-BOATS never KNOCK OFF a MINUTE DO YOUR part STOP the LEAKS, put a WASHER in your HOSE; take BACK the BUSTED hose, make FULL PAY EVERY WEEK. FINISH the SHIPS and SERVE YOUR COUNTRY.

"AIR WILL WIN THE WAR"
These posters, put up by the U. S. Shipping Board in every shipyard, emphasize the importance of compressed air in shipbuilding

THE AIR-GUN AT WORK
While one worker is heading up rivets in the deck of a steel ship, another is caulking the seam with the "air-gun"

INSTEAD OF A HAMMER
The air-gun takes the place of the hammer and cold-chisel. workman is chipping the edge of a boiler-head

That is what every shipyard worker calls the tool that made possible the biggest splash in history, when nearly 100 ships, aggregating nearly half a million tons, slipped off the ways of American shipyards on the Fourth of July. Without the pneumatic hammer, the building of a tenth part of these ships would have been impossible.

The air-gun is taking its place, too, alongside the polo mallet, the tennis racquet, and the brassie as an implement of sport. The most exciting international sporting event of recent years is the contest, now in full swing, for the riveting championship of the world. T times in as many months the title has cro the Atlantic; it has been held in Englan Scotland, and in Ireland, where it now rem it has been held on the Atlantic coast and o Great Lakes, with Pacific ports as close tenders. Down on the Gulf there are riv gangs that hope some day to bring the c pionship to that section.

The world's record, as this is writte held by John Moir of Belfast, whose cer performance of 11,209 standard rivets i floors of a ship in a nine-hour day elicit

THE PNEUMATIC DRILL
Side-partner of the air-gun, in use reaming out a rivet-hole in the deck of a steel ship

AIR-GUN FOR WOODEN
For driving oakum into se

THE PNEUMATIC CAULKER AT WORK
By its aid wooden ships are finished in record time

BORING FOR THE DRIFT BOLTS
They are long steel pins that hold the planks

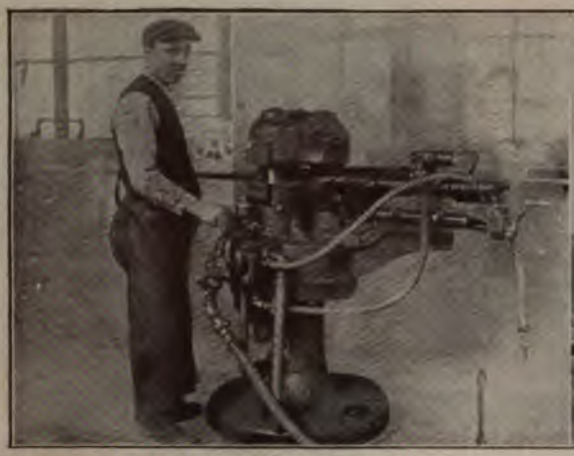
cablegram of congratulation from Director-General Charles M. Schwab of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. To average 400 rivets per gang per day is the mark the American yards are trying to reach.

The importance of rivets is obvious when it is realized that even a comparatively small steel freighter, say 5,500 deadweight tons, has more than half a million rivets in its construction; a 10,000 ton ship will have nearly a million rivets. Most of these must be watertight, many of them oil-tight as well. Rivets hold together the plates and beams that form the keel, the floors, and the frames of the ship; they fasten the shell plates to each other and to the frames; they secure the inner sheathing or "ceiling" and the bulkheads that divide the watertight compartments; they fasten the deck-beams in place and the decks to the beams; they attach the hatch-coamings and make the upper works secure; from boilers and shaft-tunnels to bridge and cro'nest, the building of the ship depends upon rivets, rivets, and nothing but rivets.

The standard riveting gang consists of three men, the riveter himself, the "passer-up,"

THE PNEUMATIC DRILL
Boring holes for treenails that fasten skin to ribs

DRIVING DRIFT BOLTS
In the sister keelson of a 3,500-ton deadweight wooden cargo ship



A HEADING MACHINE
Air is used to operate this heading machine which converts a bar of steel into a drift-bolt

DRILLING AND COUNTERSINKING HOLES
At one operation, while the pneumatic hammer is driving the spikes, in the deck of a wooden ship

sometimes also known as the "holder-on," and the heater boy. In contests for records the skilled riveter will use two "passers-up." The heater-boy usually uses a simple portable forge, burning coal or coke, to bring the rivets to the necessary cherry-red heat; in indoor work an electric rivet-heater is often used. The heater-boy tosses the "hot pin," as the workers call them, to the passer-up, who catches it in a wooden box or a metal funnel and with his tongs inserts it in the hole, where he holds it firmly, either with a "dolly-bar" which is a steel bar bent to whatever shape suits the user's convenience, or with an air-gun. On outside shell work both the holder-on and the riveter himself use air-guns frequently.

The skill of an expert riveter with an air-gun makes of his work a performance as interesting to watch as that of a Japanese juggler. The rivet must be "set" so that its shank exactly fills the hole in the plates or beams; both heads must be tight against the plates and any warp or bulge in the plate must be pulled down flat by the rivet, so that the resulting joint is water-tight; the head formed by the riveter must be uniform with all the other rivet-heads, whether cone, button, or flush, depending upon the location and purpose.

Under a pressure of 100 pounds of air to the square inch the piston of the standard pneumatic hammer used for ship work strikes 760 blows a minute on the rivet-set; some fast workers get more speed by using a shorter hammer-piston.

The pneumatic drill, the companion tool of the pneumatic hammer, produces rotary motion instead of percussion. Its principle is exactly that of the steam engine, the compressed air operating two or four tiny pistons which are connected by gearing to a central rotating shaft carrying a drill-chuck.

The air-plant may be compared to the heart of the shipyard. It is the main driving force behind Uncle Sam's shipbuilding programme. The ship-builders say that "Air will win the war."

A TWO-MAN "AIR-GUN"
For driving drift bolts and treenails

ANOTHER APPLICATION OF COMPRESSED AIR
In wooden ship work —a portable buzz saw

The World's W

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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THE LIBERTY MOTOR, AND KEEPING THE SOLDIER'S FEET FIT

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MARSHAL FERDINAND FOCH

Under whose command the Allied armies regained the offensive and achieved such success that he has been rewarded by his Government with the highest military honor in its gift, the baton of a Marshal of France

THE
WORLD'S WORK

SEPTEMBER, 1918

VOLUME XXXVI NUMBER 5

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

TWO big facts emerge from the vast details of the world war: That in the west, the Allies have been able to take the offensive, and that in the east, definite measures have been adopted to restore an eastern front.

Foch had been waiting for the Americans. Thanks to our transport service, which achieved extraordinary success in the handling of our ships, and thanks to the British, who lent us vessels to carry 60 per cent. of our troops, we have got more than a million men to France. The combatant element of this million gave Foch the necessary strength to launch with safety the attack that demolished the Soissons-Château-Thierry-Rheims salient, and gave the Germans their first recent experience of the road to ultimate defeat.

When General Pershing exclaimed in France a year ago, "Lafayette, we have come!" he spoke as prophet rather than as reporter. But his prophecy was sound, for even though at this second Battle of the Marne the French numbered 70 per cent. of the victorious troops and the Americans shared the honors of the other 30 per cent. with the British and the Italians, nevertheless the Americans were there in force enough to be an indispensable element of the battle. And one can not read the record of their glory there without a thrill of exultation. Pride that our boys were conspicuous by their bravery, even in the company of the finest veterans in France, outruns our solemn joy that America at last has taken a man's sized place upon the battle line.

In the east our Government has committed itself to the urgent task of saving Russia from economic ruin and political chaos as well as from German exploitation. Russia's state had become not only a nightmare of anarchy and famine and oppression to the Russians, but one of the gravest dangers to the Allied cause. In another year, Germany, if unrestrained, could organize great supplies of food and oil and minerals, and gather probably a million fighting men from the inexhaustible resources of Russia —enough, perhaps, to make the war interminable. Action was needed, to save Russia and to save ourselves. The President's solution is a small expedition, capable of great expansion if the need arise, first military and then economic in its mission of aid, coöperating with the Japanese upon a full equality and guaranteeing to Russia its freedom from all territorial and other selfish aims. The freedom-loving Czechoslovak army, which it is the expedition's first duty to relieve, has made one of the most dramatic marches in history; and it is a force around which, as sincerely as around the disinterested Americans, the elements of Russian regeneration can rally. Backed by the power of America and Japan, befriended by the money and supplies they bring, and assured of moral support for a strong democratic government, the Russians of Siberia have every opportunity to rejoin the battle for their liberties which the Germans and the Bolsheviki now threaten more dangerously than ever did the Czar. The military importance of a battle front established at the Ural Mountains is equalled by the political example of a self-governing Russian democracy in Siberia, upon which the European Russians may look with envy that may lead to emulation.

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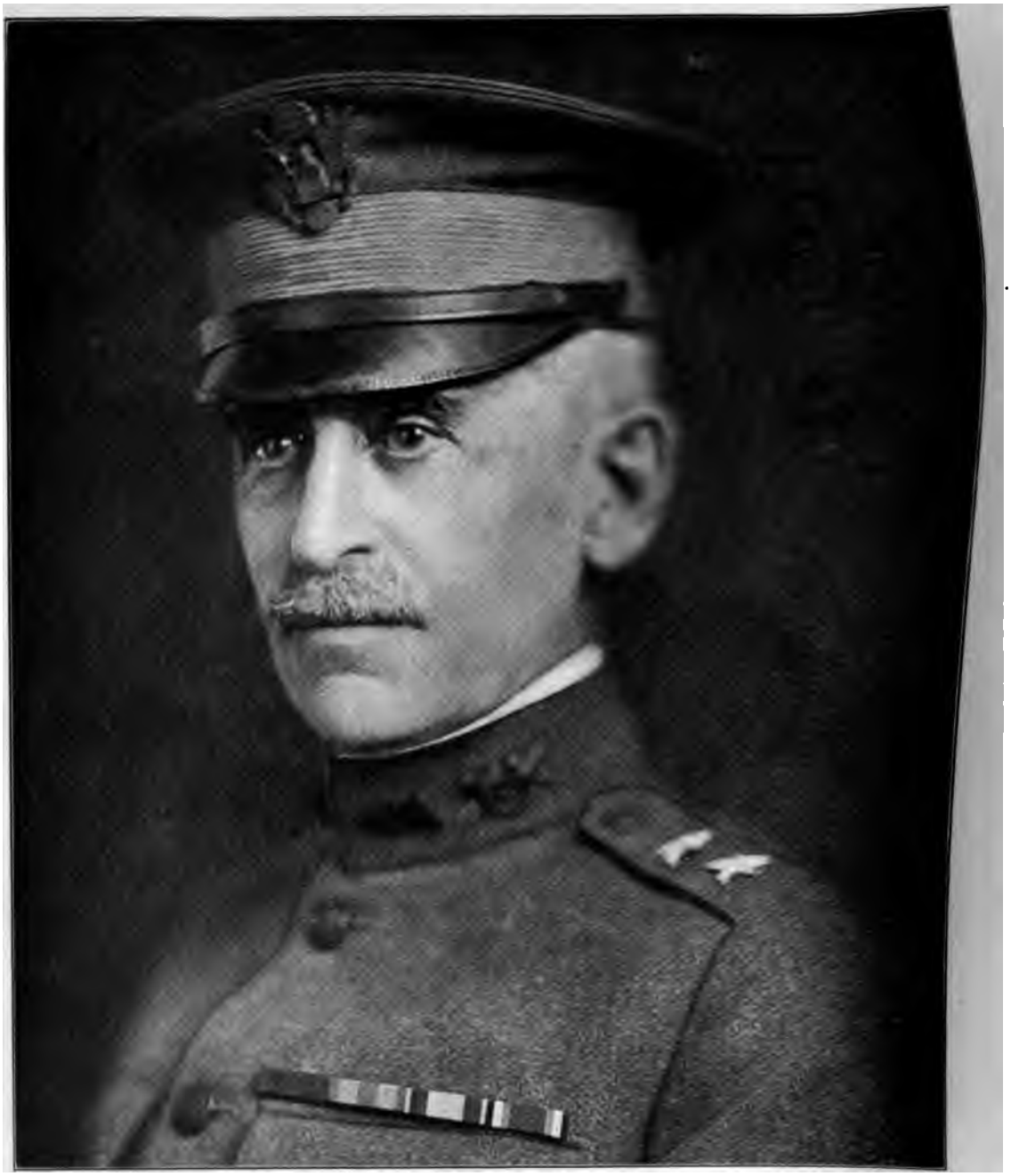
MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM M. WRIGHT

Who commands one of the new complete American Army Corps recently organized in France

MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES G. HARBORD

Who has been appointed head of the supply service of the American Expeditionary Forces. At Château-Thierry he commanded a brigade of Marines. On June 28th he was made a major-general, and has recently been General Pershing's Chief of Staff



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MAJOR-GENERAL ENOCH H. CROWDER

Who for many years before the war studied the problems involved in the operation of a law for universal military service, with the result that he succeeded so well in the management of the draft that Congress wished to vote him a commission of lieutenant-general. The new draft act is based upon his recommendations

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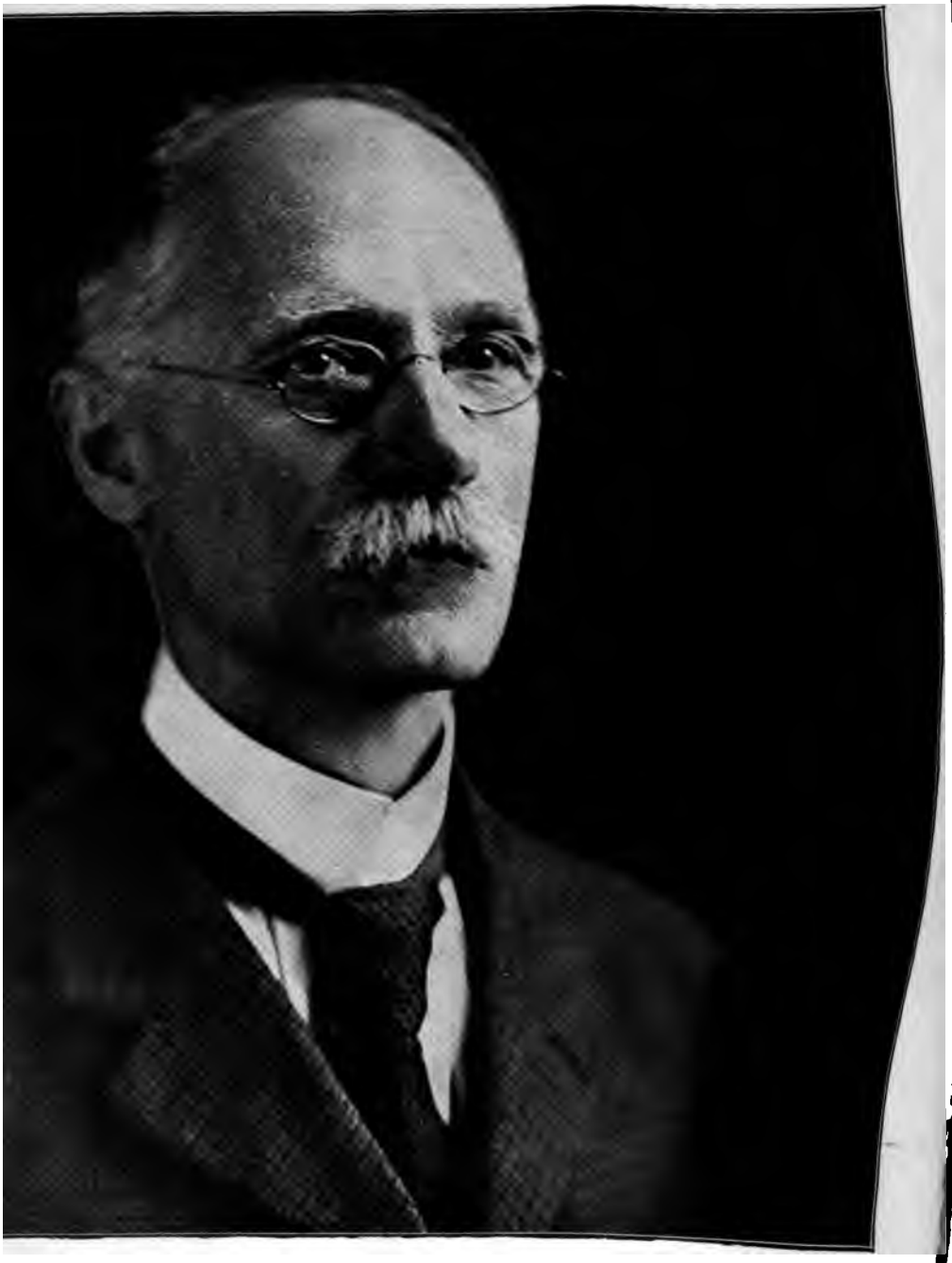
MR. DAVID J. LEWIS

Who is directly in charge of all the telephone and telegraph lines of the United States which were recently transferred to Government management under the Post Office Department



MR. JOSEPH LEE

President of the War Camp Community Service which has "ringed about the cantonments with a circle of ready but unforced hospitality" for the benefit of enlisted men and visiting relatives or friends

Our First Steps in Russia

T FIRST the plans of the Administration for assisting Russia may seem somewhat ı disappointing and inadequate. In con-ion with Japan we are to send a small mili-:orce, a few thousand men, to aid the Czecho-ks against the Austrians and Germans who ttacking them, and to "steady any efforts lf-government or self-defense in which the ans themselves may be willing to accept ance." These troops will be used also to l military stores at Archangel and Vladi-k, and act as a rear guard for the Czecho-ks as they advance toward European Russia ay of the Siberian Railroad. A commission osed of economists, merchants, engineers, rail-men, and Y. M. C. A. workers will be sent l the Russians in the work of rehabilitation. our Government and Japan accompany ınnouncement with the most solemn assur-to the Russian people that they have no ɔse other than to assist Russia against the ıan invader and to aid in restoring this great :ry to its rightful possessors.

this hardly amounts to the "intervention" hich there has been almost a general demand. less does it insure the immediate reëstab-ent of an eastern front. Yet the Russian :ion inevitably involves the greatest diffi-:s. German propaganda has already led eople far astray, the country at present is ɛ possession of a crowd of irresponsible ad-ırers, and it is not impossible that a large l army at this moment might arouse the est hostility. Furthermore the Allies, en-l as they are on the western front and in other res of war, might find it impossible to trans-and maintain a great force along the line of 'rans-Siberian Railroad. Out of all the Rus-welter one fact stands out predominantly; ıllies can save this nation from destruction ın coöperation with the Russian people them-ɔ, and we can hardly afford, at the beginning, ıuse that hostility against ourselves which the going Russian masses are beginning to mani-gainst their German oppressors.

ɔst historians date the downfall of Napoleon the day that he invaded Spain. England to the rescue of the Spanish people in small at first, afterward in larger numbers. It unlikely that Germany's attempt to disrupt ɔartition Russia may similarly prove to be ıdventure that will destroy her. In any rehensive survey of the present war Russia ɴ the central point. In reality this is what ɴorld is fighting for. Germany has repeat-signified her willingness to surrender all her conquests in the west and even t tion, provided that she be perm her winnings in the east. On France is now being played the t settle the future of Russia as well the rest of the world.

Yet in its present disorgan Russia is the greatest danger to t Her millions of half-starved p tempting recruiting ground to th Should Germany get complete p country, it would furnish her no oil and nearly all the raw mater would furnish her millions of so the real reason why the United St are making these advances to a be tracted people.

The Americans at the

IT WILL always be a source of cans that their soldiers were cient force at the second Batt to contribute materially to the ma The leadership in these operatio the preponderance of forces en French; yet both directly and United States may claim a consi the victory. If we had not had in France in July, and if American been landing in France at the a month, it is extremely unlikel Foch would have made his brillian On July 18th he could afford to th French reserves into the battle f because, with the rapidly augme armies, he could see plenty of m supply, many fold, any losses tha tain, and because, having tried out soldiers in many engagements, that, in skill and courage, they of any troops which were then in t in other words, knew that he had can army, both in hand and in also knew that this army could fig fundamental facts assured, there why he should longer hesitate to army to stop the German onsla behavior of the American troops gaged abundantly justified the F confidence. In American history C promises to become as famous a town or Gettysburg.

Yet, wonderful as was this ach no means indicates that the war end. Its most reassuring aspect the actual results achieved, is to the utter defeat of the Germa

impossible task which some authorities have asserted it to be. A certain school of military critics have said that the German line could not be broken, and that the absolute military victory which alone can save the world from Prussian autocracy could never be obtained. But we now see that the German armies can be destroyed. The German General Staff undoubtedly understands the art of war, but there is certainly not an intellect among all their Ludendorffs and Hindenburgs and Mackensens that ranks in the same class with General Foch. Thus the Marne offensive teaches us that we can break the German line and completely overpower the German army—if only we have the men. If Foch and his Frenchmen and the British can do this with something more than a million Americans in France, what can they not do when we have 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 fresh and vigorous troops there? The second Battle of the Marne has destroyed the German plan of defeating the Allies before the Americans entered the war in force. The next step is for the Americans to arrive in force and utterly annihilate Prussian military power. The plans for the enlargement of the army, announced at Washington, are a fair promise that we shall not fail in meeting this great responsibility.

Fundamentals of Victory Working With the Allies

THE happenings on the western front have somewhat obscured recent Allied victories which are less spectacular, but which are equally fundamental in their bearings upon the ultimate result. Nothing can be more important than Mr. Hoover's announcement in London that the food situation is completely under control, that America has enough on hand and in prospect to supply her own needs and to feed the civilian population and armies of her allies. Mr. Hoover publishes figures showing how successfully the United States has conserved food in the last few months; these figures, far from showing an increase in production, show a decrease, so that they really mean that Americans have enormously eliminated waste and developed an economy in their food intake which has hitherto been entirely foreign to their national habits. Mr. Hoover particularly assigns the credit for this showing to the American housewife. It has been her intelligence in regulating our daily provender, her conscientious determination to assist the Food Administration in its great programme, and her thrift, self-sacrifice, and patriotism that have made it possible for the United States to furnish its allies a continuous supply of all the essentials of life. This war is a war of fundamentals; and one of the greatest of these basic forces, food, has definitely taken its stand on our side.

But others of these fundamental points have also been decided in our favor. The submarine, as a determining element in the war, has been disposed of. When Germany started her ruthless campaign, there was a general agreement that there were only two ways of destroying this menace. One was to find methods of conquering submarines faster than they were being built. In other words, the "answer" to the underwater boat must be found. Another essential was to build merchant shipping faster than the Germans could sink it. We have now reached a point where it is possible to say that both these results have been attained. Recent announcements from the British Admiralty show that we have scored against the submarine in two ways: we are sinking this type of vessels faster than the German shipyards can build them and our shipbuilding has now got so well under way that more tons are being turned out monthly than Germany is sending to the bottom.

The long awaited "answer" to the submarine has been found. The destroyer and other kindred light surface craft, such as the "Eagle boat" are entirely competent to free the ocean from this essentially cowardly craft. It is now a completely demonstrated principle that the submarine cannot exist in waters that have a sufficient destroyer patrol. The German submarines have not succeeded in reaching the transports that have taken 1,300,000 Americans to France. They attack successfully only transports which are homeward bound and which are unescorted by destroyers. Our Navy Department and the British Admiralty have been much criticized for sending important ships westward without a destroyer screen, but this criticism is not justified. The Allied navies regard it as more important to provide destroyer escorts for transports packed with soldiers than for those that are practically empty. It does not protect both loaded and empty transports simply because it has not enough destroyers to do so, and this lack of all the destroyers needed explains such scattered "successes" as the German submarines still score. American and British shipyards, however, are now turning out destroyers on an enormous scale, so that, in a few months, the Allied navies will have vessels enough of this type to protect the entire war and mercantile fleet. When that point is reached, the German submarine will disappear from the seas. It will not be able to torpedo even hospital ships.

Thus the fundamentals of victory, soldiers, food, munitions, merchant ships, destroyers, are

all working on the Allied side. With every month we grow stronger in each of these essentials. And with every month Germany grows weaker.

Marshal Foch

FOCH has revealed a characteristic of the greatest soldiers: he recognizes that armies are simply the force by which the civil policy of a people is made effective, and that military action is useful in proportion as it furthers the far-seeing aims of statesmen. His blow fell at the moment it would be the most powerful in its effect, not only upon the battlefield but upon the psychology of the world. It did far more than flatten the salient of Château-Thierry—it flattened the Lansdowne patched-peace salient, and the preparations for reviving the prestige of the Crown Prince and the military party in Germany. It was timed to the moment of the maturing of the plans for regenerating Russia. And its effect upon the fighting spirit of America has been incalculable.

A great actor said that his art lay in keeping his heart warm and his head cool. The saying is as applicable to great men of action. The world for months wondered that Foch, the meteor of the first Battle of the Marne, did not repeat the lightning stroke which flashed from the murk of that great battle when he sent his magnificent message to Joffre: "My left is broken, my right is routed, therefore I will attack with the centre." And they asked again: "What has happened to the strategist who says that there is no war but offensive war?" Foch's answer was the second Battle of the Marne. The heart was still warm, but the head had kept cool. Until the instant when "would" became synonymous with "could," Foch waited. Then came his thunderbolt.

The whole civilized world—and with especial cordiality—America approves the recognition of his genius by the bestowal upon him of the highest honor France can give a soldier, and joins in the salute to Foch, Marshal of France.

Our Interest in World Politics

NOW, as never before, Americans need to know foreign history and foreign politics. The day has passed for us to think only of our internal affairs. A million and a third of our male population fighting in Europe is evidence enough that we can never again imagine ourselves untouched by what is going on outside our borders—thousands of our men are dying in France because of what was going on in Berlin and Vienna and Belgrade four and eight and forty years ago—things
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out of it. The skilled men who are the industrial army are the older men. They are also the support of the women and the children. General Crowder has pointed out that the physically fit men between the ages of 18 and 21, who have no dependents, number close to 2 millions, whereas the same kind of men between the ages 31 and 45 number only 600,000. The logic of these facts is inescapable; the draft ages had to be extended, and the bulk of the new men must come from those who are less than twenty-one years old.

The discussion for months past of the approaching change in the age limits has been, perhaps unconsciously, an education of the American public to face this fact. However reluctant we may be to send boys, even grown boys, to the field of battle, the alternative has daily become clearer and more terrible. That alternative is either a longer war or an inconclusive peace. A longer war simply means more men certain to be killed. An inconclusive peace means a Germany plotting new wars, and a world in arms preparing a new defense against still bloodier conflicts. The only thing to do is to finish the job now. The more overwhelming the force, and the more quickly the blow is struck, the less costly it will be in human lives.

The older men will not be relieved of duty by the going of the younger ones. Their lives are as certain to be subjected to direction as if they were in uniform. Rearrangements must be made in industry—non-essentials eliminated and the essentials expanded. This will invoke far-reaching control, not only of labor but also of men who are technically trained or who are otherwise specially fitted for war work. It is not enough that the social structure be maintained by keeping at home the husbands and fathers—the industrial war structure must be built up by fitting into place each man where he can best serve.

These are the things that lie behind the new draft law. And Americans, as is their habit when confronted by a practical question of "the instant need of things," will not hesitate to "face the facts."

The New Labor Regulations

IN A tug of war it is not the number of men available but the number actually on the rope when the tension begins which determines the issue. In this struggle against the German nation figures showing population have no bearing upon the outcome—unless, indeed, our entire population is actually stripped for battle and put into action.

Anxious and willing to add their maximum weight, the workmen of the country have been heavily handicapped for lack of organization and system. By the tens of thousands they have been rambling over the country in answer to a hundred conflicting and imperative calls. The United States Government depended upon millions of hands in the war industries. All these together constituted one great national business. But the absurd spectacle was presented of thousands of recruiting agencies from the different branches competing with each other for the same men, and the men dragged about in total bewilderment. The loss to the workmen and the still more deadly loss to the nation was incalculable. More time was actually lost by the men—representing pay and experience to themselves and essential production to the country—than was lost by all the strikes and lockouts on record.

Consequently the workmen join in the universal relief and satisfaction greeting the action of the Department of Labor in giving the United States Employment Service exclusive jurisdiction over the employment of workmen for essential industries. With a great network of agencies throughout the country in which employers and workmen are equally represented, this bureau will give work to any applicant. It will put him into the vacant position nearest his home, in an occupation he is best fitted for, and where the country most needs him.

It is a point of honor and a test of patriotism that all the soldiers of industry, employers and workmen alike, support this organization to the utmost. As in the purchase of Liberty Bonds, in such coöperation with the Government they not only help win the war, but enormously benefit themselves. The sole object is the increase in production. And since both capital and labor obtain their wages exclusively and rigidly out of production, every increase brings an immediate and direct monetary reward to them both.

A War Message to Business

THE right relationship of private business to the Government's supreme business of winning the war has not been more clearly put than by the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World. At their recent convention in San Francisco they adopted a war message to business which set up a clear distinction that the country will do well to keep in mind: "As business men we recognize that to-day we have two businesses," in the words of this straight-tongued message, "our country's and our own, and we here resolve that our business should be made to support and
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army of the Department of Agriculture. They work in coöperation with the agricultural colleges in the country, and spend their lives in intimate and personal contact with the farmers all over the Union.

Last year they conducted nearly five million acres of actual demonstration plots, and held requested consultations with more than two million farmers. They are in most cases themselves the best husbandmen in their districts. They are the backbone of many a local grange or union or society. They did the trick.

The organization could not have been built in a day—or a year. World-wide disaster would have been the price of failure. The responsibility and the credit belong to the Department of Agriculture and the lieutenants of the army of the land.

The Cost of Reading Matter

THE Government has curtailed the amount of paper that may be manufactured. This action will restrict publishing to the essential minimum of useful printed matter, and the difference will save coal and labor for other war work. It will not reduce the cost of books and magazines. Rather the reverse, for the accompanying dislocation of the publishing business (which the publishers have accepted as part of their share of the inevitable sacrifices for winning the war) is an expensive process of itself—and the costs of paper, labor, and postage rise steadily. Something to read is going to cost more at the news stands and the bookstores.

But the public gains as it pays. The better books and magazines will still get printed: the not-so-good will fall aside. And for once, what the public wants is what it ought to have. It wants facts, history, clean entertainment, inspiration. Some of the subject matter, well adapted for peace times, becomes inapt for to-day, and one magazine of luxurious living becomes *Country Life in the War*. Perhaps never in this generation has the publishing business been so universally responsive to the needs of the public as it has become in the last year. And the public has never been more willing to pay a fair price for what it needs and wants.

How the Colleges Stand the War Strain

ENGLAND and our other allies have repeatedly warned America to avoid a mistake which they have made, and which permitted the war to disrupt their educational institutions. How serious is the financial con-

dition of our colleges is shown in a bulletin which has recently been issued by the Bureau of Education at Washington. In this are published statistics compiled from questionnaires sent to sixteen representative, privately owned colleges throughout the country. Seven colleges gave complete figures, showing that in 1916 their total incomes had been about $3,121,000, and in the school year, 1917-18, approximately $419,000 less, causing a deficit of $289,000. At least eleven of the sixteen colleges expect a deficit; only three expect none, two because of economies, and one because of the subscriptions of friends, which may not be forth-coming. The principal reason for this deficit is the loss of tuition and room-rent fee, due to decrease in attendance, which has averaged about 33 per cent. for all the colleges. Two institutions, however, give as an additional reason the high cost of living, and one "the demands of war on private benevolence."

This deficit has been met, partially or wholly, in different ways; seven colleges mention alumni gifts and private subscriptions, one has raised the tuition fee 33 per cent., another had recourse to a $50,000 emergency fund, and another would have had to close but for a new endowment, acquired just before war was declared. The most distressing part of this report, however, is the frequent mention of the necessity for curtailment, which has caused some to discontinue several departments, and others to retrench somewhat in all courses. Nevertheless, one institution, which has a deficit of $60,000, "does not believe it good business or good education to disrupt organization by curtailment." A Western college, frankly pessimistic, says that "a number of institutions are likely to perish if war continues." Only one expects better conditions next year, explaining that "a large freshman class is expected to take special military courses," and that "faculty readjustments" have been made.

The Facts About American Dyes

DESPITE the encouraging reports about American progress in making dyes, there is still much criticism of the native product. Women complain that their American-dyed dresses are not fast in color, and manufacturers generally find that the supply is not equal to the demand. These American critics of American dyes are becoming unconscious agents of German propaganda, and are helping to disseminate a belief that there is some mysterious alchemy, a great German secret, which makes a chemical compound in Germany somewhat different from a chemical compound in the United States. What are the facts?

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Quentin died behind the enemy's line. There are more than five million Americans that by the same token will see to it that such deaths are not in vain. And they will honor his memory by discussing nothing with Germany so long as there exists a line.

Scotching a Menace

THAT inflexible Republican standard bearer, the New York *Tribune*, has rendered a striking service to the Democratic Party. Day in and day out for the last six months it has reminded a forgetful public of the pro-German record of William Randolph Hearst.

Bolstered by the abortive public approval of the speaker of the national House of Representatives and a corporal's guard of colleagues, who, as Champ Clark boasted, "stand by their friends," Hearst appeared at Saratoga as candidate for governor at the Democratic State Conference.

Samuel Seabury, former judge of the New York Court of Appeals, who was the Democratic candidate for governor two years ago, offered a resolution straight from the shoulder:

"Resolved, That this conference of Democrats of the State of New York do renew to the President of the United States their wholehearted support and confidence in his magnificent struggle to make the world free for democracy, and, as an earnest of their loyalty, repudiate every truckler with our country's enemies who strives or has striven to extenuate or excuse such crimes against humanity as the rape of Belgium, the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and the German policy of assassination by submarines; who seeks or has sought to sow dissension among our allies or now seeks to capitalize by election to public office the latent treason whose total annihilation is the most pressing need of the hour."

This was unanimously adopted.

Whether these events had any connection nobody seems to know. Hearst's *American* says they had not. It says that a "discredited" politician offered the resolution amid a torrent of jeers just to hear himself talk, and that it was adopted because it had no possible application to any one present.

However, Alfred E. Smith, President of the New York Board of Aldermen, an upright and able man, was thereupon unanimously

selected as the candidate of the convention. A good deal of the credit for saving the Democratic Party in New York from Hearst belongs to the *Tribune*.

How Canada Keeps Up the Price of War Bonds

AS THE time approaches for the fourth and largest Liberty Loan, the bonds of the former issues—with the exception of the 3½ per cents. which have tax exemption features that make them particularly attractive to rich men—are selling at considerable discount on the New York Stock Exchange. Fortunately, this will have little effect on the amount of subscriptions for the fourth loan, for the American people's support of the war is not to be measured by a consideration of dollars and cents. Most people intend to hold their Liberty Bonds until the war is over, and the current quotations do not bother them. But there are those who, because they have suffered misfortune of one kind or another, are forced to part with their bonds. It is too bad that they have to take a loss of five or six dollars a hundred on them after having patriotically supported their country by subscribing. In addition to the selling by these people, however, there also is selling by those who have enticed Liberty Bonds away from their original owners by offering some tempting new oil stock or other such security in exchange. If something could be done to stop the dumping of Liberty Bonds on the market by these latter individuals, it would help to solve the problem of the discount for the former.

When the Third Liberty Loan was authorized a sinking fund was provided to purchase the bonds in the market with a view to supporting the price. There is no evidence that this fund has been used; at least the prices of the bonds have not reflected it. If it were used, however, it would benefit those who have got Liberty Bonds in exchange for worthless securities as well as those subscribers who have to sell. The ideal plan would insure a market at or near the subscription level for subscribers who must sell, and would close the market to the sharpers who prey on owners of the bonds. Anything as perfect as that, however, can hardly be expected. Canada so far seems to have come the nearest to it.

Canada's Victory Loan 5½ per cent. bonds, which were offered at 98.66 and interest, or 100 "flat," about a year ago, are now selling for 99½. That is what you pay for them when you want to buy; if you want to sell, you get 98[illegible]b-

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production. Furthermore, in an effort to prevent profiteering and secure the best terms these arrangements are elaborated to cover all sorts of conditions and the economic reactions from this paternalism are often bad. If there were a strong excess profits tax on war profits all these measures could be formulated with a broader hand and a real reduction of Government interference."

This letter of Mr. Hoover's presents the best argument for a high war profits tax, and points the way to keep from injuring the goose that lays these golden eggs.

The Salvage Plan

THE work of conserving the waste materials in American homes is now being nationally organized by the Red Cross. Striking success had already been achieved by local organizations. The salvage plan originated with Mrs. Otheman Stevens, in Los Angeles, who made it a source of steady income for that Red Cross chapter. From Los Angeles, the movement first extended to Kansas City, where the work was organized by Mrs. John Allan Dougherty and quickly produced $1,200 a month for war work. Many other communities successfully tried the plan. Largely through Mrs. Dougherty's urgings at Washington, the Government has now made the movement official and national. It will be managed in the Army, by the Army, for the Army. If the plan succeeds to expectations, the salvage will be one billion dollars a year. The American people have been incredibly wasteful. But the saving of this waste can be accomplished without parsimony and with surprisingly little effort.

Here are some of the things that housewives and householders can lay aside for the waste collector:

Tin and lead foil, folded flat; collapsible paste and paint tubes; lead, brass, copper and aluminum waste; old gold, silver, and broken bits of jewelry; typewriter ribbon boxes and ribbon spools; old motor licenses; motor car and bicycle tires; rubber of all kinds; books, magazines, and newspapers, which must be folded once and tied securely both ways; Burlap sacks; clean cotton and wool rags, tailor clippings and remnants, glass fruit jars, cold cream jars, bottles of all kinds rinsed clean; tin cans with fitted lids and tin boxes (no tin cans that are opened with an opener); old batteries; hair switches and hair combings; buttons; old window shades; old knives and forks and spoons; clothing, furs; furniture; bric-à-brac; pictures, etc.; paste-board boxes in good condition, and innumerable other articles.

GETTING YOUR MONEY'S WORT
SECURITY MARKET

ABOUT a year ago a broker in Boston sent to the head of a manufacturing concern in Connecticut a circular on the New Jersey Zinc Company in an attempt to sell him some of the stock of the company. Now the New Jersey Zinc Company is a substantial, well-managed concern, and its $35,000,000 capital stock is mostly owned by a few men. For that reason, among others, it has not been listed on any exchange and the only market in it is made by brokers who specialize in such securities. Just such a market is made by brokers in many other stocks and in hundreds of unlisted bonds by the investment bankers who specialize in them. The quotations of these securities do not appear in the papers, and that gives the opportunity for misrepresentation such as this Boston broker practised on the Connecticut business man.

The broker offered the stock to him at $400 a share, and pointed out that the return on it at that price for the previous year had been more than 15 per cent. He went further and said that it should continue to return 15 per cent. on the investment. That appeared attractive to the business man and he bought some of the stock ($100 par value) at $400 a share. When he got nothing more than the regular 4 per cent. quarterly dividends for several months, or at the rate of only 4 per cent. a year on his investment, he began to make inquiries. He found that the broker had charged him considerably more than the stock was selling for at the time. In fact, the day after he bought it at $400 a share it sold through brokers specializing in it at $297. It had sold at that same price the day before he bought it, and had been selling in that neighborhood for a few months—long enough to indicate clearly that the large extra dividend payments of several years past would be reduced.

When the broker was asked to explain why he had charged more than 100 points above the market for the stock, he replied that he had bought a block of it when it was at a much higher level and that above his cost and carrying charges he had made a profit of "only 15 points." He maintained there had been no misrepresentation. Shortly afterward he retired from business. Fortunately the business man had purchased but a small amount of the stock, and he was satisfied to charge the excess price he had paid up to experience. Hereafter, he says, he will check up prices, and will invest
those from whom he buy

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Herzog, the Trade Bernhardi

His Book of the Secret Plans to Control the World by Trade Discovered by the United States Government

SECOND ARTICLE

HOW GERMANY PLANS TO ENSLAVE LABOR AND SCIENCE

BY

RALPH W. PAGE

EDITORS' NOTE:—*"Imperial State Ownership of the Individual" would be a more appropriate title for this exposition of German ambitions and intentions in the field of the peaceful daily business of the world. It fell into the hands of the United States Food Administration. Mr. Herbert Hoover, Dr. Vernon L. Kellogg, and Mr. Frederick Walcott considered it of such moment to the American people that they have had it translated, indexed, and edited at their own expense.*

They have arranged for its publication in book form without profit to themselves. The book will be printed in a cheap edition with the special purpose that it may be bought in large quantities by trade associations and chambers of commerce for distribution throughout the business world, so that every merchant and manufacturer in the United States may be warned of Germany's designs upon the future trade of this country. In their preface to this exposé they say:

"If there is anything to be gained by being honest, let us be honest; if it is necessary to deceive, let us deceive." Thus wrote Frederick the Great in the middle of the 18th century—the man who laid the foundation of Pan-Germanism, which this world war was expected to achieve. Not content with dominion by force of arms, we find Germany plotting for commercial supremacy, with that insolent disregard of the rights of others and that resort to deception that has characterized all her policies since Frederick the Great's reign.

The book of which this is a translation was written by an eminent German engineer and economist, and published in 1915, during the second year of the war. This book presents ingenious plans for driving home commercial victories at the expense of the trade of other countries. Like all of Germany's plans affecting other nations, the entire conception depends upon deceit and super-selfishness; not one word touching upon reciprocity, not one word in recognition of any international obligations.

It was obviously written exclusively for home consumption, and not intended for those outside the Iron Circle. It should be a warning to us. We should study it with care, and keep our eyes and ears alert for other warnings of this sort, that in peace we may be prepared to meet this design of commercial rapine, this crushing of the industries of other countries.

For forty years the Germans have been plotting to realize their dream of Pan-Germanism—eventual world conquest innocent and unsuspecting world. The Prussian philosophy that might makes right, that the State is supreme, has completely possessed the ruling and upper classes of Germany, both military and commercial, until deception and fraud form the background of their most important international relations and undertakings. They have made Germany an inherently dishonest nation.

Their military plans were successfully concealed for years, and when their dreams of conquest did outcrop occasionally, there were few with an intimate enough knowledge of the complete premeditated and systematic degeneration of the German official character to read the handwriting on the wall.

Well organized and comprehensive espionage and insidious German propaganda have been at work for two generations to plan the success of German victories. In the early 90's of the last century, the German Volksschule was organized to teach the masses absolute subserviency to the upper and governing classes, whose education diverged from that of the lower classes at the age of seven or eight. The education of these two classes has been so divergent for thirty years that the effects are now clearly traceable in the younger men in the Army, as contrasted with the members of the Landsturm Army. The Landsturm men are much more humane, and have a restraining influence in the Army. They have not been guilty of the excesses that are chargeable to the younger men. The younger men, schooled from infancy under the new system to obey orders in a machine-like way, under Prussian

Herzog, the Trade Bernhardi

German rule means the breaking-down of all order, the exchange of personal liberty and national freedom for force, of right for might, of justice for the mailed fist.

The world should have been forewarned. Books were written, maps constructed, by well-known German authorities for the enlightenment of the German people, and these books reached the outside world, but civilization, accustomed to the pursuits of peace, turned a deaf ear, and is now paying the penalty for refusing to see and hear.

Now another conception comes out of the heart of Germany that threatens the commercial interests of unsuspecting nations—carefully thought out, with characteristic German thoroughness, openly advocating the breaking down of all business ethics, circumvention to gain their e at nothing, from national d competition to false labels an the breaking of contracts th the German.

Let the manufacturing an laboring and professional clas in time to devise antidotes Machiavellian devices of a c conquest, deliberately plottin life blood of other peoples even in making peace what protec mercial existence of the free n

THAT the Kaiser plans to seize the cream of the world's business upon his own terms is by no means the most startling of the Herzog propositions. There are preliminary conquests which he frankly admits will have to be made.

The first of these is the complete subjugation of labor. He intends to take unquestioned command of the time and the lives and the movements and the thoughts of all the workmen, artisans, and mechanics of his own dominion—previous to dictating the conduct of workers throughout the world. Once committed to the conduct of a war of economic extinction, organizing a *disciplined* army is an inevitable prelude. This Herzog points out with laudable frankness.

"The export trade," he says, "because it is a measuring of strength, domestic and foreign, is a battle. . . . To wage it successfully the combatant must remain free from irritation and dissention within."

He goes on to say that "all financial support is useless if production is interrupted by causes lying in labor conditions—strikes and lockouts impairing the work of industries must under all circumstances be avoided—such cases are unthinkable in times of war."

Having concluded that, properly speaking, all times are war times his way of avoiding them is simple. He remarks that "a command is sufficient." He elaborates:

"Long investigations about causes would injure industrial development and, therewith, the export trade. As in times of war, so here, the procedure must be cut short—by the mandate of the state."

Hence he decrees that all employees of important industries "must be entered in special lists" and that "these persons, whether they are directors, operating or scientific officers, or laborers, must be subject to state organization similar to that of the army."

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"To be sure," he blandly admits, "that is an infringement of guaranteed commercial liberties; yet it is necessary when the state meets opposition in exercising its duty to protect exports."

To the average American it would appear that in forestalling this plot we would in fact be rendering the German people no less service than emancipating them from slavery. For an examination of the action contemplated by the state in "exercising its duties to protect exports" we discover that they involve:

1. The complete elimination of the small manufacturer from the face of the earth. Little independent units have no place in a great army. They are to combine or perish. The overwhelming concentration of all wealth in gigantic enterprises under the thumb of the state is the first principle of this proposition.

2. The second is like unto it. All bankers and investors are to put their money where the state—i.e. the Kaiser—commands. And he will command that it support his monstrous monopolies, and under no circumstances wander beyond the Rhine, or into "irrelevant and incompetent" channels.

As in the case of the military mobilization of labor, so in the case of the military mobilization of the people's money, it behooves us to take care that the German does not execute his intentions, lest in the ensuing contest he shall compel us to take the same fatal action, in imperative self-defense.

HERZOG'S "CHINESE WALL" OF SECRECY

In these preparations the Prussians are not content with harnessing all persons and property to their chariot wheels. As a final touch they contemplate the exclusive ownership and direction of the arts and the sciences—I mean of the sciences. Presumably there is to be no art, unless destruction be an art. The minds and means and the very thoughts of all inventive genius is to be under the same rigid military supervision—and directed toward the one single goal of conquest. Away with the old vision of the fraternity of intellect! Away with the international participation in the fruits of human progress and civilization!

Herzog makes the idea clear enough. But he believes it a mistake to allow us to find it out. So in concluding the details of the plan he says:

"The idea should not *get about* that a Chinese wall is being thrown around German inventions and improvements, although the experiences of the war have taught us that too great scientific familiarity with foreign countries was rewarded

by ingratitude and injury." So "if all inventions and improvements are accessible to a central office, a suitable organization will make it possible to keep these inventions and improvements out of the reach of foreign countries. . . .

As for the discoveries and inventions made in the United States and Allied countries—well, Germany will have complete lists and use of these. For the plan of campaign includes a special bureau and a world-wide network of spies and agents for just exactly this purpose. As of yore, if you are an experimental chemist, your confidential secretary is to be from Essen.

COMMERCIAL CAMOUFLAGE

"Peace will come, says Herzog, yet hate will remain in the hearts of those who have conjured up this bloody struggle, and who are inferior therein, morally, physically, and economically"—meaning you and me and our allies.

Yet this sentence reveals the first disturbing glimmer of doubt that has clouded the bright visions of the German contemplation of "Might" as a talisman to universal supremacy. They have discovered and admit that it breeds hatred. And further, they recognize the mighty forces it raises in the primrose path of conquest.

But their answer is not for the forsaking of the creed of compulsion. They will meet this proposition with its twin corollaries—treachery and deceit—reinforced with still more arbitrary power. It is all very well for the National Security League to circulate pledges not to purchase German goods after the war. It is all very well for the Allied Trade Councils to consider coöperation to that end, and for the clever French artists vividly to paint the obvious fact that the coming Düsseldorf drummer with his line of incandescent lamps is the same identical blonde beast that ravished the hamlet of Sermaize. The German General Staff will take care of that. Here is Herr Herzog's diagnosis and the remedy:

"German exporters must expect that for a long time after the end of the war German manufacturers will be outlawed among our present enemies. It would be idle to live in the opinion that peace will banish hatred at once. The latter must be reckoned with in German industry.

"The German 'makeup' is to be avoided. . . . The intrinsic quality of exported German goods must be typically German; their external garb, for better or for worse, will have to be *anonymous*—neutral. The makeup, by which term not only the packing but also often the style is to be understood, must for the present adapt itself exclusively to the taste of the customer even if a thorough-going change in the manufacturing process is thereby involved. *Disavowal*, under such circumstances is required. 'Camouflage' in war is an important strategic method; when opportunely and ingeniously applied, it increases the effectiveness of weapons. The application of this precept for the commercial struggle is as clear as day. . . Away then with the German trade mark. . . . Away with it where it brings loss instead of gain.

I will leave to the cross-roads merchants and the metropolitan department stores the problem of meeting such commercial "camouflage" as selling "anonymous" goods. But I shall recommend a remedy of my own for Herzog's further method of preserving this invaluable alibi.

His method is succinctly contained in this paragraph:

"If the German manufacturer with great self effacement makes every requisite effort to banish sources of irritation, he, for his own part, has a right to insist that the government of the hostile country does not work against him. Officers of foreign states, whether they be railroad or customs officials can under no circumstances be permitted to label goods so as to disclose the place of origin. Nor can they be allowed to do this after laying down rules under a pretense of impartiality, to the effect that all imports are to be labeled in this way without regard to the particular country from which they come. It is clear that the indication of origin from a formerly Allied country represents an official recommendation for the product in question, and that a rule requiring such a label in all cases has only the purpose of making German goods especially recognizable— to their disadvantage. It is, however, not sufficient for the German manufacturer to gain his point, namely, that the goods coming from him need not be thus indicated. He must be inexorable in demanding that no recognizable mark of origin may be used at all on the goods, without regard to the country from which they come.

"For the non-marking of German goods, as a right of exception granted them, while other foreign goods are labeled, amounts in actual practice to giving away their origin. The path to foreign trade must not be beset with ambushes of this sort. . . . Secret malicious weapons must be destroyed before their use—by force—if there is no other way."

Curiously enough, the only effective antidote for this poisonous suggestion is precisely like the suggestion—that it be destroyed before its use—by keeping every cantonment in America filled to its utmost capacity, and shipping another three million soldiers to France somewhat faster than anybody believes it can be done.

THE DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR ALLIES

SECOND SERIES

Portraits painted from life, in Washington, by Joseph C. Chase

I

The Serbian Minister

LIOUBOMIR MICHAILOVITCH

II

The Japanese Ambassador

AIMARO SATO

III

The Chinese Ambassador

VI KYUIN WELLINGTON KOO

IV

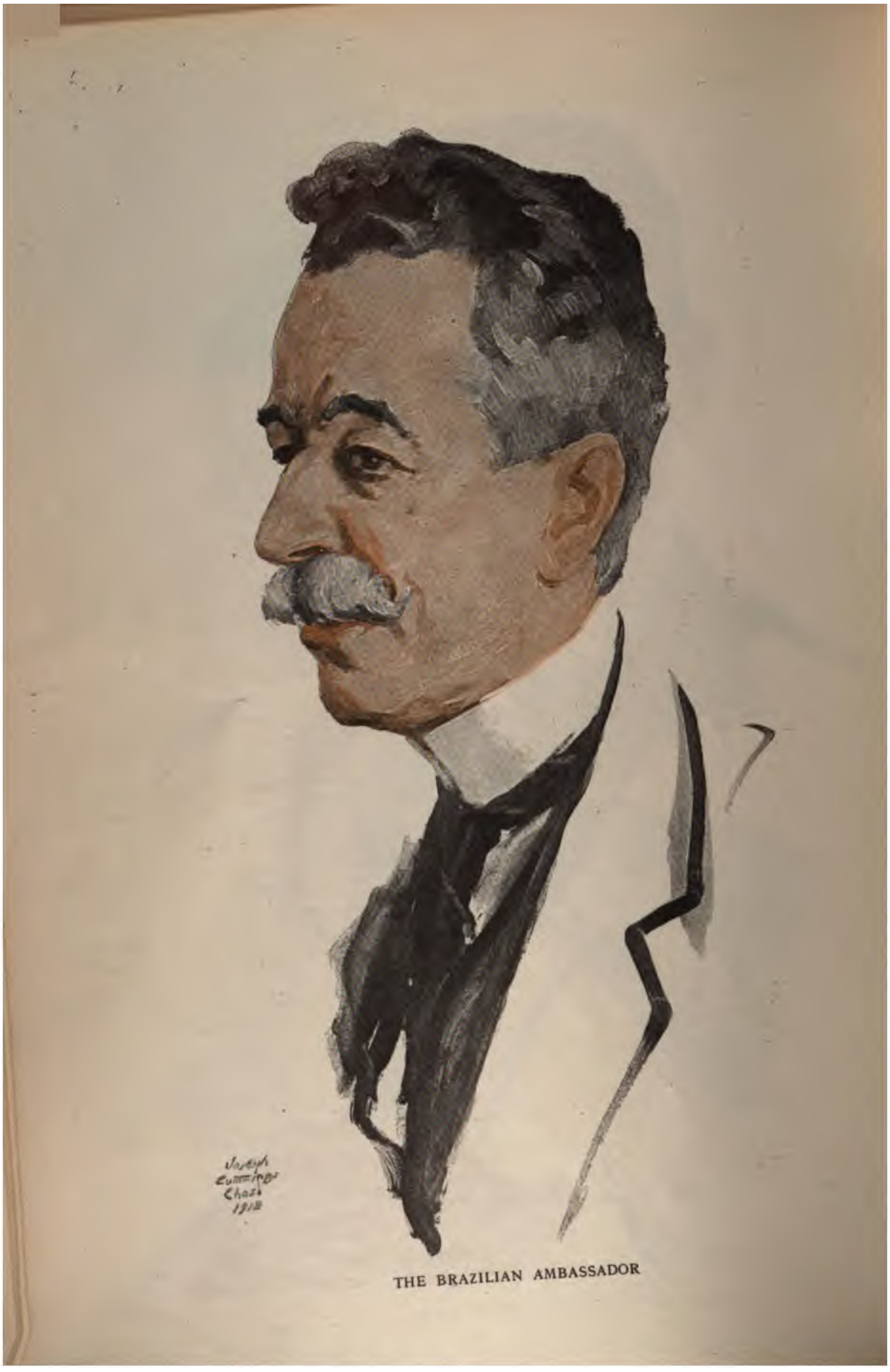
The Brazilian Ambassador

DOMICIO DA GAMA

THE SERBIAN MINISTER

THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR

THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR



THE BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR

BUSINESS IN BELGIUM UNDER GERMAN RULE

The German Method of Dealing with American Property—How Germany Collects Indemnities from Belgian Cities by a Legalized Looting of the Banks—A Commission in Control of Every Commodity—Bleeding an Industrial Nation to Death

As the representative in Antwerp of an American corporation, employing more than 2,000 persons, Mr. Clayton, until five months after the United States declared war, was in contact with the German military and civil authorities almost constantly. He presents here an intimate picture of the ingenious and crafty, but ruthless and short-sighted procedure of the Teutonic invaders. Such a study has hitherto been ignored in favor of the more widely discussed German "atrocities," which functioned in their comprehensive scheme of terrorizing, merely as a forerunner of a commercial and industrial absorption unparalleled in modern history—THE EDITORS.

BY

C. C. CLAYTON

DURING the last ten years I have been in Belgium very frequently, and since the middle of 1913, almost continuously until the end of August, 1917, so that I have known the Germans there in peace as well as during three years and one month of the war, including five months following our declaration of war.

I have seen them at their best, though not at their worst, for I was never at the fighting front, and always avoided, for reasons of local policy, probing the proof of their hateful offenses. My knowledge of them and of their methods is solely that of an American business man. I have dealt with them in ordinary business affairs, and I have struggled against them when they had every military and political advantage. I have dealt with their military officers, their diplomats, their civil administrators, their commissions (an endless lot), their business agents, and their private citizens. I have observed them in Belgium in all phases of their occupation, and have been obliged to study carefully their published laws and orders.

Therefore, I feel that they have exposed their methods to me rather completely, and that I know them for what they are. To relate my personal experiences in full detail would require volumes, so I shall confine myself here to a general picture of business conditions in Belgium in the hope that other American citizens may have even a faint impression of the facts that are burned into my memory.

Belgium is—or was—one of the most highly organized industrial nations in Europe. Its people were thrifty, its public and private works intensively developed, its arteries of commerce and of trade were mature and healthy. Antwerp was practically the port of central Europe. But it is not to-day. Germany has opened the arteries; the country is paralyzed, drained of its resources, and slowly bleeding to death.

For instance; no industry that requires more than five horse power or that employs more than five people can operate in Belgium without a permit from the German authorities. At first the Belgians thought this order held out hope, but soon they found that no permit would be granted unless the industry operated as the Germans dictated, and, of course, in the German interest. The product would have to be sold to the government at a government-named price. Aside from the natural repugnance of the Belgians to work thus, indirectly, for their present masters, the prices named were seldom if ever just and never left a reasonable profit.

A Belgian I know, soon after this order was promulgated, obtained a permit and began the operation of a small factory, hoping to help some of his old employees by giving them work. The necessary oil for his shop could be obtained only through the Germans (all supplies of oil being one of the first things they commandeered) and although they had granted permission for him to resume work they refused the necessary oil unless he would agree to deliver his product to them, at prices which they proposed to determine.

In the beginning, some industries tried to revive, but now, except for the coal mining, which is carried on under German supervision, practically none are in operation. In the coal

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the beginning some tried to evade. They are still in jail. Now few evade except in the prescribed way, which the Germans have made "a legal illegality."

Take the butter commission, for example, for the scheme works the same in all products. The commission fixes a maximum price, say 7½ francs per kilo, which is approximately 66 cents a pound, or about two or three times the normal price. The government then prohibits the transport or shipment of butter except with its permission. The result is that no butter reaches the market. In every case the first effect of the naming of a maximum price on a commodity by the Germans has been to close the market to that commodity. Evidently their plan was made with that purpose in view. Then begins the work of the commission's "other hand." Throughout the country appear German agents who go quietly, privately, to producers of butter, and offer, at the same time, (1) to take the goods on the spot; (2) a price above the maximum, in the case of butter, say 8 or 9 francs a kilo; and (3) *immunity*. The producers find they can sell to these Germans agents at prices above the legal maximum and suffer no prosecution. Often they refuse until assured that the butter, or whatever the produce may be, is to be re-sold by the government in another part of Belgium, or else that they can market in no other way. Of course none of the butter, or any other produce, gets anywhere except to the German army or to the German people.

The same thing happens to all produce, meat, vegetables, grain, condiments, every imaginable thing to eat. Like a huge suction pump the maximum price fixer goes about the country, aided and abetted by the clandestine agent, drawing into the German maw every available eatable. Except what is sent to them, the Belgians actually have very little.

THE CITIES THE CHIEF SUFFERERS

You might think that in some of the Belgian cities, so near the fertile fields—those big cities like Brussels, Antwerp, Bruges, Liege—there would be markets of country produce. You might imagine that as in peace times there would be endless lines of peasants' carts lined up in the city squares. In reality the squares are mainly deserted. No peasant can enter a city with his produce without a German permit and the only purpose for which a permit will be given is that produce may be delivered to a German agent. Soldiers stand at every gate and on every road to confiscate the goods of all who lack a permit. One can readily see from this one reason why the city people (nearly half of Bel-

gium's population is urban) have suffered so terribly.

In the country, residents are compelled to plant crops, but they are carefully limited as to the amount of produce they may retain for themselves. Even the quantity of potatoes and of peas, and the amount of honey per person, are prescribed. It is dangerous for any one to have more in his possession. A family discovered with more potatoes than are allowed per annum for the numbers of persons it contains is likely to have its head jailed and fined. All above a skimpy allotment, barely enough to sustain life, must go to the Germans at their maximum price. Of course there is a constant effort to smuggle things into the cities because one can always find buyers at double the maximum price.

The shops, necessarily, have been dwindling, day by day, month by month, until many of them are now closed. When I left, about September 1, 1917, perhaps half the small shops in Belgium had gone out of business. They sell their stocks, bury the money, spend it, or put it in the bank and close up. A good deal of smuggling was going on across the Holland border, but, month by month, the Germans have grown stricter about this, and now it is almost nothing at all, except that done by the German soldiers. The fact that comparatively few people can afford to pay the high prices is the only reason that any necessities at all remain in any shops because in general the supply is far short of the normal demand. The prices, per pound, current when I left were: sugar, 90c.; coffee, $4.50 to $5.00; tea, $9.00; cocoa, $4.50; rice, $1.50; beef, $1.30 to $1.50; butter, $2.50; bacon, $2.75 to $3.00; milk, which was half water, 20 cents per quart; condensed milk, $1.30 per can; eggs, $1.55 to $1.60 per dozen; and potatoes, $9.00 to $13.00 per bushel. For Americans to realize the meaning of these prices it must be remembered that the Belgian prices previous to the war were little more than half American prices. Those quoted above have doubtless risen since I left there. Quality does not matter much. Butter which one can hardly eat will bring the current price as well as good butter. Practically all the staples, to say nothing of the luxuries, are beyond the reach of at least three quarters of the population.

From this it will be readily seen what has happened to the business world of Belgium. It has almost ceased to exist and the number whose resources become exhausted increases constantly. For instance, the banks do practically no checking business at all any more. The credit system, which formerly was a distinguishing feature of Belgian life, is suspended. Formerly most small shopping accounts were carried to the end of the year. This has automatically stopped. Whatever is purchased is paid for with cash and carried away by the purchaser.

In the large cities there remain open a few of the larger shops which deal in dry goods "made in Germany." These are frequently the notorious "ersatz" products, the German substitutes or cheap necessities, shoddy, hardly worth carrying home. The Belgians keep clear of these shops as far as possible. They are patronized mostly by Germans and the few Flemish people who, without any standing in the community before the war, are now striving, under German patronage, to achieve prominence; or by Belgians who in desperation find it impossible to get along in any other way.

WHY BELGIAN BANKS STILL HAVE MONEY

This brings me to the Belgian banks and the indemnities. It is a paradox, but a fact, that the banks have more money now than before the war; that is, their actual cash on hand is more than twice as much as formerly. The deposits and the fact that the banks have no means of employing their money account for this. Checking is at a standstill, except for direct withdrawals, and loans are not being made at all. This was not true in the beginning, when the populace feared the Germans would confiscate the money in the banks, but as time went on and this fear appeared groundless they gradually came to see that it was safer (or appeared safer for the time being) to put money in the banks than to have it anywhere else. I know men who buried money and then lay awake nights worrying about it until they finally decided to place it on deposit.

Incidentally, in this connection, let me say that appeals for relief get quick response from the rich Belgians, despite all they have suffered. Once a report came to Antwerp through the Spanish minister that unless he received funds immediately to provide for deported Belgian youths, who refused to work for the Germans in Germany, they would starve in a few days. A fund of 100,000 francs was raised in Antwerp and sent the same afternoon.

These conditions—the fatness of the bank balances, and the capacity for relief not yet strangled—proved too fertile a field for the Germans not to plow it. They devised the Belgian indemnities. I find Americans everywhere asking where this money comes from and how the Germans manage to collect it. I will explain. It is frightfully simple.

During 1915 and 1916 the Germans required from the Belgians an indemnity of 40 million

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the banks have given their cash, become worthless. In 1915, 1916, and 1917 these indemnities amounted to 1,680,000,000 francs. They are doubtless now in excess of two billions of francs. There is nothing to prevent the Germans from raising the monthly amount, arbitrarily, at any time. It is easily conceivable that if they were on the verge of being driven from Belgium they might make their last levy a sum equal to the total remaining resources of the banks. Then, truly, would Belgium be drained of her last cent. That would be the final act of cutting her financial throat.

GERMANS EVEN SEIZE DOOR HANDLES

In the beginning it was made a misdemeanor and later a crime to buy or sell gold. Exchange offices could not take gold, because if detected in the act they became liable to prosecution. There was only one legal thing to do with gold, which was to turn it in to the Germans in exchange for German paper money, receiving only the before-the-war rate of exchange and accepting the German money at its face value, when anywhere outside of the central empires or Belgium it was worth little more than fifty cents on the dollar. Of course a great deal was buried and locked up or hidden in various ways. Very little was turned over to the Germans.

Silver, nickel, and copper coins rapidly disappeared from circulation and it was generally understood that they had either been hidden or had gone to Germany as the result of the work of German agents. The silver was replaced with paper money in small denominations and the nickel and copper with zinc.

Each month the banks were obliged to indicate to the German bank commissioner their cash on hand, giving details of the amount in gold, silver, nickel, copper, and bank notes of different denominations. In notifying the banks about their indemnity payments the German commissioner always indicated in detail how the payment had to be made. This formed a simple method for the Germans of getting what was most desirable.

In securing metals from private individuals they were equally bold in what amounted to confiscation, though operating under a German pretense of fair dealing. They announced that on certain days every Belgian would be expected to bring to designated depots all he possessed in copper, tin, nickel, or alloys of these metals. This was to include everything, whether in use or not. If your window fastenings or door handles were of brass they were to be brought to the Germans and wood or iron substituted, though whether substitutes were supplied or not

was immaterial to them. Utensils in factories of all kinds and in kitchens were especially wanted. Among other things, they seized the brass parts on the trolley cars, and told the Belgians to replace them with wood or iron.

Most Belgians acted, in reply to this order, in about the same way. They selected certain metal things of slight value and sent them to the German depots. The rest they hid. One man I knew removed his expensive and handsome brass chandeliers, dismantled and hid them and replaced them with cheap iron fixtures, brass covered, which were not worth taking for the metal. Another tore up his parquet floor and hid between the beams a lot of valuable metal ornaments.

For the metals which were brought willingly to the Germans a price per kilo based upon the price of metal before the war was paid in German money. After the time for *voluntary* delivery had expired German soldiers went through all the cities with wagons, street by street, house by house, from cellar to garret, searching every nook and corner and stripped every house of every bit of brass, copper, nickel, tin, etc. And for this not a cent was paid. It was confiscated to make munitions to use against their countrymen as a penalty for "opposing the need of the State in time of war." The original proclamation had said that objects of art need not be included. Encouraged by this many well-to-do people left in their houses bronzes and brasses in art form, such as statuettes, lamps, and ornaments. When the soldiers came they respected nothing except signed works. Frequently signed pieces of considerable value and cherished heirlooms went into the wagon-load with the brass beds, kettles, stair rods, etc.

Before the United States entered the war I had many an encounter with the German Government in its determination to "purchase" from my company the various machines and materials in our factory. We had some platinum, as well as a large stock of brass, copper, and other metals. The platinum was soon requisitioned. I objected to their taking it, but was assured that they would willingly pay the market price for it. They took it, so there was nothing to do but get a receipt and try to obtain payment. But for months my payment was held up because "the appraisers were unable to determine its value," as they said in their letters. This was an absurd excuse as no one has to appraise the value of platinum, which is standard in all countries. Finally I was paid, but at the pre-war price, and with no interest allowance for the more than a year I was obliged to wait for the money.

On the heels of the army there came into Belgium a horde of German business men who were permitted to get any material they wanted from the occupied territory. All they had to do was to ask the army to "requisition" it, and the man who wanted the goods was usually the man who did the appraising, so that he fixed the price for himself. There was no way for any Belgian to appeal from this decision. Worse than that, however, was the fact that although the Germans repeatedly promised to pay for what they took, only a very small portion of the claims were paid. The Germans stoutly maintained that this was not confiscation. Quite right—it was only half or two-thirds or a quarter confiscation, as the case might be.

Our American property was treated in the same way, except that as a neutral I was in a more favored position, and was able to collect about *one third* of the value of the things taken from us. In July, 1916, we were required to declare certain remaining stocks of brass and copper. Shortly after our declaration was made the German Government asked if I would sell the metals to them. I replied that my company never sold anything without knowing what it was going to get for it and asked what they proposed to pay. They finally made us an offer of about $7,000 for a lot which I estimated as being worth, on the basis of what it had cost before the war, plus warehouse expense and interest on the investment, about $14,000. I refused their offer. The answer was to send us expropriation papers, instructing us to ship the goods, pay the cost of packing and transportation to the German frontier, and accept their appraisal after receipt minus all expenses. I said we were short of money and could not spend any for nothing. They replied that unless we complied with their order immediately the matter would be turned over to the military authorities who would take the goods at our expense and not even give us a receipt. I went to Brussels to consult the head German of the metal department of their *Einkaufsgesellschaft*. He shrugged his shoulders; said he could do nothing; that the prices were fixed by the Government; that I would have to take the offer of half what the goods were worth or lose them anyway and receive nothing, not even a receipt. It must be borne in mind that the price I named was not based on current war prices in neutral or belligerent countries, but on the pre-war prices at which the stocks were purchased, and that it was American property at the time that we were neutral; that is in 1916.

Finally I said, to the German in Brussels; "I know you can take these goods by force. I can't stop you from stealing them, but I want you to know that if you do I will make a row

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I had a copy made on which I added this note, "I hereby certify that this is a correct copy and that the original was returned upon the demand of Captain——." After some difficulty I persuaded the non-commissioned officer to sign my copy.

A short time before the United States suspended diplomatic relations with Germany I was advised by the Imperial Indemnity Commission that it had fixed the amount to be allowed on one of our claims and would send a check in due course. The check did not come and several weeks after we had declared war I asked one of the German commissioners in Antwerp about it. He expressed astonishment at my expectation of ever receiving any more money from them. "Never another centime!" said he, "We could not give money to our enemies!"

This brought from me a letter to the commission in Berlin, mildly expressing surprise at the declaration of the Antwerp commissioner, and venturing the suggestion that Berlin would not uphold this in view of the President's proclamation regarding the security of German property in America. A month later the Berlin commissioner replied that the statement in Antwerp, if made, was unauthorized and that a check would be mailed at once. It came in a few days. Accustomed to the German facility in evasion and repudiation I especially enjoyed this unique instante of the repudiation of one of their own officials while at the same time the Berlin department felt obliged to do something that no Belgian could ever have obtained from them.

While the business life of Belgium is paralyzed, the social life has practically disappeared because people either cannot or do not feel like entertaining, and because one is expected to ask for a permit from the Germans and may find that some would like to be invited. There are no parties, no balls, no festivals. There are no telephones in private use. The railways are run primarily for military purposes and are on only about 20 per cent. of their peace schedule.

Belgium has but one hope—a speedy victory for the Allies resulting in the turning of the indemnity scales and the resumption of trade.

My experience in the occupied territory made me feel that the war has been our war since long before we declared war, and it appears to me that all Americans must feel the same way. In 1915 and 1916 I was repeatedly told by German officials that they considered the United States their worst enemy and that they would find a way to make us pay the expenses of the war.

SWEEPING THE NORTH SEA

Two Cruises with the British Grand Fleet

BY

LEWIS R. FREEMAN

(Lieutenant Royal Naval Volunteer Reserves)

I

OUR ship pivoted easily around in the welter which was churned by reversed screws, took her place in line, and followed in the wake of the flagship toward the notch in the bare, rounded, encircling hills that marked the way to open sea.

Those lean gray shadows which slipped ghostily into view in the fog-hastened twilight might just as well have been lurking wolves as protecting sheep dogs, but the officer who paced the quarter-deck with me said: "Now that we have picked up our destroyers we'll be getting under way. Let's go down to tea."

Tea is no less important a function on a British warship than it is ashore, and nothing short of an action is allowed to interfere with it. Indeed, how the cheerful clink of the teacup was heard in the prelude to the diapason of the guns was revealed to me a few days ago when the commander allowed me to read a few personal notes he had written while the light cruiser he was in at the time was returning to port after the Battle of Jutland. "The enemy being in sight," it read, "we prepared for action stations and went to tea." A few minutes later, fingers which had crooked on the handles of the teacups were adjusting the nice instruments of precision that laid the guns for what was destined to prove one of the greatest naval battles in history.

Tea was about as usual with us that day, save that the officers who came in at the change of watch were dressed for business—those from the bridge and conning tower in oil skins or "lammy" jackets and sea boots, and the engineers in greasy overalls. A few words of "shop"—steam pressure, revolutions, speed, force and direction of the wind, and the like—passed in an undertone between men sitting next each other but never became general. Going forward after tea, I threw together a few things, and groping aft in the Stygian blackness along the windward side of the ship, I encountered spray in clouds driving across even the lofty forecastle deck. The wind appeared to have shaken off its flukiness as we cleared the ———, and, blowing with a swinging kick behind it, was rolling up a sea to match. I did not need to be told by the sea-booted sailor whom I bumped on a ladder that it wasn't "goin' t' be no night fer lam's", to know that there was something lively in the weather line in pickle, probably to be uncorked before morning.

The grate, robbed of its chimney, was cold and empty when I went in for seven o'clock dinner—half an hour earlier than in port—and there was just the suggestion of chill in the close air of the ward room. An engineer lieutenant who started to reminisce about a winter cruise he had once made in the Arctic was peremptorily hushed up with a request to "talk about something warmer." A yarn about chasing the *Königsberg* in the lagoons of German East Africa was more kindly received, and an R.N.R.'s account of how his ship carried Moslem pilgrims from Singapore to Jeddah on their way to Mecca brought a genial glow of warmth with it. Soon after, I crawled into bed, pulled up the adjustable side rail, and was rocked to sleep to the even throb of the turbines and the splish-splash of the spray against the screwed-down port.

"No U-Boat will want to be getting within 'periscopic' distance of the surface of the sea that's running this morning," said a young engineer lieutenant who had been in the submarine service, "and even if one was able to get a sight, its torpedo would have to have some kind of a 'kangaroo' attachment to jump the humps and hollows with. Fact is, it's rather more than our destroyers are entirely happy with, and we've just slowed down by several knots to keep 'em from dipping up the brine with their funnels. Hope nothing turns up that they have to get a jump on for. A destroyer's all right on the surface, but no good as a submarine; yet an undersea diver is just what she is if you drive her more'n twelve into a sea like the one that's kicking up now. Barometer's down sixty points since last night, and still going."

Breakfast that morning had little in common with the similar festal occasion in port where, fresh bathed and shaven, each immaculate mem

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said, "but it will not be from us. That kind of a thing might have been done in the first month or two of the war, but the Huns soon made it impossible. Now any battleship that would detach a destroyer at the call of any ship of doubtful identity would be considered as deliberately asking for what she might jolly well get—a torpedo."

The barometer continued to fall all day, with the wind rising at the rate of a mile of velocity for every point of drop. The seas, though higher and heavier, were also more regular and less inclined to catch the ship with her weather rail down. The low cloud bank of mid-forenoon had by early dusk grown to a heavens-obscuring mask of ominous import, and, by dark, snow was beginning to fall. The ship was reeling through the blackness of the Pit when I clambered to the deck after dinner, so that the driving spray and ice needles struck the face before one saw them by even the thousandth of a second. The darkness was such as one almost never encounters ashore.

Returning to the ward room by the way of the mess decks, I saw the youth who had offered me the "anti-seasick" lozenges in the morning. Now quite recovered, he was himself playing the "pork-on-a-string" game with one of the only two "prostrates" still in sight. The following morning—though the weather, if anything, was worse than ever—all evidences of "indisposition" had disappeared. The new drafts were rapidly getting their sea legs, and with most of them (for weather such as they had experienced is by no means the regular thing even in the mid-winter North Sea) their first case of *mal de mer* may well prove to have been also their last.

For some days more we prowled the wet sea ways, and then, well along into a night that was foggier, colder, and windier than the one into which we had steamed out, we crept along a heightening headland, nosed in the wake of the flagship through a line of booms and entered a bay that was dappled with the lights of many ships. A few minutes later, and the raucous grind of a chain running out through a hawse-pipe signaled that we were back at the old stand.

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man in the

British Navy, and you may be sure that if anything happens it will be Sturdee that it happens to."

An hour later I had climbed the gangway of my new ship, greeted several friends of a former visit in the ward room, made a hurried shift of uniform in the comfortable cabin which had been prepared for me, and was seated at dinner with Admiral Sturdee and his staff.

There was nothing to differentiate our preparations for departure on the following afternoon from those for one of the several kinds of routine work that a squadron of battleships performs in the course of its regular duties. The "buzz" had gone around, however, that we were going out for a "P.Z."—a general exercise of all of the units of the Grand and Battle Cruiser fleets, with their auxilliaries—and the smoke which began rolling up from scores of funnels as the early afternoon hours wore on seemed to give confirmation to the theory that something was afoot which would result in the putting to sea of the massed might of the modern capital ships of the Navy. The British Lion was certainly going out on a prowl, and there was always the chance that he might be getting his claws into something. The infectious spirit of the "great game" blew like a fresh breeze through the battened mess decks, and there was a new sparkle in every eye that met mine as I worked forward and upward to the fore bridge, a smile on every ruddy face, a jaunt set to every pair of swinging shoulders.

"The 'cats' are under way," said an officer at my elbow pointing to where the graceful shadow of the *Tiger* and the grim profile of the *Lion* flitted in blank silhouette across the sun-brilliant background of a stretch of cliff-begirt beach where the drifted snows of a recent storm still lay banked in a solid wall of dazzling white. Other shadows with historic names flashed into vivid contrast for a few moments, and then dissolved into misty indistinctness as they passed on to where their protective coloring merged with the watery background; and behind these glided the silhouettes of other ships which I knew to be "super-cats," ships with names yet unknown to fame, but which were reputed to be able to outrun and out-claw their predecessors by as wide a margin as they outbulked them. One by one the gaunt profile sharpened into sudden brightness and then died down like the lights of a train dashing across a trestle into a deep cut.

"It will be our turn presently," the flag lieutenant said as he turned a sheaf of signals just passed up to him. "Each division gets under way to a time-table, and any substantial deviation from this by even one ship would shake the schedule up for all of the squadrons following."

A quick order, the breaking out of a string of signal flags, the jerky serpentine inrush of the already-shortened anchor chain, and our ship caught the impulse of her accelerating screws and began slowly gathering headway. Down past the head of line after line she steamed, the men of each ship as she came abreast standing at attention to salute the flag of the admiral. Eight ships in "line ahead," the squadron glided easily up the Flow toward the gate.

The sea was smooth, silken smooth, with hardly more than an eight or ten-knot breeze ruffling its surface, and the ship was—so far as pitch and roll were concerned—as steady as though chocked up in a dry dock. Suddenly, a couple of cable's lengths ahead, a thin white line of foam appeared, serpentining along at about right angles to our course. It appeared to be quite the same sort of little froth-path that one has come to know in the seas of all the world as the marker of the place where tide meets tide, a phenomenon indicating conflicting but rarely dangerous counter-currents.

STRUGGLING THROUGH GIANT WHIRLPOOLS

I noted that a half dozen glasses were trained on the wriggling streak, and was I wondering what there could be about it to excite such anxious interest, when the flotilla leader on our port bow swung swiftly round through eight or ten points and came charging straight down toward us. No helm ever spun a ship like that, I told myself even before the violently tossing foam geyser under the stern revealed that both helm and screws were doing their utmost to throw her back toward her original course. I had barely time to observe with astonishment that the destroyer on our starboard bow was plunging off in a totally different direction than her opposite number, when an invisible hand seemed to reach up from below and seize our ship in its vise-like grip. Round swung that 25,000 tons of steel without offering any more apparent resistance than a drifting skiff or a floating log.

There was no knowing until that instant which way the ship was going to swing, and the chief navigating officer's sharp "hard-a-port!" down the voice-pipe was the only order there was any use in giving when it became clear that we were being turned six or eight points to port on a course calculated to present pretty much of her whole starboard side for the oncoming destroyer to flatten itself against. The grind of the laboring helm ran like a shudder from stern to bow, but the avoidance of a collision was up to the destroyer rather than the battleship.

Out of the tail of my eye (as I focused my attention on more imminent developments) I saw that the other battleships and destroyers were cutting capers similar to our own. No two of the dozen or more craft appeared to be steering the same course, and one or two of the destroyers, like helplessly skidding motors on

a muddy street, had actually swung sixteen points and were heading back from whence they came.

It was not an especially close call with our flotilla leader after all, for her helm cut into water standing still sufficiently to give it a grip while she yet had room to clear our swinging bows by a score of yards. Wallowing enormously, she spun swiftly round and darted back to her station while the more ponderous battleship was still reeling dazedly like a half drunken man trying to orientate after picking himself up from a fall. Then, silently and mysteriously as they had come, the treacherous swirls and eddies rolled on, and ten minutes later—a row of blurred black towers dimly discernible against the falling curtain of the night—the squadron was again in line ahead and steaming quietly toward the open sea in its wonted order.

"In its way, this is quite the nastiest bit of water in all the world," said Admiral Sturdee, turning from the rail of the bridge with an expression of relief on his face. "There is a number of places where the tides run more swiftly than here, but none (in my own experience at least) where they run in so many directions at the same time. The waters for miles are a continual succession of giant whirlpools. These make navigation difficult and uncertain all over the Firth, but in the zone of the tide-rip (as you have just seen) they are infernal. Sometimes, even in stormy weather, we go out without having any trouble whatever at the 'rip'; again, as to-day, with little wind and less sea, it picks up a squadron of warships aggregating more than two hundred thousand tons in displacement, and shakes it like a terrier worrying a string of sausages. When it's in this kind of a temper, threading the passages at the entrance of a South Pacific coral atoll (to most sailors the last thing in difficult navigation) is like sailing down a countryside canal in comparison. Have you ever seen anything like it?"

WORSE THAN A BATTLE WRECK

"Never at sea," I replied. "Indeed, the only time—anywhere—I ever saw waters take such wanton liberties with craft trying to navigate them was in the White Horse Rapids of the old Klondike route, and those boats were only twenty or thirty footers of green whipsawed lumber. But aren't there certain kinds of weather when it is next to physically impossible for any kind of a ship to live here? When you get a well-developed gale blowing against the tide, for instance?"

"Ah, that's the combination that does it," said the admiral with a grim smile, turning to go down to the chart house with the flag captain. "You remember what happened to those two destroyers here in that blow of eight or ten days ago (only one survivor out of the crews of both), and you might ask X—— to tell you what befell the old —— the night she started out into a storm." The flag lieutenant came and leaned against the rail at my side. "It must have happened just about where we are now," he said, rubbing a cinder down into the inner corner of his eye and out on the bridge of his nose in approved fashion. "The tide-rip may ambush you almost anywhere inside of here, and—especially if the weather is thick—you are lucky if your ship doesn't end up somewhere along the forty or fifty miles of cliffy coast that hems in this accursed pocket of water. The old —— did not go ashore, but her case is notable as being probably the worst bit of bashing a battleship ever had from seas alone.

"She was going out by herself—bound for the Mediterranean, if I remember rightly—and what happened is probably largely due to the fact that they drove her, with the tide into the teeth of the storm (perhaps to get out where there was more sea-room as quickly as possible) instead of slowing down and taking it easy, as we would be inclined to do now, even with ships a good deal bigger and more powerful. Most of these things have to be learned by experience, and if the —— hadn't learned the lesson and paid the price, probably one of the others of us would have had to.

"At any rate, she bucked right into a mountain of a wave that swept her with hundreds—perhaps thousands—of tons of solid green water. When it had passed her bridges and superstructures—everything, indeed, but her mast and turrets—were crushed down and carried away. A number of men went over the side with the wreckage, and most of those above decks not carried away were killed. The captain was picked up on the quarterdeck, alive but with his legs broken. Nothing but a battleship could have survived such a blow, though it is quite possible that a more buoyant craft would have ridden higher over the wave and so shipped less solid water. I have seen a good many warships that have dragged themselves back to port after a battle, but never a one that presented such a sight as the poor old —— did when she limped home 'the morning after the night before.' She is still in commission, I believe, but there can't be an unreplaced rivet in her that doesn't have a crook in its neck to remind it that something hit her that night in Pentland Firth."

The flag lieutenant turned his glass for a moment toward a succession of flashes in which a de-

stroyer was pouring out its troubles to us from the outer darkness, and then leaned back on the rail again. "It would be hard to say whether the Firth is really our worst enemy or our best friend," he resumed presently. "There is a good deal to be said on both sides. First and last, it has probably bashed us about a good deal more than the Hun has; but at the same time there is no use denying that it has prevented him from making us a good deal of trouble he might have made if there had been an ordinary respectable sheet of water running right up to the front door of our refuge.

"In the first year of the war we used to let off guns at periscopes and the wash of conning towers every few days in the Firth, and the very enterprising U-boat to which they were supposed to belong came to be known by the nickname of the "Pentland Pincher." Before very long, however, we learned that the supposed periscopes were only the necks of swimming cormorants, and the "conning tower washers" certain characteristic little humps of Pentlandesque waves. We also learned, in one way or another, that a U-boat would have about as much chance of running submerged through one of those googly tide-rips as it would have of ascending the Thames to London, while for it to go down and try to rest on the bottom would be about like a Zeppelin's trying to come to roost among the splintered peaks of the Dolomites. Indeed, the best way for you to visualize the bottom of Pentland Firth is to think how the Bernese Oberland looks from the summit of the Matterhorn. It is the currents of the Atlantic and the North Sea rendezvousing over such a bottom which makes the Pentland Firth what is probably the most temperamental bit of water in the Seven Seas."

Presently the admiral beckoned inside the glassed-in bridge cabin and handed me the sheet of white paper. This, as nearly as may be set down, was what I read:

"S.N.O. at —— reports unusual sound in hydrophones. Supposed to be hostile submarine — miles S.E. of —— Island."

"—— miles sou'-east of —— Island," mused the admiral. "H'm. Just about the position of the squadron at the present moment. H'm. . . . Think I may as well go down and get a few hours' sleep. Have to turn out early in the morning. Be sure and be up here at daybreak," he added, turning to me. "Perhaps you'll find the sea will not be quite as empty then as it seems to be to-night."

"The admiral doesn't appear to be much disturbed about that U-boat we are supposed to be steaming over," I remarked to the commander who had come up a few minutes previously.

"What U-boat?" he asked. "Oh, the one in the signal. Well, hardly. He knows by long experience that the average U-boat skipper won't take any risks he can avoid with a warship behind a destroyer screen, especially where there is a chance of throwing his mouldies into some merchantman and drowning a lot of women and children. There is only one thing the Hun is more careful about than his torpedoes, and that is his own thick hide."

The "To-ra-loo" of the imperious call to action stations awoke me before dawn on the following morning, and it was through a tangle of men, hammocks, and unreeling fire-hose, and in the bedlam of clanging water-tight doors and the banging of hurrying feet upon steel ladders, that I wriggled forward and upward toward the fore bridge. The sharp blast which cut my face as I emerged upon the boat deck gave warning that the weather had indulged in one of its sudden overnight changes, and that the day would be one of characteristic North Sea rawness. Ducking through a fluttering string of mounting bunting on the Signal Bridge, I gained the next ladder and came out upon the fore bridge, with an open view before me at last.

THE GRAND FLEET'S GRANDNESS

It was an ashen gray morning, with a low mist just beginning to thin into luminous strata in the light of the rising sun. Overhead it was clear, with indications good for a brightening all around before long. At first I was conscious of only the ships of our own squadron, with those of the second division steaming hard to close up the "night interval" between them and those of the first. Then, abeam to port, I espied a similar line, and beyond that another, and still another. And farther still, slipping ghostly along in the depths of the retreating mist, was even another line.

"Shades of Father Neptune!" I gasped: "Do they go on into the Skager Rack? Where did they all come from?"

The admiral smiled, led me over to the starboard side, and pointed to where, dimly discernible against the smoke pall with which they had smudged the immaculate southeastern heavens, but still unmistakable, was a file of great ships driving hard to push up to their appointed station.

"Some of them have come a long way," he said, with a twinkle in his steady gray eye, "but we're all the gladder to have them here. As for the others," he went on, going back to the port side, "we're almost at the extreme right

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?" I asked.

"Officially," he said with a laugh, "she probably represents the Kaiser, or Von Tirpitz, or whoever stands sponsor for the Hun's ruthless submarine war. That signal refers to a U-boat, not to any craft playing in our little game." He paused for a moment as a detonation of terrific force rumbled distantly and a shock like that of a blow from a mighty wave shook the ship from bow to stern, and then he resumed with a grim smile: "But if that charge came anywhere near her, by this time she probably represents—well, a tired lily folding up and going to sleep for the night would probably be about as near it as anything in nature."

A REAL FIGHT WITHIN A SHAM FIGHT

While the muffled booms of depth-charges were still sounding we saw one of the "enemy" ships, apparently a battleship of the *Queen Elizabeth* class, which had been manœuvring for a position from which she could deliver an effective "broadside" at us, suddenly alter course eight points to port and head directly away at right angles to our extended line. As the raking this would have exposed her to was about the last thing in the world she would have risked had she been still playing the make-believe battle, it hardly needed the far-borne and faint but still unmistakable shriek of a siren to tell us there was another game afoot. Presently she altered back to her original course, and all we ever heard of what transpired was a signal, received shortly afterward, saying that the *Valiani* had attempted to ram the periscope of a hostile submarine.

From first to last this little by-play had taken but a very few minutes, and, absorbed in the drama being played out on the fringes of the mist-curtain, I quite neglected to take account of what was going on in our immediate vicinity. When I looked again the disposition of the units of the Grand Fleet—both battleships and screening destroyers—had completely altered. The battle formation had melted as by magic into one which offered the maximum of protection against submarine attack. Soon we went down to lunch, where the only allusion I recall being made to the episode was something Admiral Sturdee said about how discouraging it must have been to the U-boat skipper to bob up right in the middle of the Grand Fleet, and then not have an opportunity to fire a single torpedo. In the afternoon we crept upon the "skeleton" fleet of the "enemy" in the mist and gave it the trouncing the U-boats were responsible for our failing to complete in the morning. The next day the Grand Fleet was lying quietly at its anchorage.

AMBASSADOR MORGENTHAU'S STORY

Mr. Morgenthau's Visit to the Dardanelles—Inadequate and Antiquated Character of the Defenses—Ammunition Running Low—Turks and Germans Prepared to Evacuate the Dardanelles, but the Allied Fleet Did Not Follow up the Attack

BY
HENRY MORGENTHAU
(Formerly American Ambassador to Turkey)

FIFTH ARTICLE

WHEN the situation had reached this exciting stage Enver asked me to visit the Dardanelles. He still insisted that the fortifications were impregnable and he could not understand, he said, the panic which was then raging in Constantinople. He had visited the Dardanelles himself, had inspected every gun and every emplacement, and was entirely confident that his soldiers could hold off the Allied fleet indefinitely. He had taken Talaat down, and by doing so he had considerably eased that statesman's fears. It was Enver's conviction that if I could visit the fortifications I would be persuaded that the fleets could never get through and that I would thus be able to give such assurances to the people that the prevailing excitement would subside. I disregarded certain natural doubts as to whether an ambassador should expose himself to the dangers of such a situation—the ships were bombarding nearly every day—and promptly accepted Enver's invitation.

On the morning of the 15th, we left Constantinople on the *Yuruk*. Enver himself accompanied us as far as Panderma, an Asiatic town on the Sea of Marmora. The party included several other notables: Ibrahim Bey, the Minister of Justice, Husni Pasha, the general who had commanded the army which had deposed Abdul Hamid in the Young Turk revolution, and Senator Cherif Djafer Pasha, an Arab and a direct descendant of the Prophet. A particularly congenial companion was Fuad Pasha, an old Field Marshal, who had led an adventurous career; despite his age, he had an immense capacity for enjoyment, was a huge feeder and a capacious drinker and had as many stories to tell of exile, battle, and hair-breadth escapes as Othello. All of these men were much older than Enver and all of them were descended of far more distinguished lineage, yet they treated this stripling with the utmost deference.

Enver seemed particularly glad of this opportunity to discuss the situation. Immediately after breakfast, he took me aside and together we

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large army, they will really be caught in a trap. They can perhaps stay here for two or three weeks until their food and supplies are all exhausted and then they will have to go back—rush the Straits again, and again run the risk of annihilation. In the meantime we would have repaired the forts, brought in troops, and made ourselves ready for them. It seems to me to be a very foolish enterprise."

ENVER SEES HIMSELF IN HISTORY

I have already told how Enver had taken Napoleon as his model, and in this Dardanelles expedition he now apparently saw a Napoleonic opportunity. As we were pacing the deck he stopped a moment, looked at me earnestly and said:

"I shall go down in history as the man who demonstrated the vulnerability of England and her fleet. I shall show that her navy is not invincible. I was in England a few years before the war and discussed England's position with many of her leading men, such as Asquith, Churchill, Haldane. I told them that their course was wrong. Winston Churchill declared that England could defend herself with her navy alone, and that she needed no large army. I told Churchill that no great empire could last that did not have both an army and a navy. I found that Churchill's opinion was the one that prevailed everywhere in England. There was only one man I met who agreed with me, that was Lord Roberts. Well Churchill has now sent his fleet down here—perhaps to show me that his navy can do all that he said it could do. Now we'll see."

Enver seemed to regard this naval expedition as a personal challenge from Mr. Churchill to himself—almost like a continuation of their argument in London.

"You, too, should have a large army," said Enver, referring to the United States.

"I do not believe," he went on, "that England is trying to force the Dardanelles because Russia has asked her to. When I was in England I discussed with Churchill the possibility of a general war. He asked me what Turkey would do in such a case, and said that, if we took Germany's side, the British fleet would force the Dardanelles and capture Constantinople. Churchill is not trying to help Russia—he is carrying out the threat made to me at that time."

Enver spoke with the utmost determination and conviction; he said that nearly all the damage inflicted on the outside forts had been repaired, and that the Turks had methods of defense the existence of which the enemy little suspected. He showed great bitterness against the English; he accused them of attempting to bribe Turkish

officials and even said that they had instigated attempts upon his own life. On the other hand, he displayed no particular friendliness toward the Germans. Wangenheim's overbearing manners had caused him much irritation, and the Turks, he said, got on none too well with the German officers.

"The Turks and Germans," he added, "care nothing for each other. We are with them because it is our interest to be with them; they are with us because that is their interest. Germany will back Turkey just so long as that helps Germany; Turkey will back Germany just so long as that helps Turkey."

Enver seemed much impressed at the close of our interview with the intimate personal relations which we had established with each other. He apparently believed that he, the great Enver, the Napoleon of the Turkish Revolution, had unbended in discussing his nation's affairs with a mere ambassador; colossal vanity, as I have before remarked, was one of his strong points.

"You know," he said, "that there is no one in Germany with whom the Emperor talks as intimately as I have talked with you to-day."

ENVER PASHA

"I shall go down in history," this Turkish leader told Mr. Morgenthau, "as the man who demonstrated the vulnerability of England and her fleet. I shall show that her navy is not invincible"

We reached Panderma about two o'clock. Here Enver and his auto were put ashore and our party started again, our boat arriving at Gallipoli late in the afternoon. We anchored in the harbor and spent the night on board. All the evening we could hear the guns bombarding the fortifications, but these reminders of war and death did not affect the spirits of my Turkish hosts. The occasion was for them a great lark; they had spent several months in hard, exacting work, and now they behaved like boys suddenly let out for a vacation. They made jokes, told stories, sang the queerest kinds of songs, and played childish pranks upon one another. The venerable Fuad, despite his nearly ninety years, developed great qualities as an entertainer and the fact that his associates made him the butt of most of their horse-play apparently only added to his enjoyment of the occasion. The amusement reached its height when one of his friends surreptitiously poured him a glass of eau-de-cologne. The old gentleman looked at the new drink a moment and then diluted it with water. I was told that the proper way of testing *raki*, the popular Turkish tipple, is by mixing it with water; if it turns white under this treatment, it is the real thing and may be safely drunk. Apparently water has the same effect upon eau-de-cologne, for the contents of Fuad's glass, after this test, turned white. The old gentleman, therefore, poured the whole thing down his throat without a grimace — much to the hilarious entertainment of his tormentors.

In the morning we started again. We now had fairly arrived in the Dardanelles, and from Gallipoli we had a sail of nearly twenty-five miles to Tchanak Kalé. For the most part this section of the Strait is uninteresting and, from a military point of view, it is unimportant. The stream is about two miles wide, both sides are low-lying and marshy, and only a few scrambling villages show any signs of life. I was told that there were a few ancient fortifications, their rusty guns pointing toward the Marmora, the emplacements having been erected there in the early part of the

nineteenth century for the purpose of preventing hostile ships entering from the north. These fortifications, however, were so inconspicuous that I could not see them; my hosts informed me that they had no fighting power, and that, indeed, there was nothing in the northern part of the Straits, from Point Nagara to the Marmora, that could offer resistance to any modern fleet. The chief interest which I found in this part of the Dardanelles was purely historic and legendary. not until we rounded this historic point of Nagara that the dull monotony of flat shores gave place to a more diversified landscape. On the European side the cliffs now began to descend precipitously to the water, reminding me of our own Palisades along the Hudson, and I obtained glimpses of the hills and mountain ridges that afterward proved such tragical stumbling blocks to the valiant Allied armies. The configuration of the land south of Nagara, with its many hills and

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SEDD-UL-BAHR FORTIFICATION

This was located at the tip of the Gallipoli peninsula, and, with Kum Kalé on the Asiatic side, guarded the entrance to the Dardanelles. The Allied fleets completely demolished these batteries in late February and early March, 1915, and so gained an entrance to the Straits

The ancient town of Lampsacus appeared in the modern Lapsaki; just across from Gallipoli, and Nagara Point is the site of the ancient Abydos, from which village Leander used to swim nightly across the Hellespont to Hero—a feat which was repeated about one hundred years ago by Lord Byron. Here also Xerxes crossed from Asia to Greece on a bridge of boats, embarking on that famous expedition which was to make him master of the world. The tribe of Xerxes, I thought, as I passed the scene of his exploit, is not yet entirely extinct! The Germans and Turks had found a less romantic use for this, the narrowest part of the Dardanelles, for here they had stretched a cable and anti-submarine barrage of mines and nets —a device, which, as I shall describe, did not keep the English and French underwater boats out of the Marmora and the Bosphorus. It was ridges, made it plain why the military engineers had selected this stretch of the Dardanelles as the section best adapted to defense. Our boat was now approaching what was perhaps the most commanding point in the whole strait—the city of Tchanak, or, to give it its modern European name, of Dardanelles. In normal times this was a thriving port of 16,000 people, its houses built of wood, the headquarters of a considerable trade in wool and other products, and for centuries it has been an important military station. Now, excepting for the soldiers, it was deserted, the large civilian population having been moved into Anatolia. The British fleet, we were told, had bombarded this city; yet this statement seemed hardly probable, for I saw only a single house that had been hit, evidently by a stray shell which had been aimed at the nearby fortifications.

Djevad Pasha, the Turkish Commander-in-Chief at the Dardanelles, met us and escorted our party to headquarters. Djevad was a man of culture and of pleasing and cordial manners; as he spoke excellent German I had no need of an interpreter. I was much impressed by the deference with which the German officers treated him; that he was the Commander-in-Chief in this theatre of war and that the generals of the Kaiser were his subordinates was made plainly apparent. As we passed into his office, Djevad stopped in front of a piece of a torpedo, mounted in the middle of the hall, evidently as a souvenir.

"There is the great criminal!" he said, calling my attention to the relic.

About this time the newspapers were hailing the exploit of an English submarine, which had sailed from England to the Dardanelles, passed under the mine field, and torpedoed the Turkish warship *Mesudié*.

"That's the torpedo that did it!" said Djevad. "You'll see the wreck of the ship when you go down."

The first fortification I visited was that of Anadolu Hamidié (that is Asiatic Hamidié), located on the water's edge just outside of Tchanak. My first impression was that I was in Germany. The officers were practically all Germans and everywhere Germans were building up buttresses with sacks of sand and in other ways strengthening the emplacements. Here German, not Turkish, was the language heard on every side. Oberst Wehrle, who conducted me over these batteries, took the greatest delight in showing them. He had the simple pride of the artist in his work, and told me of the happiness that had come into his days when Germany had at last found herself at war. All his life, he said, he had spent in military practices, and, like most Germans, he had become tired of manœuvres, sham battles, and other forms of mimic hostilities. Yet he was approaching fifty, he had become a colonel and he was fearful that his career would close without actual military experience—and then the splendid thing had happened and here he was, fighting a real English enemy, firing real guns and shells! There was nothing brutal about Wehrle's manners; he was a "*gemütlich*" gentleman from Baden, and thoroughly likable; yet he was all aglow with the spirit of "Der Tag." His attitude was simply that of a man who had spent his lifetime learning a trade and who now rejoiced at the chance of exercising it. But he furnished an illuminating light on German military character and the forces that really caused the war.

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GOING INTO ACTION

In the foreground are guns of the British ship *Suffren*. Following the *Suffren* is the French battleship, the *Bouvet* which was sunk during the fight

Getting into the automobile, we sped along the military road to Dardanos, passing on the way the wreck of the *Mesudié*. The Dardanos battery was as completely Turkish as the Hamidié was German. The guns at Dardanos were somewhat more modern than those at Hamidié—they were the Krupp model of 1905. Here also was stationed the only new battery which the Germans had established up to the time of my visit; it consisted of several guns which they had taken from the German and Turkish warships then lying in the Bosphorus. A few days before our inspection the Allied fleet had entered the Bay of Erenkui and had submitted Dardanos to a terrific bombardment, the evidences of which I saw on every hand. The land for nearly half a mile about seemed to have been completely churned up; it looked like photographs I had seen of the battlefields in France. The strange thing was that, despite all this punishment, the batteries themselves remained intact; not a single gun, my guides told me, had been destroyed.

"After the war is over," said General Mertens, "we are going to establish a big tourist resort here, build a hotel and sell relics to you Americans. We shall not have to do much excavating to find them—the British fleet is doing that for us now."

This sounded like a passing joke, yet the statement was literally true. Dardanos, where this emplacement is located, was one of the famous cities of the ancient world: in Homeric times it was part of the principality of Priam. Fragments of capitals and columns are still visible. And the shells from the Allied fleet were now plowing up many relics which had been buried for thousands of years. One of my friends picked up a water jug which had perhaps been used in the days of Troy. The effectiveness of modern gunfire in excavating these evidences of a long lost civilization was striking—though unfortunately the relics did not always come to the surface intact.

The Turkish generals were extremely proud of the fight which this Dardanos battery had made against the British ships. They would lead me to the guns that had done particularly good service and pat them affectionately. For my benefit Djevad called out Lieutenant Hassan, the Turkish officer who had defended this position. He was a little fellow, with jet black hair, black eyes, extremely modest and almost shrinking in the presence of these great generals. Djevad patted Hassan on both cheeks, while another high Turkish officer stroked his hair, one would have thought that he was a faithful dog who had just performed some meritorious service.

"It is men like you of whom great heroes are

WANGENHEIM, THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR

He expected the Allied fleet to capture Constantinople, and was astounded when it failed to return to the attack

made," said General Djevad. He asked Hassan to describe the attack and the way it had been met. The embarrassed lieutenant quietly told his story, though he was moved almost to tears by the appreciation of his exalted chiefs.

"There is a great future for you in the army," said General Djevad, as we parted from this hero.

Poor Hassan's "future" came two days afterward when the Allied fleet made its greatest attack. One of the shells struck his dugout, which caved in, killing the boy. Yet his behavior on the day I visited his battery showed that he regarded the praise of his general as sufficient compensation for all that he had suffered or all that he might suffer.

I was much puzzled by the fact that the Allied fleet, despite its large expenditures of ammunition, had not been able to hit this Dardanos emplacement. I naturally thought at first that such a failure indicated poor marksmanship, but my German guides said that that was not the case. All this misfire merely illustrated once more the familiar fact that a rapidly manœuvring battleship is under great disadvantage in shooting at a fixed fortification. But there was another point involved in the Dardanos battery. My hosts called my attention to its location; it was perched on the top of the hill, in full view of the ships, forming itself a part of the skyline. Dardanos was merely five steel turrets, each with a gun, approached by a winding trench.

"That," they said, "is the most difficult thing in the world to hit. It is so distinct that it looks easy, but the whole thing is an illusion."

TURKISH QUARTERS AT THE DARDANELLES
These dugouts, for the most part, were well protected. The Turks defended their batteries with great heroism and skill

I do not understand completely the optics of the situation; but it seems that the skyline creates a kind of mirage, so that it is practically impossible to hit anything at that point, except by accident. The gunner might get what was apparently a perfect sight, yet his shell would go wild. The record of Dardanos had been little short of marvelous. Up to March 18th, the ships had fired at it about 4,000 shells. One turret had been hit by a splinter, which had also scratched the paint, another had been hit and slightly bent in, and another had been hit near the base and a piece about the size of a man's hand had been knocked out. But not a single gun had been even slightly damaged. Eight men had been killed, including Lieutenant Hassan, and about forty had been wounded. That was the extent of the destruction.

"It was the optical illusion that saved Dardanos," one of the Germans remarked.

Again getting into the automobile we rode along the shore, my host calling my attention to the mine fields which stretched from Chanak southward about seven miles

In this area the Germans and Turks had scattered nearly 400 mines. They told me with a good deal of gusto that the Russians had furnished a considerable number of these destructive engines. Day after day Russian destroyers sowed mines at the Black Sea entrance to the Bosphorus, hoping that they would float down stream and fulfil their appointed task. Every morning Turkish and German mine sweepers would go up, fish out these mines, and place them in the Dardanelles.

The battery at Erenkeui had also been subjected to a heavy bombardment, but it had suffered little. Unlike Dardanos, it was situated back of a hill, completely shut out from view. In order to fortify this spot, I was told, the Turks had been compelled practically to dismantle the fortifications of the Inner Straits—that section of the stream which extends from Chanak to Point Nagara. This was the reason why this latter part of the Dardanelles was now practically unfortified. The guns that had been moved for this purpose were old style Krupp pieces of the model of 1885.

THE BRITISH SHIP "ALBION"
Shelling the fortifications at the Inner Strait. The splashes near the ship show that the Turks are replying vigorously

South of Erenkeui, on the hills bordering the road, the Germans had introduced an innovation. They had found several Krupp howitzers left over from the Bulgarian war and had installed them on concrete foundations. Each battery had four or five of these emplacements so that, as I approached them, I found several substantial bases that apparently had no guns. I was mystified further at the sight of a herd of buffaloes—I think I counted sixteen engaged in the operation—hauling one of these howitzers from one emplacement to another. This, it seems, was part of the plan of defense. As soon as the dropping shells indicated that the fleet had obtained the range, the howitzer would be moved, with the aid of buffalo teams, to another concrete emplacement.

"We have even a better trick than that," remarked one of the officers. They called out a sergeant, and recounted his achievement. This soldier was the custodian of a contraption which, at a distance, looked like a real gun, but which, when I examined it near at hand, was apparently an elongated section of sewer pipe. Back of a hill, entirely hidden from the fleet, was placed the gun with which this sergeant had coöperated. The two were connected by telephone. When the command came to fire, the gunner in charge of the howitzer would discharge his shell, while the man in charge of the sewer pipe would burn several pounds of black powder and send forth a conspicuous cloud of inky smoke. Not unnaturally the Englishmen and Frenchmen on the ships would assume that the shells speeding in their direction came from the visible smoke cloud and

would proceed to centre all their attention upon that spot. The space around this burlesque gun was pock-marked with shell holes; the sergeant in charge, I was told, had attracted more than 500 shots, while the real artillery piece still remained intact and undetected.

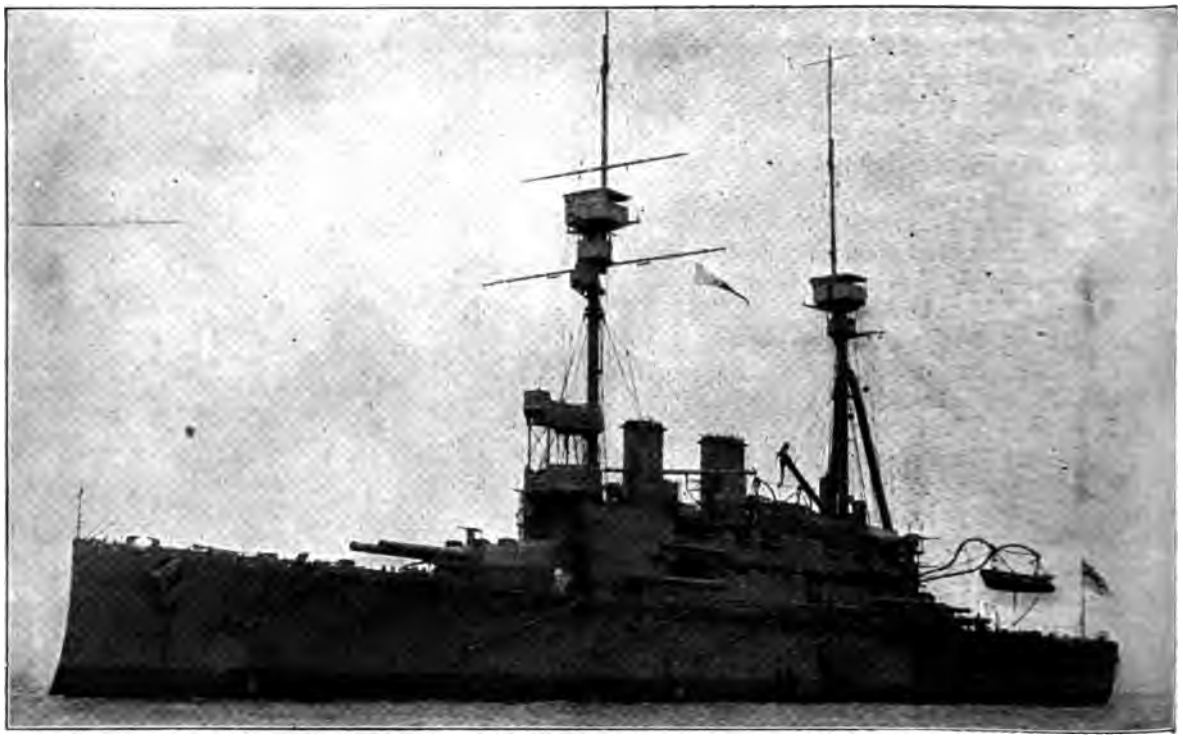
From Erenkeui we motored back to General Djevad's headquarters, where we had lunch. Djevad took me up to an observation post, and there before my eyes I had the beautiful blue expanse of the Ægean. I could see the entrances to the Dardanelles, Sedd-ul-Bahr and Kum Kalé standing like the guardians of a gateway, with the rippling sunny waters stretching between. Far out I saw the majestic ships of England and France sailing across the entrance, and still further away, I caught a glimpse of the island of Tenedos, behind which we knew that a still larger fleet lay concealed. Naturally this prospect brought to mind a thousand historic and legendary associations, for there is probably no single spot in the world more crowded with poetry and romance. Evidently my Turkish escort, General Djevad, felt the spell, for he took a telescope and pointed at a bleak expanse, perhaps ten miles away.

"Look at that spot," he said, handing me the glass. "Do you know what that is?"

I looked but could not identify this sandy beach.

"Those are the plains of Troy," he said. "And the river that you see winding in and out," he added, "we Turks call it the Mendere, but Homer knew it as the Scamander. Back of us, only a few miles away, is Mount Ida."

Then he turned his glass out to sea, swept the field where the British ships lay, and again asked me to look at an indicated spot. I immediately brought within view a magnificent English warship, all stripped for battle, quietly steaming along, like a man walking on patrol duty.



THE BATTLESHIP "AGAMEMNON"

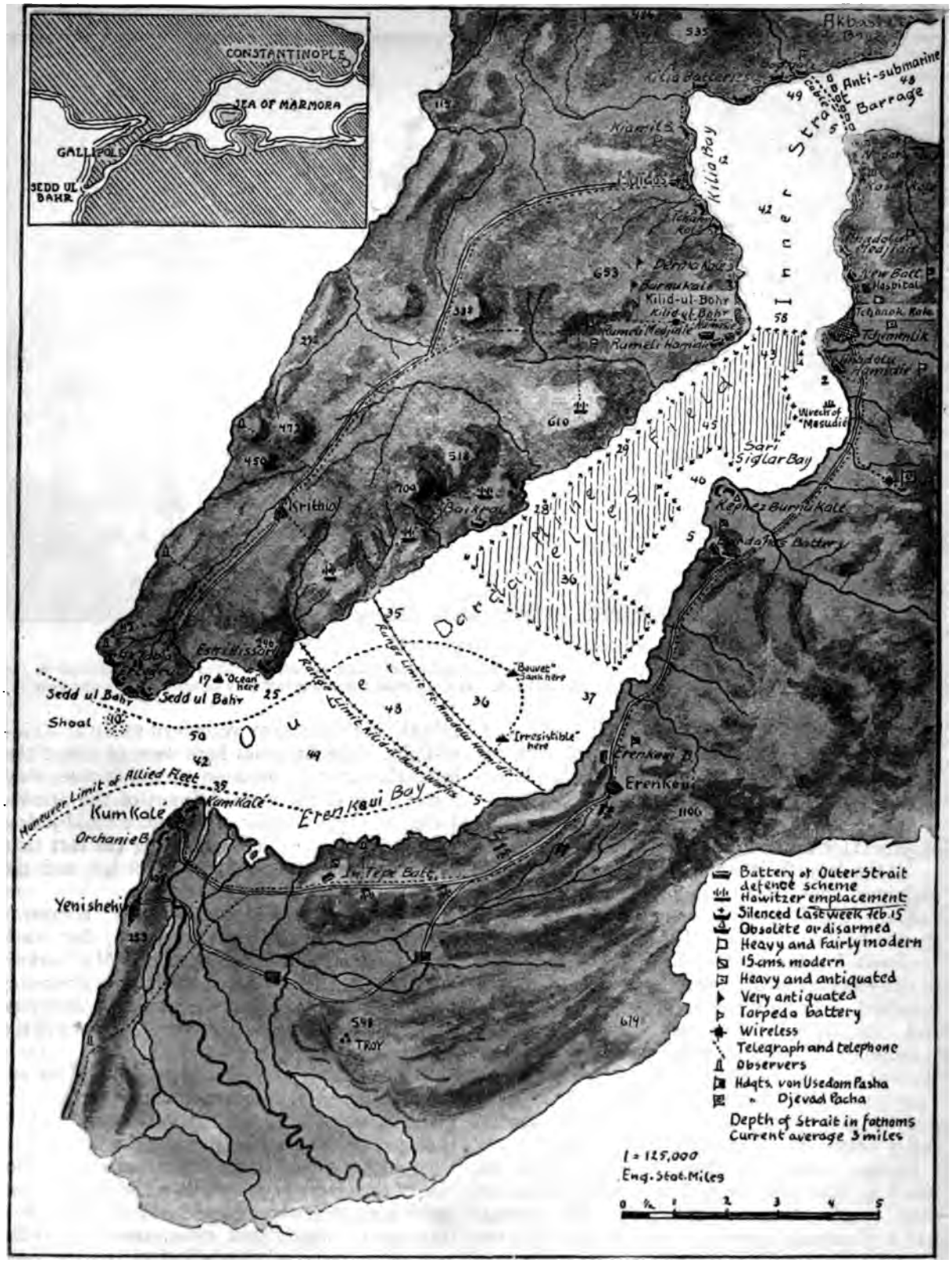
From Turkish headquarters Mr. Morgenthau could see the Plains of Troy, and, out at sea, the *Agamemnon*

"That," said General Djevad, "is the *Agamemnon!*"

"Shall I fire a shot at her?" he asked me.

"Yes, if you'll promise me not to hit her," I answered.

We lunched at headquarters, where we were joined by Admiral Usedom, General Merten and General Pomiankowsky, the Austrian Military Attaché at Constantinople. The chief note in the conversation was one of absolute confidence in the future. Whatever the diplomats and politicians in Constantinople may have thought, these men, Turks and Germans, had no expectation—at least their conversation betrayed none—that the Allied fleets would pass their defenses. What they seemed to hope for above everything was that their enemies would make another attack.



THE DARDANELLES AS IT WAS MARCH 16, 1915

When Ambassador Morgenthau, at the invitation of the Turkish government, visited all the batteries. He found the batteries well defended, but short of ammunition and completely outranged by the guns of the Allied fleets. On March 19th the Germans and Turks were prepared to retreat to Anatolia and leave Constantinople at the mercy of the British. The Allies abandoned the attack at the precise moment when complete victory was in their grasp

TCHEMENLIK AND FORT ANADOLU HAMIDIÉ

The latter, the works in the background, was the chief fortification on the Asiatic side. It inflicted the most damage on the Allied fleet and was the chief object of the fleet's attack. It was almost entirely manned by German officers and men

"If we could only get a chance at the *Queen Elizabeth!*" said one eager German, referring to the greatest ship in the British Navy, then lying off the entrance.

As the Rhein wine began to disappear, their eagerness for the combat increased.

"If the damn fools would only make a landing!" exclaimed one—I quote his precise words.

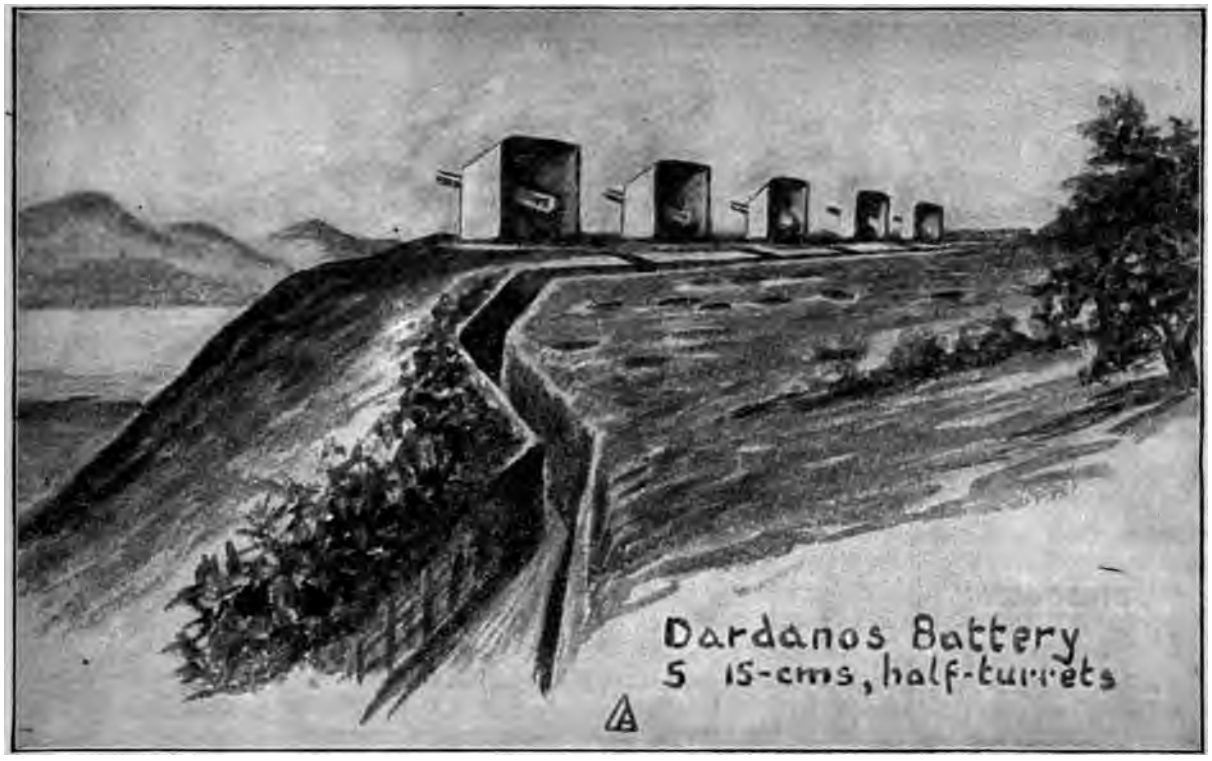
The Turkish and German officers, indeed, seemed to vie with each other in expressing their readiness for the fray. Probably a good deal of this was bravado, intended for my consumption—indeed, I had private information that their real estimate of the situation was much less reassuring. Now, however, they declared that the war had presented no real opportunity for the German and English navies to measure swords, and for this reason the Germans at the Dardanelles welcomed this chance to try the issue.

Having visited all the important places on the Anatolian side, we took a launch and sailed over to the Gallipoli peninsula. We almost had a disastrous experience on this trip. As we approached the Gallipoli shore, our helmsman was asked if he knew the location of the minefield and if he could steer through the channel. He said "yes" and then steered directly for the mines! Fortunately the other men noticed the mistake in time, and so we arrived safely at Kilid-ul-Bahr. The batteries here were of about the same character as those on the other side; they formed one of the main defenses of the Straits. Here everything, so far as a layman could judge, was in excellent condition, barring the fact that the artillery pieces were of old design and the ammunition not at all plentiful.

The batteries showed signs of a heavy bombardment. None had been destroyed, but shell holes surrounded the fortification. My Turkish and German friends looked at these evidences of destruction rather seriously and they were outspoken in their admiration for the accuracy of the Allied fire.

"How do they ever get the range?" This was the question they were asking each other. What made the shooting so remarkable was the fact that it came, not from Allied ships in the Straits, but from ships stationed in the Ægean sea, on the other side of the Gallipoli peninsula. The gunners had never seen their target, but had had to fire at a distance of nearly ten miles, over high hills, and yet many of their shells had barely missed the batteries at Kilid-ul-Bahr.

When I was there, however, the place was quiet for no fighting was going on that day. For the particular benefit the officers put



FORT DARDANOS

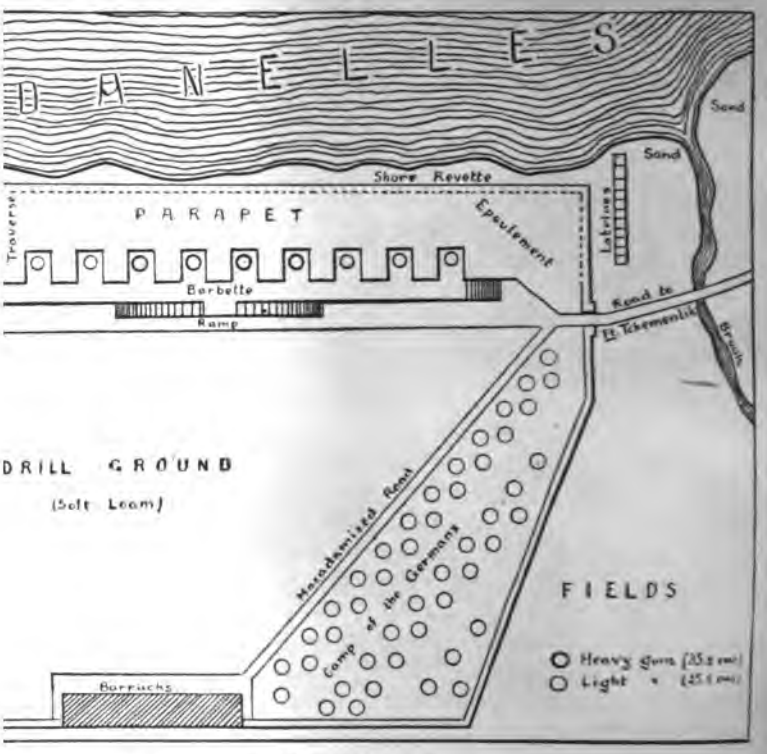
These guns date from 1905. It was not until Bulgaria entered the war and Serbia was overwhelmed that the Germans reinforced the Dardanelles. Now this strait is as completely fortified as Heligoland. Probably all the fleets of the world could not force the passage to-day

crews through a drill, so that I could obtain a perfect picture of the behavior of the Turks in action. In their minds' eyes these artillerists now saw the English ships advancing within range, all their guns pointed to destroy the followers of the Prophet. The bugleman blew his horn, and the whole company rushed to their appointed places. Some were bringing shells, others were opening the breeches, others were taking the ranges, others were straining at pulleys, and others were putting the charges into place. Everything was quickness and alertness; evidently the Germans had been excellent instructors, but there was more to it than German military precision, for the men's faces lighted up with all that fanaticism which supplies the morale of Turkish soldiers. These gunners momentarily imagined that they were shooting once more at the infidel English, and the exercise was a congenial one. Above the shouts of all I could hear the singsong chant of the leader, intoning the prayer with which the Moslem has rushed to battle for thirteen centuries:

"Allah is great, there is but one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet!"

When I looked upon these frenzied men, and saw so plainly written in their faces their uncontrollable hatred of the unbelievers, I called to mind what the Germans had said in the morning about the wisdom of not putting Turkish and German soldiers together. I am quite sure that, had this been done, here at least the "Holy War" would have proved a success, and that the Turks would have vented their hatred of Christians on those who happened to be nearest at hand, for the moment overlooking the fact that they were allies.

I returned to Constantinople that evening, and two days afterward, on March 18th, the Allied fleet made its greatest attack. As all the world knows, that attack proved disastrous to the Allies. The outcome was the sinking of the *Bouvet*, the *Ocean*, and the *Irresistible* and the serious crippling of four other vessels. Of the sixteen ships engaged in this battle of the 18th, seven were thus put temporarily or permanently out of action. Naturally the Germans and Turks rejoiced over this victory. The police went around, and ordered householders each to display a prescribed number of flags in honor of the event. The Turkish people have so little spontaneous patriotism or enthusiasm of any kind that they would never decorate their establishments without such definite orders! As a matter of fact,



ND PLAN OF ANADOLU HAMIDIÉ

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graveyard whistling. In what I now have to say on this point, therefore, I wish it understood that I am not giving my own views, but merely those of the officials then in Turkey who were best qualified to judge.

Enver had told me, in our talk on the deck of the *Yuruk*, that he had "plenty of guns—plenty of ammunition." But this statement was not true. A glimpse at the map will show why Turkey was not receiving munitions from Germany or Austria at that time. The fact was that Turkey was just as completely isolated from her allies then as was Russia. There were two railroad lines leading from Constantinople to Germany. One went by way of Bulgaria and Serbia. Bulgaria was then not an ally, even though she had winked at the passage of guns and shells, this line could not have been used, since Serbia, which controlled the vital link extending from Nish to Belgrade, was still intact. The other railroad line went through Rumania, by way of Bucharest. This route was independent of Serbia, and, had the Rumanian Government consented, it would have formed a clear route from the Krupps to the Dardanelles. The fact that munitions could be sent off with the connivance of the Rumanian Government

perhaps accounts for the suspicion that guns and shells were going by that route. Day after day the French and British ministers protested at Bucharest against this alleged violation of neutrality, only to be met with angry denials that the Germans were using this line. There is no doubt now that the Rumanian Government was perfectly honorable in making these denials. It is not unlikely that the Germans themselves started all these stories, merely to fool the Allied fleet into the belief that their supplies were inexhaustible.

"WE SHALL TAKE TO THE ANATOLIAN HILLS"

Let us suppose that the Allies had returned, say on the morning of the nineteenth, what would have happened? The one overwhelming fact is that the fortifications were very short of ammunition. They had almost reached the limit of their resisting powers when the British fleet passed out on the afternoon of the 18th. I had secured permission for Mr. George A. Schreiner, the well known American correspondent of the Associated Press, to visit the Dardanelles on this occasion. On the night of the 18th, this correspondent discussed the situation with General Mertens, who was the chief technical officer at the Straits. General Mertens admitted that the outlook was very discouraging for the defense.

"We expect that the British will come back early to-morrow morning," he said, "and if they do we may be able to hold out for a few hours."

General Mertens did not declare in so many words that the ammunition was practically exhausted, but Mr. Schreiner discovered that such was the case. The fact was that Fort Hamidié, the most powerful defense on the Asiatic side, had just seventeen armor piercing shells left, while at Kilid-ul-Bahr, which was the main defense on the European side, there were precisely ten.

"I should advise you to get up at six o'clock to-morrow morning," said General Mertens, "and take to the Anatolian hills. That's what we are going to do."

The troops at all the fortifications had their orders to man the guns until the last shell had been fired and then to abandon the forts.

Once these defenses became helpless, the problem of the Allied fleet would have been a simple one. The only bar to their progress would have been the mine field, which stretched from a point about two miles north of Erenkeui to Kilid-ul-Bahr. But the Allied fleet had plenty of mine sweepers, which could have made a channel in a few hours. North of Tchanak, as I have already explained, there were a few guns, but they were of the 1878 model, and could not discharge projectiles that could pierce modern armor plate. North of Point Nagara there were only two batteries, and both dated from 1835! Thus, once having silenced the outer Straits, there was nothing to bar the passage to Constantinople except the German and Turkish warships. The *Goeben* was the only first-class fighting ship in either fleet, and it would not have lasted long against the *Queen Elizabeth*. The disproportion in the strength of the opposing fleets, indeed, was so enormous that it is doubtful whether there would ever have been an engagement.

OTTOMAN STATE WAS ABOUT TO DISSOLVE

Thus the Allied fleet would have appeared before Constantinople on the morning of the twentieth. What would have happened then? We have heard much discussion as to whether this purely naval attack was justified. Enver, in his conversation with me, had laid much stress on the absurdity of sending a fleet to Constantinople, supported by no adequate landing force, and much of the criticism passed upon the Dardanelles expedition since has centred on that point. Yet it is my opinion that this purely naval attack was justified. I base this judgment purely upon the political situation which then existed in Turkey. Under ordinary circumstances such an enterprise would probably have been a foolish one, but the political conditions in Constantinople then were not ordinary. There was no solidly established government in Turkey at that time. A political committee, not exceeding forty members, headed by Talaat, Enver, and Djemal, controlled the central government, but their authority throughout the empire was exceedingly tenuous. As a matter of fact the whole Ottoman state, on that eighteenth day of March, 1915, when the Allied fleet abandoned the attack, was on the brink of dissolution. All over Turkey ambitious chieftains had arisen, who were momentarily expecting the fall, and who were looking for the opportunity to seize their parts of the inheritance. As previously described, Djemal had already organized practically an independent government in Syria. In Smyrna Rahmi Bey, the Governor-General, had often disregarded the authorities in the capital. In Adrianople Hadji Adil, one of the most courageous Turks of the time, was making his plans to set up an independent government. Arabia was already practically an independent nation. Among the subject races the spirit of revolt was rapidly spreading. The Greeks and the Armenians would also have welcomed an opportunity to strengthen the hands of the Allies. The existing financial and industrial conditions seemed to make revolution inevitable. Many farmers went on strike; they had no seeds and would not accept them as

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dressed as a field marshal, his body blazing with decorations and gold braid. Von der Goltz explained and half apologized for his regalia by saying that he just returned from an audience with the Sultan. He had come to Constantinople to present his majesty a medal from the Kaiser, and was taking back to Berlin a similar mark of consideration from the Sultan to the Kaiser, besides an imperial present of 10,000 cigarettes.

The three of us sat there for some time, drinking coffee, eating German cakes, and smoking German cigars. I did not do much of the talking, but the conversation of Von der Goltz and Wangenheim seemed to me to shed much light upon the German mind, and especially on the trustworthiness of German military reports. The aspect of the Dardanelles fight that interested them most at that time was England's complete frankness in publishing her losses. That the British Government should issue an official statement, saying that three ships had been sunk and that four others had been badly damaged, struck them as most remarkable. In this announcement I merely saw a manifestation of the usual British desire to make public the worst—the policy which we Americans also believe to be the best in war times. But no such obvious explanation could satisfy these wise and solemn Teutons. No, England had some deep purpose in telling the truth so unblushingly; what could it be?

"*Es ist ausserordentlich!*" (It is extraordinary) said Von der Goltz, referring to England's public acknowledgment of defeat.

"*Es ist unerhört!*" (It is unheard of) declared the equally astonished Wangenheim.

These master diplomatists canvassed one explanation after another, and finally reached a conclusion that satisfied the higher strategy. England, they agreed, really had had no enthusiasm for this attack, because, in the event of success, she would have had to hand Constantinople over to Russia—something which England really did not intend to do. By publishing the losses, England showed Russia the enormous difficulties of the task; she had demonstrated, indeed, that the enterprise was impossible. After such losses, England intended Russia to understand that she had made a sincere attempt to gain this great prize of war and expected her not to insist on further sacrifices.

The sequel to this great episode in the war came in the winter of 1915-16. By this time Bulgaria had taken sides with the Entente, Serbia had been overwhelmed, and the Germans had obtained a complete unobstructed railroad line from Constantinople to Austria and Germany. Huge Krupp guns now began to come over this line—

all destined for the Dardanelles. Sixteen great batteries, of the latest model, were emplaced near the entrance, completely controlling Sedd-ul-Bahr. The Germans lent the Turks 500,000,000 marks, much of which was spent defending this indispensable highway. The thinly fortified Straits through which I passed in March, 1915, are now as impregnably fortified as Heligoland. It is doubtful if all the fleets in the world could force the Dardanelles to-day.

(*In the October* WORLD'S WORK *Mr. Morgenthau will describe his efforts to protect foreigners in Turkey against the Germans and the Turks. He will also describe "Bulgaria on the auction block" and tell the circumstances that induced that country, against the wishes of her own people, to betray the cause of freedom and civilization.*)

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GERMAN INTRIGUE IN MEXICO

Eversbusch's Attempts to Stop the Allies' Petroleum Supply at Tampico—Von Eckardt's Schemes to Keep Mexico at Least Neutral, So That the Germans May Have a Spy Base and a Refuge There

BY

GEORGE MACADAM

GERMAN intrigue in Mexico is now concentrating at two main points of attack: (1) at Tampico, where Eversbusch, the German Consul, is trying to stop the indispensable supply of oil to the Allies; and (2) at Mexico City where Von Eckardt, the German Minister, is trying at least to maintain the neutrality of Mexico—the only remaining relay station for information on American movements.

First, consider the oil situation: There are just seven big sources of petroleum supply in the world. To rank them by amount of production, they are: the United States, Russia, Mexico, the Dutch East Indies, Rumania, India, and Galicia. The Dutch East Indies and India are on the other side of the world; the voyage is long; U-boats are plentiful; and tank-steamers are scarce. The oil fields of Russia, Rumania, and Galicia are in the hands of the enemy. All of which means that the Allies must depend for their supply of petroleum upon the United States and Mexico.

To meet the demand, the United States jumped its 1917 production more than 40,000,000 barrels above its 1916 production, a record jump in oil history in the United States. In the same period, Mexico jumped its production more than 20,000,000 barrels, an increase in national production of more than 50 per cent., a world record.

But despite these tremendous increases, the Allies' supply is falling behind their demand. The oil reserves of the United States are already being drawn upon England has prohibited, with drastic penalties, the use of gasolene for pleasure vehicles. The United States would have already followed the same policy were it not that this country, unlike England, is a producer and refiner, that the greatest demand is for fuel oil, and that in the manufacture of this the explosive gasolene must be removed. Thus gasolene at the present time in this country is a by-product. The greater the demand for fuel oil, the greater the supply of gasolene.

The oil fields of Mexico are in the hollow of the hand of Manuel Pelaez, a brigand or a rebel according to one's point-of-view on Mexican politics, to whom the oil companies must each month pay "protection money" of princely proportions. The only outlets for Mexican petroleum are through the seaports of Tampico and Tuxpam, both under the jurisdiction of Carranza whose fast-maturing policy of "nationalization" would automatically make the oil of a neutral Mexico contraband-of-war which no belligerent could obtain. Between Carranza's territory and Pelaez's territory there is a No Man's Land where outlawry and disorder prevail. This is crossed by great pipe-lines carrying the precious oil from the wells to the seaports. And at Tampico is Eversbusch, one of the most energetic and clever agents of Germany, working under the cloak of his office as consul.

The richest oil wells in the world are in territory controlled by Pelaez. Only once in the last three years has there been a successful, though small and short, invasion by Carranza forces. Pelaez exacts from the oil companies $30,000 a month "protection money," but he gives protection. His bargain is explicit—no disorder and absolute

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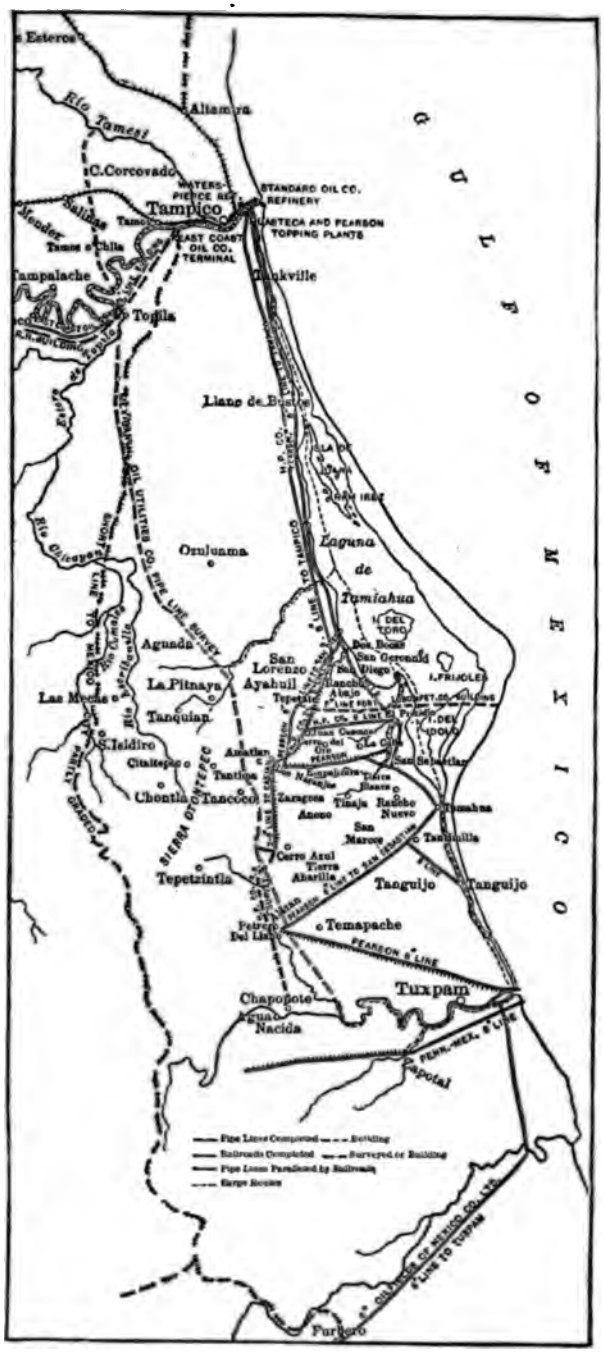
grip the two commercial outlets for oil, Tampico and Tuxpam, he holds a strategic position which he makes the most of in the way of taxes. The oil may gush at a record-breaking rate out in the territory of Pelaez, but the Carranza imposts must be paid before it can flow into the tankers. His chief imposition is an export tax. As his treasury has gone down, this tax has gone up. The oil companies say that it promises soon to touch the confiscatory point, and both the American and the British Governments have filed protests to this effect in Mexico City. In addition to this, each oil company is obliged to pay Carranza a monthly license tax. The companies are also made to pay for a Carranza inspector in Tampico, who has long-range but autocratic powers regarding the oil wells which he cannot inspect. Then there is the Captain of the Port, not to mention other minor officials who can bother, hinder, and "collect."

Needless to say, from the viewpoint of Herr Eversbusch, the German Consul at Tampico, this makes a fertile field to be tilled for the benefit of the Fatherland. His greatest harvest would be a negative crop—no oil for the Allies. To reap this harvest, he is sowing German propaganda with a lavish hand, the same brand that Minister von Eckardt is sowing in Mexico City and throughout the country.

Meantime, the German policy is to hinder as much as possible the production and transportation of oil. To help them accomplish this, there is a handy tool. It is known as the "Casa del Obrero Mundial." It is a local variety of I.W.W. or Bolsheviki. The principles of this organization are thoroughly interwoven in the political and industrial tangle that constitutes the present-day Mexican problem. Of its national bearings, more will be said later. Just now we will stick to the Tampico combination of oil, Eversbusch, and I.W.W.

Ever since the European war began and oil supplies became vital, there has been a particularly active industrial fermentation going on in Tampico and vicinity. It is Eversbusch who has supplied the yeast. There are recurring strikes and threats of strikes among the workers connected with the oil industry. The strikes are well financed. The agitators have a constant supply of funds. Some of these labor outbreaks have reached serious proportions. The funds were supplied to the German consul through the notorious Hamburg-American group of plotters, formerly operating in New York but now residing in internment camp or Federal prison. Payments at the rate of $10,000 a day have been traced from Carl Heynen in Manhattan to Eversbusch in Tampico. The supply of Tampico yeast, how-



THE OIL FIELDS OF MEXICO

Oil is necessary for war operations. The demand is already exceeding the supply. These great sources are now controlled by Mexicans, and German influences are strong in Mexico

ever, has only been hindered; it has not been checked; the industrial ferment in the Mexican oil region is still going on.

To judge the potentialities of Herr Eversbusch, a few additional facts should be given. He has a private wharf with ample docking facilities for sea-going craft; he has the only supply of bunker coal in Tampico; he has a large warehouse, the "Agencia Commercial y Maritima." This warehouse is well stocked with American goods. They were bought ostensibly for American consignees, and then someone "swapped checks" to pay for them.

As an instance of how strings may be pulled, a series of orders by the Captain of the Port of Tampico may be instanced. To form a true estimate of the crippling results of these orders, it must be realized that the only means of communication between the seaport and the oil fields is by launch and barge. These go up the Panuco River to the Topila and Panuco fields, or down the Panuco River a short distance to a canal which leads into Tamiahua Lagoon, a jungle-bordered stretch of water running parallel with the Gulf of Mexico, some eighty or more miles to another canal which connects it with Tuxpam River. There are various landings on the lagoon from which the supplies are hauled through the jungle to the oil wells to the west. San Geronimo is the only landing that boasts a railway terminal. From this place a narrow-gauge road runs back thirty-five miles to Cerro Azul.

The Captain of the Port formerly required the companies to hire a Mexican pilot and engineer in addition to the American engineer or captain on each boat. So long as these enforced additions to the crew were merely decorative, so long as their wages were merely a beneficent tax for individualized Mexican labor, the companies did not complain. But in January there came an order that the navigation of each boat was exclusively in the hands of the Mexican pilot. Now like every good and true half breed these pilots put their faith in "Mañana." Back in the oil fields, drilling-crews might be waiting for machinery, pumping stations might be waiting for fuel, camps for food, but the Mexican pilot would none-the-less tie up when and where it suited him.

SUPPLIES HELD UP FOR WEEKS

Discharge the pilot? Yes, a company could do that if it were willing to pay the penalty imposed by the foresighted Captain of the Port—give the victim of Gringo business methods three months' wages. And then the company could hire another Mexican pilot whose faith in "Mañana" and whose relish for a three-months' vacation on full pay were no less than that of his predecessor.

The Captain of the Port has followed this by still another order. It is to the effect that the boat crews must be made up exclusively of Mexicans. The American Consul has protested, but with what success is not as yet known in New York.

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had been government soldiers within a few days; for carriage of arms in that territory is forbidden to any but soldiers, Eversbusch, or his friends.

Carranza's two big problems are a large army and a poverty-stricken treasury. He must keep the army to retain his power; and he must fill the treasury to retain the army. The great temptation which Von Eckardt constantly dangles before his eyes is that he fill his treasury at the expense of the foreign investors—and the foreign investors are chiefly British, American, and French. This solution is doubly alluring because it fits exactly into Carranza's theories of political economy, which found concrete expression in that remarkable document—the most "advanced" official embodiment of radicalism—the Constitution signed at Querétaro on January 31, 1917, and now the basic law of Mexico. A cardinal principle of this Constitution is that Mexico is for the Mexicans only.

'MEXICO FOR MEXICANS"

Keeping in mind that it has been foreign capital, largely American, that has developed the mines and oil fields of Mexico, that large amounts of the same capital are invested in ranches, rubber, cotton, and coffee plantations, let us glance at Article 27 of the new Constitution. Among other things, it provides:

> In the Nation is vested direct ownership of all minerals—solid, liquid, or gaseous.
>
> Only Mexicans by birth or naturalization and Mexican companies have the right to acquire ownership in lands, waters, and their appurtenances, or to obtain concessions to develop mines, waters, or mineral fuels in the Republic of Mexico. The Nation may grant the same right to foreigners, provided they agree before the Department of Foreign Affairs to be considered Mexicans in respect to such property, and accordingly not to invoke the protection of their Governments in respect to the same, under penalty, in case of breach, of forfeiture to the Nation of property so acquired. Within a zone of 100 kilometers from the frontiers, and of 50 kilometers from the seacoast no foreigner shall under any conditions acquire direct ownership of lands and waters.
>
> Commercial stock companies may not acquire, hold, or administer rural properties.

No one can dispute the right of Mexicans to decree "Mexico for the Mexicans" except in so far as foreigners have been induced by former administrations to invest their money in Mexico. To take mining alone, an estimate of the money invested in it at the time of the outbreak of the revolution was about $650,000,000, of which $500,000,000 was American, $88,000,000 British, $10,000,000 French, and $30,000,000 Mexican. It is said that the new Constitution is not retroactive. But Carranza has already taken steps

to "nationalize" the great petroleum fields, and the American Government is making strenuous diplomatic protest. The Carranza authorities are gradually stretching the new constitutional provisions out in various other directions.

To meet his Treasury deficit, Carranza fell back on a system of defaulting in his debts and of taking over certain handy, paying properties. He has paid no interest on the bonds (chiefly American owned) representing the national debt. He has seized the National Railways of Mexico (chiefly American owned), a system that extends from the northern to the southern frontier, the main line branches including 6,797 miles of track. No interest has been paid to the bond-holders or the stock-holders. Likewise he has seized the Mexican Railway, the Interoceanic Railway, the Railways of Yucatan, the Mexican Navigation Company, the Tramways of Mexico City, the Mexican Telephone and Telegraph Company, and the Wells-Fargo Express Company; and likewise he has paid no interest to their bond-holders and stock holders—chiefly American, British, and French citizens. The earnings in excess of operating expenses go to the Government entire.

The present year found the taxes on all products of foreign corporations screwed up almost to the last notch. The tax, for instance, on gold and silver, that used to be considered high at 2½ per cent., is now about 10 per cent. The tax on petroleum is almost at the confiscatory point. By "valuation," basis of the "10 per cent. tax," the tax is 23 cents per barrel on oil that sells at 43 cents in Tampico, after a 90 mile pipe-line transport.

But in spite of all this, Mexico—a country with unsurpassed sources of natural wealth that only need capital and industry encouraged by sane laws sanely administered, to be converted into vast sources of legitimate taxation—Mexico is staggering along toward bankruptcy.

Only one thing can keep Mexico going on the financial road that it is now travelling, and that one thing is a wider policy of seizure and confiscation. The "nationalization" of the oil fields is a policy that Carranza is endeavoring to push on to maturity. His new constitution—if the other nations allow its provisions to be enforced—is the greatest document for the expropriation of foreign-owned property, without opportunity of judicial recourse but with ample opportunity for the confiscatory deflation of values, that a civilized state has ever devised.

Here is a fact of far-reaching significance: Practically all of the holders of bonds and stocks of the properties that Carranza has seized or threatens with seizure, are citizens of the Allied nations. The Americans come first, then the British, and then the French. The American investment alone would run far beyond the billion-dollar mark. The German investment in Mexico (with the exception of the corporation with the misnomer, the American Metals Company) is exclusively in hardware and drug stores and goods.

And right there is the crux of the German temptation.

CARRANZA TRYING TO PICK WAR WINNER

Carranza has been able to stave off bankruptcy only by his policy of continued defaults and seizures. The Allies have not called him to account for the simple reason that they had their hands full in Europe. When the Allies win, not only will Carranza be made to square with his foreign creditors, but he will also be awakened from his dream of expropriation foreshadowed in the Querétaro Constitution.

But if the Germans should win, Carranza not only could take undisputed possession, in the name of Mexico, of railways, steamship lines, and public utilities, built and financed by Allied nationals, but he could also repudiate the national debt, largely owing to the same sources, and his vast dream of expropriation could materialize into a cash-paying fact.

There can be no doubt that this is the golden bait that von Eckardt, the German Minister at Mexico City, is dangling before the eyes of Carranza. Germany wants a careless, predatory, "neutral" Mexico, for Mexico is the last remaining source of information of American activities, and the sole asylum for German subjects and propagandists in North America. Neutral Mexico, owning the oil measures, would cut off the vital supply of petroleum from the Allied navies, and, after the war is over, Mexico, so rich in raw materials, would be a much-needed source of supply for German factories.

Remember the Zimmerman note proposing an alliance and the making of war upon the United States: "We shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona."

That surely was golden bait!

And remember that the Zimmerman note was dated January 19, 1917 (it was made public on March 1, 1917, by the State Department at Washington into whose hands it had come through underground channels). And also remember that between these two dates—February 11—Carranza addressed to the United States and other neutrals a note suggesting that "t

neutral countries . . . take the necessary measures to reduce the conflagration to its narrowest limit by refusing any kind of implements to the belligerents and suspending commercial relations with the warring nations until the said conflagration shall have been smothered."

Germany's commerce had long since been swept from the seas. The proposal was solely a blow aimed at the Allies. Mexico's contribution of "implements to the belligerents" was oil. Carranza was nibbling at the German bait.

But he has not yet been able to pick the winner in the mighty contest, and that is why he wobbles —now congratulating Emperor William on the celebration of the anniversary of his birthday "with justified rejoicing," and a month later assuring the Belgian minister that Belgium "has realized the most heroic act of modern times"; now and again issuing declarations of strict neutrality, but all the while permitting the German legation in Mexico City to be the ample well-head of underground propaganda. This propaganda is the same compound of corruption and subtlety that has made German diplomacy wherever it has been brought to the surface, stink in all parts of the world.

German money has bought or subsidized a chain of Mexican newspapers; German money has been used to stir up provocative disorder along the Rio Grande; the charge, openly made by *El Universal*, that German money has corrupted members of the Mexican Congress is being investigated by the Republic's Attorney General and a legislative committee; German hardware firms have been allowed to get possession, through false manifests, of a large amount of ammunition; German reservists, acting under orders from Berlin, have been allowed to gather in Mexico from all parts of the western hemisphere; German reservists have been taken into the Mexican army; more than a year ago, Maximilian Klos, a German reservist, was placed in charge of all Carranzista ordnance and ammunition matters, including the Government munitions plant near Mexico City; Mexico's wireless stations installed and being installed by German mechanics, that used to be tuned to the Marconi system as are those in all the Allied countries, have been tuned since Carranza came into authority, to the Telefunken system, the one used by the wireless stations of the Central Powers; Carranza has taken over the British-owned railroad that crosses the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, with its splendidly equipped harbors with huge lifting cranes capable, it is said, of lifting a small submarine, on both the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean.

Carranza has nibbled at the German bait. He is still nibbling. Will impending bankruptcy finally cause him to swallow it?

GRENADES AND GRENADIERS

"Naturally, the Advent of the Grenade Was Enthusiastically Welcomed by the Troops as It Added a Form of Diversion to a Rather Dull Life"—To the Grenadier Belongs the Post of Danger—He Might Well Be Called the Superman of the Infantry

BY

CAPT. R. G. FULLER, U. S. R.

AT THE outbreak of the present war the belligerents had scarcely given a thought to the hand-grenade as a weapon of any importance. This fact shows that the so-called "trench warfare" had not been contemplated, and that the war of movement, such as had existed in the past, was the only form of warfare that had been given serious consideration.

When, however, the opposing armies had entrenched and it was no longer possible to use the rifle or machine gun, it became necessary to devise weapons which would meet the conditions that had been created. Life in the trenches became rather monotonous; the enemy well protected in his trench was rarely ever seen—there was nothing to shoot at. The fact that a projectile with a plunging fire was the only thing that could reach a trench suggested the grenade. It was no new weapon. It dates back to early in the fifteenth century. The Russians used it extensively at the siege of Port Arthur. The grenade had only been considered useful in case of siege, and, after all, this new warfare somewhat resembled a siege, and as the opposing trenches were often only twenty-five to forty yards apart, grenades could be easily hurled at such distances into the enemy's trenches. Naturally, the advent of the grenade was enthusiastically welcomed by the troops as it added a form of diver-

sion to a rather dull life. At Mesnil-les-Hurlus, February, 1915, grenades were first used in quantities in actions of importance.

The early grenades were crude affairs. They were made from beef and jam tins filled with explosive, shrapnel bullets, nails, odds and ends, and were ignited very generally by means of a cigarette and a fuse of uncertain duration. It was a most primitive device and occasionally blew up the thrower, but this did not dampen the ardor of the sport. It did, however, impress upon the officers the necessity of designing grenades of a type that would secure the thrower with a reasonable amount of safety and yet function with regularity. Numerous grenades were tried out and the final result has been the adoption of a type, the fundamental principles of which have been generally accepted by the Allies.

This grenade consists of two main parts: an envelope or casing containing the explosive or other material, and the firing mechanism or *bouchon* controlled by a long handle which, when released at the moment of throwing, flies upward and allows the firing pin to function. A five second fuse is ignited and this leads to the detonator which explodes the main charge. The handle is kept in a safe position by a pin which is withdrawn just before the grenade is thrown.

As the use of the grenade increased and as its importance as a weapon became greater, it was seen that much advantage was to be gained in the manufacture of grenades of different types, so far as the effect produced by them was concerned. To-day we find four types of grenades in general use at the front.

(1) *The Defensive Grenade*

This was the original type developed. It has a body of cast iron and bursts into a great number of pieces. Its effective range is about 30 yards, although many of its fragments are projected a much greater distance. The thrower should be protected when using this grenade as he is liable to be wounded by the pieces. Therefore, it is thrown from a trench or into a trench or some place where the thrower is safe from its burst.

(2) *The Offensive Grenade*

The object of this grenade is to limit its danger zone to a few feet. The envelope is made from very thin sheet iron or heavy paper and contains a very heavy charge of explosive.

It does little actual physical damage but produces a miniature shell shock which results in complete demoralization of the enemy.

(3) *Incendiary Grenade*

This may contain phosphorus or thermit and is thrown into buildings and dugouts in order to cause fire and drive out the enemy.

(4) *Gas Grenades*

Used against dugouts and positions that are to be rendered untenable. These grenades are filled with highly concentrated tear-producing gases which have an instantaneous effect.

It soon became apparent that a grenade of much greater range than the ordinary hand-grenade would be of the greatest value, as the enemy's lines were usually beyond the range of any thrower. To meet this situation, the French invented a rifle-grenade called the "V-B" on account of its originators, *Viven* and *Bessieres*. This grenade is shot from the ordinary rifle by means of a special container and a service cartridge. It has an effective range of about 175 yards.

It may be shot from the shoulder, but, on account of the recoil and poor balance due to the container placed on the end of the barrel, it is generally shot with the butt resting on the ground. After practice, considerable accuracy can be obtained by this means.

It was not long before the grenade became one of the most important weapons of modern warfare, and, naturally, its introduction had a profound effect upon the organization of troops.

For daily life in the trenches, the rifle grenade was of great use. The rifles could be set up on tripods, and a constant shower of grenades kept upon vital points in the enemy's lines, and observation posts, shelters, and important junction points of trenches and boyaux (communicating trenches) rendered untenable. Such work is always important as it affects the enemy's morale.

The V-B is extremely effective in cleaning out machine gun emplacements which have not been put down by artillery. Dead ground in front of an objective can be thoroughly searched by rifle-grenades and small parties of men rendered ineffective, and there are numerous local engagements where they are extremely useful, especially when no artillery support is given.

In village fighting and the consolidation of many points, the grenadiers are unable on account of range to render much assistance, but the rifle-grenade will be able to reach the objective.

In general, the rifle-grenade men go forward in the attack as riflemen and, when necessary, they concentrate upon points that offer resistance and keep these under a heavy barrage fire. In this manner they assist the troops in carrying out their movements.

On the defense, the V-B lays down a very heavy barrage. Eight men can fire 150 shots a minute and often they can break up the enemy's attack before he can get within bombing range.

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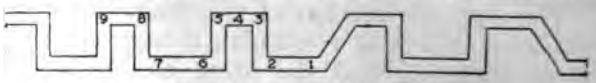
is held. The hour and kind of weather is considered and the specific tasks assigned to individuals and bodies of men. The supply and communication are worked out and when everything is satisfactory, the raiders start off. They steal through no man's land in absolute silence. The slightest noise would put the enemy on his guard and might result disastrously. If there has been no artillery preparation, difficulty will be encountered with the barbed wire and it will have to be cut by hand or blown up with an explosive charge.

HOW A TRENCH RAID IS CONDUCTED

If possible, trench raids are conducted without the use of the grenade. The more silently the work is done, the more speedy and satisfactory it is. The bayonet and the trench knife are often



ORDER OF PROCEDURE
in step by step advance of bombers in trenches

sufficient. However, if it is necessary to use grenades, they are brought into action just before the trench is raided and a number are thrown into various points in the trench and then the party rushes the enemy. A thorough cleaning or "mopping up" then follows. Dugouts are searched and no chance is taken of being attacked by any supposedly dead enemies. Once the purpose has been accomplished, the party returns with the prisoners to the protection of its own trenches.

In a local attack which may be made for the purpose of occupying and holding a portion of the enemy's trench, when the infantry has obtained a footing, the grenadiers are the only ones who can make progress along the trench. This is one of the most important functions of the grenadier. It is strictly up to him to widen the extent of trenches to be occupied and to follow up the boyaux, and it is also his duty to clean up the trenches and see that no enemy is left behind.

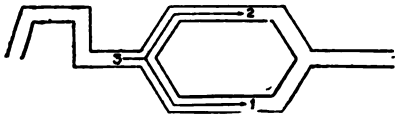
The advance must be made with great care. The strength of the enemy is an unknown quantity. There is no telling what ambush or enfilade may be ahead.

The bombing squad consists of two bayonet men who precede the throwers. The third and sixth men are throwers, the fourth and seventh are carriers who become throwers if casualties occur. The fifth man is a "Non-com" in charge of the squad, the eighth is second in command, and the ninth carries a V-B rifle.

As new traverses are approached, 3 and 6 proceed to bomb them. As soon as they have fin-

ished, 1 and 2 rush forward and finish the job up with the bayonet.

Particular attention must be paid to the prevention of crowding. All dugouts are methodically bombed and searched to prevent any chance of a rear attack. Boyaux are explored, barricaded, and guarded, and island traverses are bombed on both sides and a bayonet man sent along each trench. This step by step fighting is extremely arduous and calls for constant replacement of men and material. The enemy, during all this time, is by no means idle. He has constructed barricades that must be blown up and thrown in masses of barbed wire to block the way. His machine guns and automatic machine rifles are carefully planted so as to enfilade as many points, as possible and often specially prepared bombing posts have been placed outside of the



AN ISLAND TRAVERSE

trenches and filled with men waiting their chance. The fight really resolves itself to one of wits and the price paid for any carelessness is dear. The operations are conducted in silence and ears are strained to catch any sound that tells of the presence of the enemy.

Occasionally, it may become necessary to dig a sap in order to reach the enemy more effectively and also to increase the number of points from which bombs can be thrown.

The building of barricades is a very important part of the grenadiers' duty and they should be accompanied by men who are provided with proper tools and sand bags. The barricade is built some fifty yards behind the advance in order to be out of any counter grenade fire. An advanced barricade of temporary construction is made at the point of advance. When the main barricade is finished, the bombers can take a permanent position at that point.

Sometimes, it may become necessary to block winding boyaux and straight stretches of trench that could be fired along should a traverse be destroyed. In the case of the boyaux, a section of it should be completely destroyed in order to render it useless. The straight stretch can be barricaded by sand bags, roofed against grenades and then the intervening traverse destroyed.

When the trenches have been taken over and consolidated, the bombers' work on that particular job is done, and the time has arrived to begin preparing him for the next one.

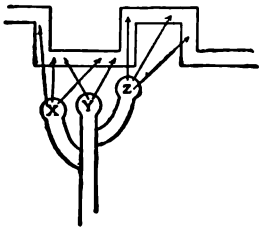
The duties of the grenadier in the defense of a position are threefold:

(1) The prevention of the use of bombs by the enemy.

(2) Holding the enemy when he has entered the trenches until a counter attack can be made.

(3) Taking part in the counter attack.

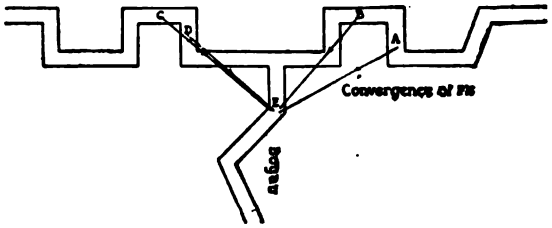
The arrangement of the supply of grenades in defensive sectors must be carefully worked out. The grenadiers are posted along the line and in-



SAPS

run out to X, Y, and Z to make bombing more effective

creased numbers stationed at weak spots. It must be remembered that there are many places which cannot be controlled by rifle and machine gun fire, such as craters, saps, and dead ground. It is these points that the grenadiers are supposed to take care of. The rifle, the machine gun, and



BOMBING A COMMUNICATION TRENCH

V-B's from A, B, C, and D fall at E and make the boyau useless

the artillery are the main defensive weapons—the grenade is an adjunct.

The establishment of throwing posts is to prevent the enemy from coming within bombing distance of the trench. Saps should be protected by a covering of twined barbed wire. If the enemy enters one, he will be unable to throw out of it and yet can be bombed with ease.

If the enemy succeeds in entering the trenches, he must be held until a counter attack is organized. His progress must be impeded in every possible way. Barbed wire can be used to fill the trenches, a converging fusillade of bombs should be kept up, and, whenever possible, he should be led into enfilades of machine gun and automatic machine-rifle fire. Bombing posts can be established outside the trenches at strategical points.

When the counter attack is made and its success depends upon the speed with which it is organized, the grenadier must proceed to clean the enemy out of the positions that he had been consolidating and open up the way for the infantry

FORD, AMATEUR

Anything He Thinks Worth Doing—Why He Believes and How He Hopes to Make Everybody Happy

BY

K PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

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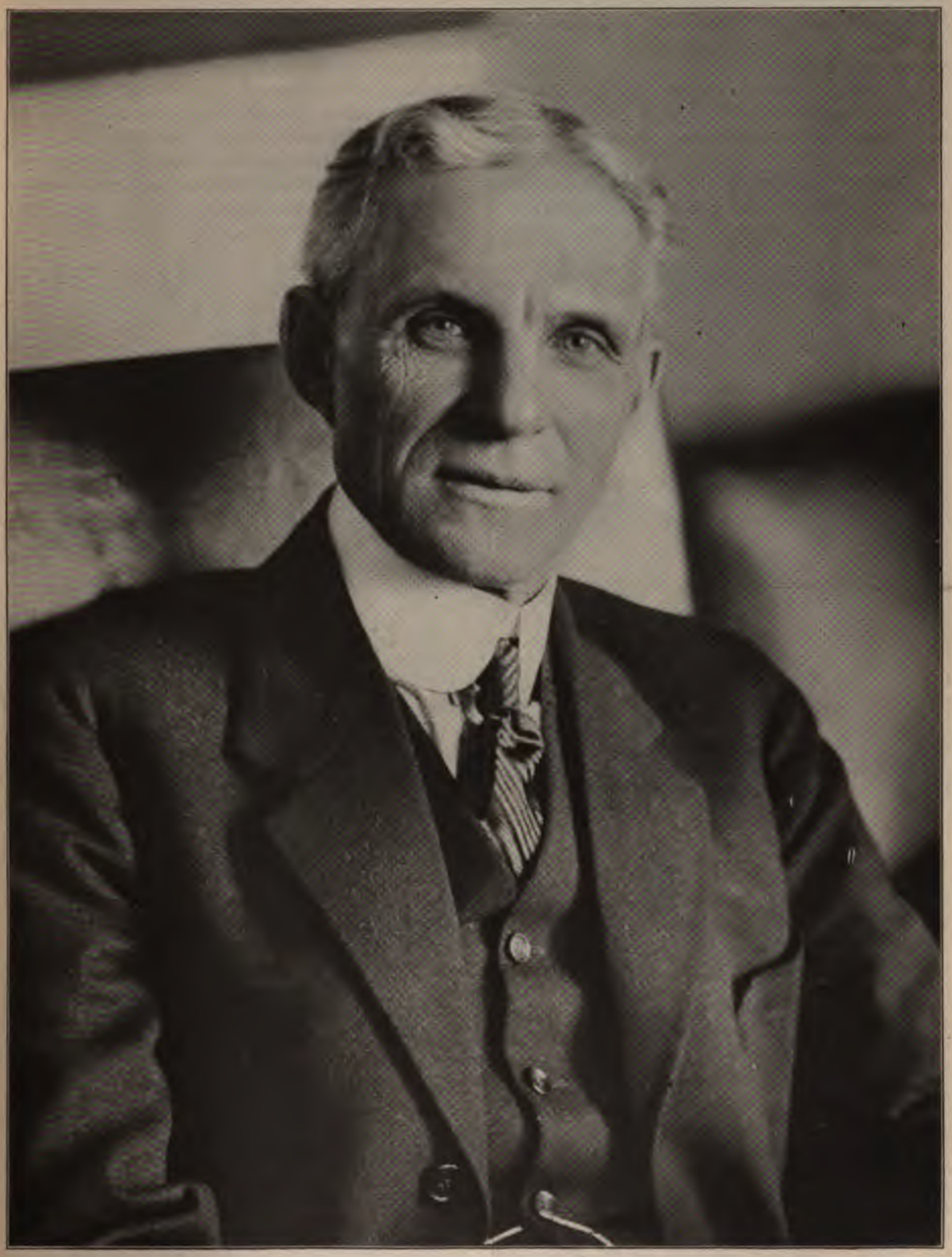
cians laugh, and those who still think of politics in terms of the time-honored party machinery and methods. They do not see how it can be done without an organization, a machine.

What Mr. Ford senses, although he does not express the thought in words is that party machinery no longer functions; that whatever may come about in the way of a return to the *status quo ante bellum*, after the war is over, there is today no widespread feeling of partisanship, no disposition to apply the old-fashioned tests of political expediency, the shibboleths of party loyalty, anywhere in America except among the professional politicians. And for the opinion of the professional politician, as well as for that of the professional expert in every other field of human activity, Henry Ford has only the most profound contempt.

One of the gentlemen of Michigan, who wishes he were going to the Senate instead of Henry Ford, has declared publicly that Mr. Ford in the Senate would be merely a rubber stamp in the hands of President Wilson. There is no doubt of Mr. Ford's genuine and sincere admiration of and respect for the President. But any one who thinks Mr. Ford capable of becoming anybody's rubber stamp has only to spend a few days with him about his business, as I did, to be quite reasonably sure that he always has done, and therefore probably will continue to do, a very large part, if not all, of his own thinking.

LEARNED THAT TALK WILL NOT FINISH WAR

Mr. Ford's admiration for the President has developed since the famous voyage of the *Oscar II* to Stockholm in search of peace. Mr. Ford started out on that expedition with the fond belief that peace was just at the other end of the rainbow. He has admitted that when he started out he knew nothing about the war or its causes except that war in the abstract was the most awful thing in the world. He discovered that war could not be stopped by conversation. He came back much wiser than he went away. He came back more convinced than ever that wars were waged for profit and that until and unless the people of the United States were ready to go to war for something else besides profits to in-



MR. HENRY FORD

"I have placed myself, my resources, my organization, everything I have, at the command of the Government—to do everything possible to make this the last war"

dividuals or the nation, were ready to go to war for the liberation of mankind and the permanent peace of the world, this country had no business even to prepare for war.

There is no more ardent supporter of the war in America to-day than Henry Ford. There is no more ardent supporter of President Wilson to-day than Henry Ford. Mr. Ford believes that this war is to be the last war. He believes with President Wilson that it is America's duty as a Christian nation to put an end, once and forever, to autocratic power wherever it exists on earth, and to liberate the peoples of the world. He sees America as the Angel of God with the Flaming Sword, fighting not for herself or for dollars, but for the good of mankind. He is calmly serene and unshakeable in his belief that Fate, Divine Providence, or whatever destiny rules over the world, placed Woodrow Wilson in the White House solely to become the medium through whom all war should end and the leader of a great uplift of humanity toward the millennium!

Merely to catalogue Mr. Ford's activities in war enterprises makes an impressive showing. He is building new Eagle boats—has built an enormous plant and devised methods of turning out warcraft as fast, almost, as he turns out "flivvers," and by identically the same methods. He is making more Liberty motors than any other of the five or six concerns engaged in the manufacture of this wonderful war engine. He is building ambulances by the thousand, and motor trucks by the ten thousand, for the army. He is manufacturing the tin hats, as our soldiers call the steel shrapnel helmets which they wear in the trenches, for the army. He has given to the Government without cost the use of his enormous assembling plant in Long Island City for the manufacture of gas masks. He has also given the Government his plants in Boston, Washington, St. Louis, and other cities, free of rent, for the duration of the war. And while it is not essentially a military activity, he is furnishing tractors for agricultural purposes to the British Government by the thousands, and to various state food and conservation boards. I saw in the Ford plant, moreover, the newest engine of warfare, the Ford one-man tank, the manufacture of which has not yet begun, but which, from its performances as I saw it in action, ought to be one of the deadliest weapons of offense in the hands of our army, when they are supplied. And out of all this, Mr. Ford is consistently and positively declining to take one cent of profit. He is giving himself, his organization, everything he has to the Government at a definite and great money loss because he holds it to be the most despicable of offenses to make money out of war.

NORTHCLIFFE AND FORD OPERATING FORDSONS

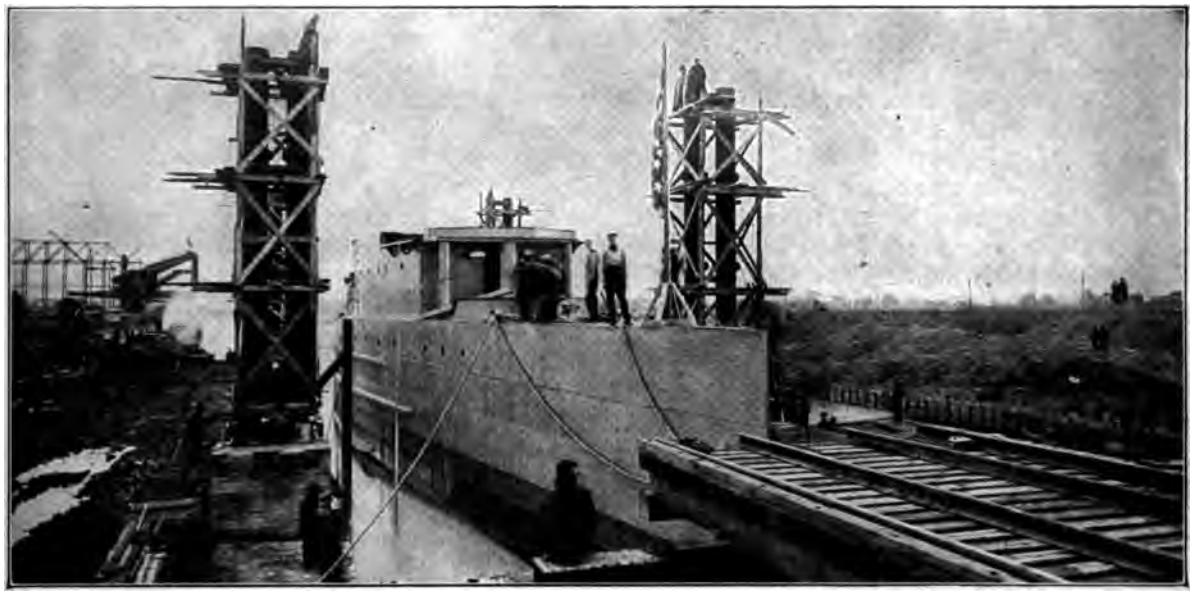
"It is with the idea of making it possible for the man of moderate means to reduce the labor required to farm successfully, and make a better living on his farm, that I have developed the Fordson tractor"

It is a far cry from the *Oscar II* to the Eagle boat—as long a road as from peace by negotia-

tion to peace by compulsion. His contacts with President Wilson, however, have closed his mind as definitely as the President's mind is closed to the idea that peace by negotiation is possible when the party you have to negotiate with is the Kaiser. Mr. Ford thought, when he outfitted the peace expedition, that he loved peace and hated war more than any other man in America. He had not, however, reached the stage at that time where he loved peace enough to be willing to fight for it. But now that his eyes have been opened he believes not only that we must fight this war to an absolute finish and completely destroy German power, but that America's mission goes farther than that—that it is to be this country's function and high privilege so to fortify peace, by helping everybody in the world to economic independence, that there never again can arise a cause for war.

Mr. Ford is not waiting for the war to be over before making a beginning toward the economic stabilization of the world's peoples. He views with perfect complacency the job of not only making the world safe for democracy, but making the democracy of the world happy after its liberties are secured. It is perfectly characteristic of Mr. Ford that he recognizes no limitations to his own powers or the powers of mankind generally Why Mr. Ford has been asked to run for the Senate has not been stated, but it is a safe guess that in this absence of any sense of limitation is to be found the basis of President Wilson's liking for Henry Ford and his desire to have him in the Senate.

The prosecution of the war and the rehabilitation of the world at the end of the war are involving and will involve gigantic material and spiritual problems. There is no doubt that the President would like to have in Congress at least one man accustomed to grasping big problems and solving them in a big way. The man who has built up and directs and controls an organization that can make 6,000 automobiles a day, turn out an Eagle boat every twenty-four hours, and work similar mechanical miracles, certainly is likely to come a great deal nearer to comprehending the problems involved in arming, equipping, transporting, and supplying an army of ten million men than the general run of United States senators and members of Congress are capable of doing.



LAUNCHING AN EAGLE BOAT

Mr. Ford has promised to roll an Eagle boat a day into the River Rouge; to the man who can make three thousand automobiles a day this is easy. In the Ford Company's new boat plant 24 of these 200 foot fighters are under construction at one time. When one is completed it is hauled to the water on the platform on which it is built

But there are other men in Michigan, heads of big manufacturing establishments, men whose mental equipment much more nearly approximates the traditional standards of culture and education than Mr. Ford's, who would be equally able to grasp this class of war problems. Why should not the President favor the election of some such man as that? I think the answer is to be found, as I have just said, in the fact that Mr. Ford's absence of any sense of limitations appeals with great force to the President, who,

himself, believes that there are no limitations to the power of the American people to accomplish whatever righteous thing they set out to do. Mr. Ford's attitude toward profiteering appeals strongly to the President. There is no doubt about its genuineness and sincerity—there is no doubt that the President instinctively distrusts many business men because of the feeling that so many of them place the dollar first. Mr. Ford has stated that he regards himself merely as a trustee of the money which his enterprises have brought him; that this money has been given to him in order that he might use it for the benefit of humanity. This appeals to the President and is another link in the chain of common interest and common point of view that binds him and Henry Ford together.

The strongest link in the chain, however, is, I believe, Mr. Ford's unbounded confidence and belief in the ordinary man, in his deep-rooted distrust of the professional expert in every line—and, in short, his ingrained, almost instinctive preference for the amateur rather than the professional in every phase of human activity. Mr. Ford believes that the ordinary man, given a task to perform and a free hand to perform it, will, nine times out of ten, work out a way of doing the job that is better than the way in which the professional in that line would do it. The "brain-patterns" acquired in the professional training and traditions of the architect, the engineer, even of the physician, are, in Mr. Ford's view, too often a handicap and a limitation. He does not believe in rules. He does nothing by rule. He does not bother himself to inquire what the rules are. He sees something he wishes to do and immediately proceeds to devise a way of doing it, confident in his own ability to work out a way that will be better than the existing methods, whatever they may be. President Wilson has precisely the same sort of feeling about the professional expert and the same confidence in the ultimate triumph of the intelligent amateur, whether it be in statecraft, diplomacy, or conducting a war. The thought of Henry Ford in the Senate as an amateur in politics does not worry the President a bit more than it does Mr. Ford.

"Amateur," in its dictionary sense of one who does things for the love of them instead of for the profit to be made by doing them, is the one word that most precisely fits Henry Ford, in all of his activities; in its more popular sense of meaning one who is not specially trained for the task in hand, it fits him, also. He was an amateur when he started to build his first car; it was as an amateur that he tackled the problem of building warships at the rate of one a day, the Eagle boats. Professional statesmen and economists having failed to put an end to war, Mr. Ford thinks it is time for the amateurs to step in and see what they can do.

MR. FORD BESIDE THE RIVER ROUGE

"I look for a very great development of inland water transportation. As soon as we get through building I Navy, I contemplate building a lot of canal barges"

MR. FORD'S HOME

"Eventually I shall cut my whole 5,000 acres, except for the part immediately adjacent to my home, up into small farms"

This conception of Henry Ford as a man who approaches every problem of life and of business with the open mind of the amateur and tackles their solution with the amateur's disregard of rules and precedents, provides a complete revelation and explanation of the real Henry Ford. In its presence the Ford myth vanishes into thin air. And it must be conceded that in Mr. Ford's case the amateur method has demonstrated its effectiveness.

To the professionally trained mind, nothing looks more foolish than an amateur trying to accomplish results in any so-called professional field. Mr. Ford has been laughed at all his life; he is used to it and it doesn't worry him a bit. To think that Henry Ford could build an automobile seemed as foolish to the professional automobile makers of fifteen years ago as the thought that England or America could organize an army and conduct a war looked to the professional war-makers of Germany four years ago. The difference between Henry Ford and most other business men is exactly the difference between the democratic methods of America and England and the reliance on the trained expert in every field of endeavor that has been Germany's chief characteristic. By all the professional rules Germany should have had all the world's commerce, all the manufactures, all the shipping, nd all the power years ago. But somehow or er the democracies have managed to "muddle [illegible] ert training, but they had something Germany didn't have—a knowledge of human nature. Germany was thinking only of the dollars; the other fellows were playing the game in the true amateur spirit, for the sake of the game.

It is because Henry Ford very early grasped that fundamental rule of life—that you can't get rich by thinking only of money—that he is one of the world's richest men to-day. If he had tried to get all the possible profits that could be made on each car, he would not to-day be the maker of almost half the automobiles that are turned out in the whole world. Other men, some of them with almost unlimited capital behind them, have set out at various times in the last fifteen years to put Henry Ford out of business. They have produced automobiles that resembled the Ford car only in one item—they were cheap. The biggest of them gave up the effort long ago; some are still trying it. They failed to grasp the two essential principles that make the Ford car what it is and that distinguish the amateur from the professional. The amateur makes the very best thing he can possibly make and doesn't care whether he makes a profit on it or not; the professional has his eye fixed on the profits, with quality a secondary consideration.

I was talking with the head of one of the big Detroit concerns that are making Liberty motors.

"Is there any difference between the Liberty motors you are turning out and those Henry Ford is making?" I asked.

"No," he replied, "except that Mr. Ford's are perhaps of a little better quality. We are making ours exactly according to specifications; he is making them a little better than the specifications. We sent over there the other day for some parts that we were short of and he had a surplus of. When they came I found that they were rust-proofed. I asked the Army inspectors here why we couldn't rust-proof ours, even though it was not in the specifications.

"'Mr. Ford must have a pull at Washington to get away with anything like that,' was the reply. 'It would be as much as my job is worth to let you exceed the specifications in any particular.'"

It is this perfectly amateurish idea of putting better quality into the product than the specifications call for that at once accounts for Mr. Ford's success and gives the key to his character. In the great Ford Motor Company plant, with its ninety-six acres of floor space under roof and 40,000 workmen, everything is done differently from the ways in which things are done elsewhere. It was Mr. Ford who first conceived the idea of using the higher-grade steels and alloys in motor car manufacturing, to give greater strength while reducing weight. For many years there has been no essential change in the fundamental design of the Ford car; there is a constant procession of changes in the details and especially in the material used in its construction.

Perhaps the best concrete illustration of the way in which the amateur spirit pervades the whole Ford organization is the story of the building of the new Henry Ford Hospital in Detroit. Detroit needed a new hospital; some public spirited citizens got together and decided to build one. They raised $600,000 and bought a tract of land and put up some buildings. Then trouble began. Different sets of doctors had different ideas as to how the hospital should be run and managed, and subscriptions began to lag. Mr. Ford was one of the trustees. He lost patience with the professional quarrels and the delay.

"I'll give Detroit the best hospital in the world," he said, "if you'll all get out and let me build it and run it." He paid back all the money that had been subscribed and started in

THE FORD FACTORY

This establishment covers 96 acres. Here the Ford organization has developed its remarkable "quantity production" ability

Mr. Ford didn't know anything about hospitals and neither did any one associated with him. Most men would have called in an expert and let him design and build the hospital and another expert to tell how to run it. That is not the Ford way. He turned it all over to his personal secretary, E. G. Liebold. Mr. Liebold had never seen the inside of a hospital, so he set out to find out all about them. He spent six months visiting the best hospitals in the United States and finding out what was wrong with each one of them. Then he came back to Detroit and went to work to design a model hospital, with the assistance of one of the young draftsmen in the Ford Motor Company's offices. They set up some board partitions and moved them about until they had decided on the most practical arrangement of a single room, and its dimensions. Then they multiplied this unit by 100 and worked out plans for a three-story structure to contain 100 rooms exactly alike and the necessary offices. Four hundred rooms would be enough to start with, Mr. Liebold thought, so four of these larger units were grouped and a central connecting building to house the general offices and quarters for physicians and nurses designed. Now it is being worked out in steel and concrete and will be finished before the end of this year. Dr. Will Mayo of Rochester, Minn., who surely knows about hospitals, says it will be the best hospital in the world.

"How much will it cost?" I asked Mr. Liebold.

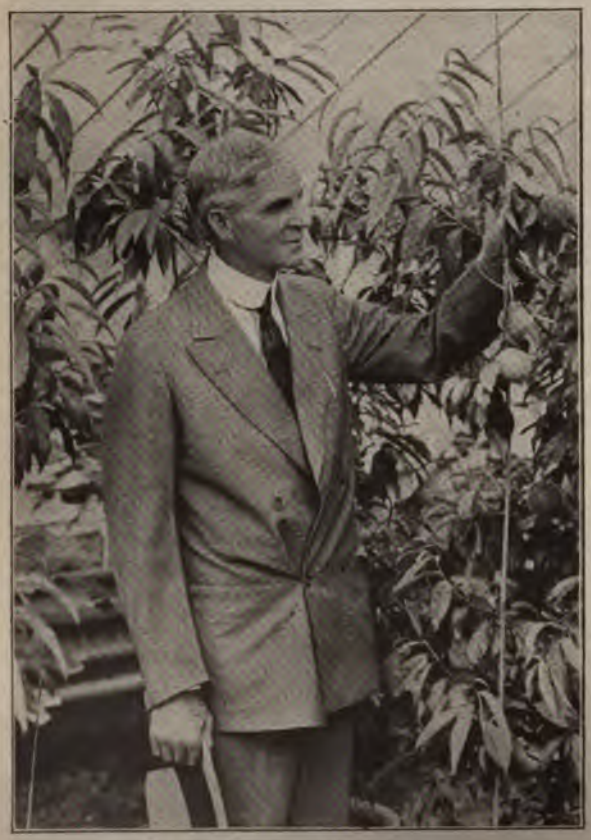
THE FIRST FORD CAR

"Now, the Ford car is something more than a commodity. It is the first step in the demonstration of the practicability of the idea that it is possible for people to live well and comfortably without undue drudgery"

"Oh, I don't know—somewhere around four and a half million by the time we get through, I guess," he replied. But this easy way of talking of millions doesn't mean that money has been wasted. On the contrary, there has probably been more actual value built into the Ford hospital than in any other building that has been put up anywhere in the United States. And the Ford idea does not end with the construction and equipping of the buildings; it extends into every detail of operation and management. There is already a 65-room hospital in full operation on the same grounds. It took a great deal of time and patience to make doctors and nurses accept the new ideas that Mr. Liebold gathered and put into effect; now, physicians and surgeons

who know say, a complete revolution in hospital practice and management all over the country is likely to grow out of this amateur institution.

Mr. Ford operates one of the largest motion-picture businesses in America. Every week there is produced in this motion picture department a new "release" of a thousand feet, and 65 prints of each release are distributed through the Ford sales organization to theatres all over the country. Originally an advertising device, this motion picture enterprise has grown into a great educational institution, and is still in its infancy. By its aid Mr. Ford hopes to educate the people of this and all other countries in ways of making the most of their opportunities and creating new opportunities for themselves—in short, to teach them how to live. The project is an important part of his huge scheme for the economic reorganization of society which is described at length in his own words elsewhere in this magazine. The most interesting and illuminating fact about this big motion-picture business, however, is that nobody who has ever had anything to do with the motion picture business has ever had a finger in this!



MR. FORD IN HIS GARDEN

"The Ford car has made . . . life in the country no longer a lonely, isolated existence. More than that is needed, *however*"

© Underwood & Underwood

MR. AND MRS. FORD ABOARD THE PEACE SHIP

"I would send another peace ship . . . if I thought that by doing so I could shorten the war a single day"

There are not even professional photographers employed, either for motion pictures or "still" photographs; some of the best of them were not even amateur photographers when they went to work there. The head of the Ford photographic department was an advertising salesman; his photographic experience was limited to making kodak snapshots on fishing trips! But the characteristic of the Ford motion pictures that first strikes everyone who sees them is the excellent quality of the photography.

"What we can't get out of books we invent," Mr. A. B. Jewett, manager of the photographic department, told me. "We haven't anything to unlearn. We are producing motion pictures better and cheaper than any one else, mainly because we are all enthusiasts on the subject of quality."

Devices that any professional would tell you "won't work" and methods that the experts declare "can't be done" are in constant and effective use here. "We can develop films in rainwater, if necessary," one of the photographers told me. I was almost ready to believe him, after seeing some of the things that actually were being done.

UP IN THE CLOUDS
cartoon by Kirby appeared in the New York *World* at the time of the Ford peace expedition

ıese are only instances of the amateur spirit pervades the whole Ford organization. Mr. l took me into his "laboratory," a huge ı on the upper floor of his garage, and showed the outfit of watchmaker's tools with which sed to play when a young man.

I still like to take watches apart and see how work," he said, pointing to a pile of watch-ements on the workbench. "I get new s about mechanical movements, sometimes, ı doing things like that." The big labora-is filled with mechanical, electrical, chemical, optical apparatus and equipment of every Mr. Ford noticed my puzzled look as I ied a pile of bags and barrels of raw sugar. ı trying some experiments with alcohol," he "We've got to find ways of producing al-l cheaply. It is the fuel of the future—much er than gasolene and in an inexhaustible sup-

he whole Ford organization is filled with am-rs; experimentation and adaptability are the hwords of all his enterprises. Mr. Wills, production manager, was a draftsman who ed him make the working drawings for his car.

Wills is the kind of a man people think I ' Mr. Ford once said, expressing his produc-manager's versatility and resourcefulness. n the design of the Liberty motor had been ded on at Washington, the question arose as to how to make the engine cylinders. They had to be of steel, and nobody had ever made steel cylinders in this country. Boring them out of solid blocks of steel was a slow and expensive process. Mr. Ford was called into consultation; he sent for Mr. Wills.

"We can invent a machine that will make these cylinders out of tubing," said the production manager. It was only a matter of a few weeks before the Ford plant was producing all the cylinders for all the Liberty motors, by a process so simple and inexpensive that it literally made hundreds of dollars of difference in the cost of each engine.

"HOW MUCH MUST A CAT WEIGH?" ASKED FORD

Mr. Ford has talked and dreamed for years of a low-priced farm tractor, to take the place of horses in all farm work. The whole theory of tractors has been that they must be heavy, to get a grip on the ground. This meant that they were expensive and required a great deal of power.

"How much does a cat have to weigh before she can climb a tree?" asked Mr. Ford. With this idea as a basis for operations, he set

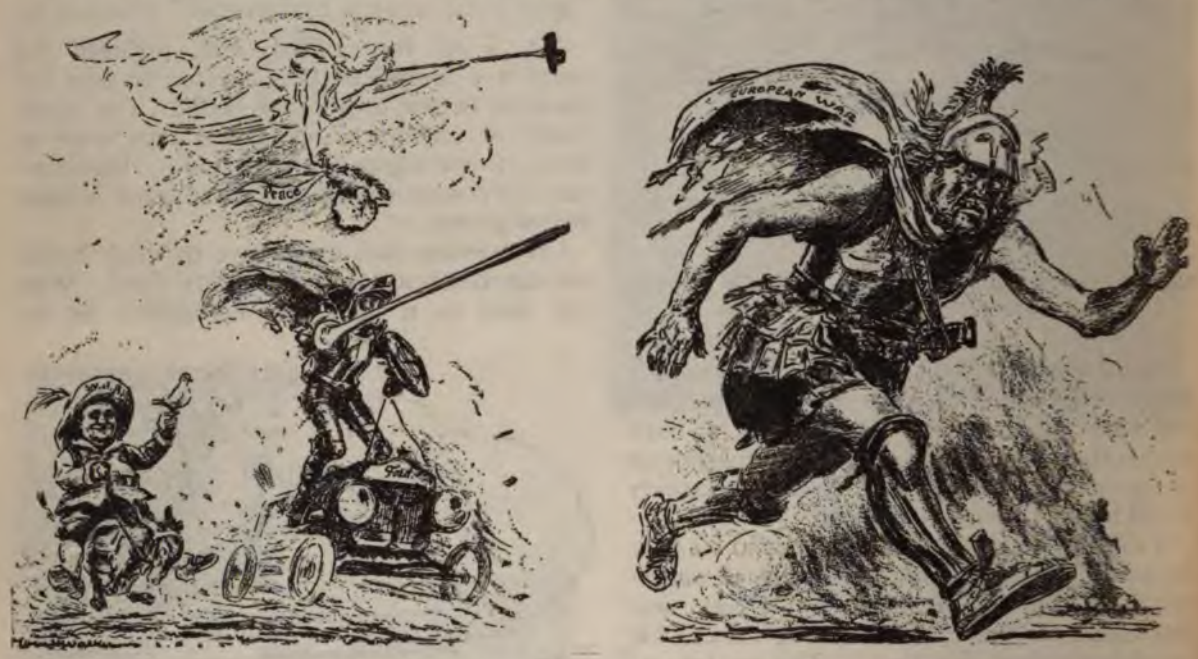
A CANADIAN JEER AT THE PEACE VOYAGE
The Dove: "Sore as I am, I can't help laughing." This cartoon by A. G. Racey appeared in the Montreal *Star*

out to build a tractor with claws. Nobody who knew anything of the science or theory of tractors had anything to do with it. Mr. Ford and some of his draughtsmen and engineers set up some blackboards and drew full-sized sketches on them, and talked them over and criticized until at last they had devised a machine the like of which never was on sea or land—but it worked. Now the Fordson tractor plant, on the edge of the Ford farm at Dearborn, Mich., is turning out 125 tractors a day and Mr. Ford promises a thousand a day and retail price no greater than that of the Ford car, before long.

When Mr. Ford took a contract from the Navy Department to build two hundred 200-foot Eagle boats, a craft somewhere between the submarine chaser and the destroyer, and get them all into the water in a year, he tackled another job that all the professionals in that line said couldn't be done. That was last February. Early in July the first Eagle boat slipped into the River Rouge and everything was ready for a production of one a day!

FORD'S NEW EAGLE BOATS

I have never seen anything more wonderful than this Eagle boat plant of Henry Ford's. The building itself, 1,700 feet long and a quarter as wide, steel-framed and glass-inclosed, looks like a fairy palace as one approaches it from the highway. Inside, twenty-four steel war craft, each two hundred feet long, are under construction at one time, but so vast is the great room it looks empty when only half a dozen or so of ships are under way! The raw steel plates go in at one end; at the other the ships are rolled out on railroad trucks and gently lowered by a gigantic hydraulic elevator into the River Rouge. Everything about the Eagle Boats is made of pressed sheet steel, even the keels and frames. They are erected on huge platforms mounted on railroad trucks, so that they can be moved down the line for the next set of operations as each boat at the head of a line is launched. The whole scheme and method of construction, the plant and its equipment, are exactly what some imaginative amateur striving for perfection of detail and efficiency might dream of, but which most business men would hesitate to undertake.



A CARTOON THAT NOW EXPRESSES TRUTH

"You've got him, Henry!" was the legend *Life* used with this in December, 1915. Mr. Ford is still trying to drive war off the earth—"to end all war"—but he has changed his methods of attack

I could go on and multiply indefinitely instances where Ford, the amateur, has rushed in where professionals feared to tread, and "got away with it." It was contrary to all the rules of the business game, for example, to cut down the working hours from nine hours a day to eight and to establish a minimum wage of $5 a day. Mr. Ford did it, because he thought it was the right thing to do. His rivals first predicted ruin; when ruin failed to arrive on schedule but instead the company's operations showed a lower cost per unit of production and a corresponding increase in output per man, they used

epithets like "slave-driver"—but Mr. Ford's annual labor turnover is the smallest of any Detroit manufacturer, even though other concerns are bidding seven and eight dollars a day to get men away from him. Nobody but an amateur would have considered it good business to employ ex-convicts; Mr Ford doesn't do it because it is good business but because he wants to give the ex-convicts a chance. The result is that he has probably the most loyal and the most honest business organization in the world, and it has proved to be good business without trying to be such. Professionals and those who play the game according to the rules are afraid of lawsuits, especially where patents are concerned. Mr. Ford, being an amateur, decides whether he thinks a patent is valid or not, and if he thinks it is not goes ahead and uses it, in spite of his lawyers. And the courts finally uphold his rule of common-sense against the technicalities of the lawyers.

"I don't know that I am especially sentimental," he said, "but I have a sort of an attachment for the things I have always known. I want to drive you down this road a little way."

We drove between great fields of grain, with trees here and there in the middle of the fields—"I never cut a tree down," Mr. Ford explained—and as we drove he told me how every acre had been plowed with Fordson tractors, how he intended some day to cut small farms and teach pe "There's a peach orchar acre farm," he said, as lings. We looked at elevator holding 110,000 to house this year's grai house where his farm amateur, for, as Mr. Fo a thing about farming had good common sen needed." At last we little, white, two-story f

"This is the house Mr. Ford. "My gran there is the little church My wife was born only and I've known her al is the house we built an first married. I belong I want to see every acre ered with little farms, people living on them. send the Fordson tractor to send motion pictures sja and China, and teac

So he wants to go to to help put an end to w —this happy, hopeful, boyish, amateur world-b

QUANTITY PRODUCTION WI THE WAR

Our Achievements in the Race to Beat Essen and Köln to the Front Supply of Munitions

BY

FRANK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

DETROIT has a sector. It lies opposite to Essen and Elberfeld and Köln. For behind the opposing lines of men across Belgium and France, a battle no less deadly is being waged between the machine shops and factories of the opposing sides. Back of man power lies machine power.

And America's hope of winning the war depends upon whether we can catch up with and pass Germany in the output of war-machines, before Germany's present superior organization and vastly greater output overwhelm us. It is a race between Essen and Bethlehem, between Elberfeld and Detroit. submarines faster tha destroyers? Can Brid tridges overtake Köln's and Liberty motors, fie and trucks and tractors implements of bloodshe come Germany's terrific

Representative Caldw mittee of the House of R a few months ago: "A in September"—that t really begin to count e declaration of war.

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We hope so. We are doing better than our best. If Washington had only given us some blueprints when we broke off relations and sent von Bernstorff home, we could now say 'Yes' with confidence. If Washington had even known when we actually declared war, with what weapons it was going to fight, our soldiers in Flanders and Picardy would not now be fighting with borrowed guns, borrowed shells, and borrowed airplanes. We are now only beginning to produce what we could have delivered in unheard-of quantities, had we been permitted to build last summer the plants we had to put up in the winter. Germany didn't stop for us to catch up. We know we can go faster, but can we go fast enough? We know that any one of several causes may set a time limit to this war and we know that we have got to pass the Germans before the gong sounds. We know what Elberfeld, Essen, and Köln are throwing at our boys on the other side and we are hurrying just as if the long range guns were firing at Detroit and not at Paris."

Detroit is going fast, performing mechanical miracles. The visitor to Detroit who can look unmoved upon the marvels of creative achievement already in being is lacking in imagination or sensibility—or both. Probably the business men of Detroit would resent the imputation if one were to call them poets, but if the essence of poetry be the power to conceive grandly and to express grand concepts with rhythmical force, no other term fits them. There is no escaping the sense of Titanic fancy, expressing itself in Homeric measures, in the face of what these men have done and are doing. Dollars do not drive men to such heights of accomplishment; war, not business, is the source and mainspring of these vast projects and their still vaster execution. Detroit is not thinking or talking of profits. "It is not fashionable to make money out of war," one of her business leaders expressed it. Many will come out millions poorer than they went in, and are glad that it is so.

Detroit's story could be duplicated in many cities. Wherever munitions are made men are throwing themselves and their enterprises wholly and unhesitatingly into the war, placid pastures are changed overnight into clangorous cities. It is of Detroit as typical, not unique, I am telling. The things Detroit showed me I could have found, or their parallels, in Bridgeport or Newark or Dayton. They would have pointed the same moral, for everywhere the story is the same. The miracles are now materializing, but at terrific cost in money, in labor, in strain and effort which are always entailed in making up lost time.

Take the case of the Dodge Brothers. They have been building automobile engines for years

mplete for some years. Their big organiza- geared to quantity production in all that plies. When we went to war they went to ngton and offered themselves and their ation. "We can make anything," they "What do you need?"

hington didn't know what it needed that dge Brothers could make. It was autumn they were sent for.

n you make recoil mechanisms for 155- eter howitzers?" the War Department

s," said the Dodge Brothers. "What are

ey are something like this," replied the department, showing them a French piece, we've improved them. Here are our gs. You work from these. Give us so thousand by such a date."

as not for the Dodge Brothers to ask why ngton had waited until November to decide needed these indispensable parts for six- ns. How many of them the Krupps had out while the Dodges were waiting for only the Germans know. They did not ask questions, however, but hurried back roit to evolve a plant out of nothing, to designs for machines, and build them.

was on November 1, 1917. In early 918, I went through their ordnance plant w them turning out the first of the finished

Let me try to convey a faint impression miracle the Dodge Brothers had worked in ervening seven months.

WHAT A RECOIL MECHANISM IS

you must realize that the recoil mechanism odern field gun or howitzer is not only one most ingenious devices ever conceived in nd of man, but it must be more accurately ed to precise dimensions than any other of its size and weight. To make one you ton and half of steel, in a single billet eight g. Lengthwise of this you bore four holes, bout three to more than four inches in er; two run all the way through, two half Then you shape the outside of the billet, it down at some places to a thin wall the holes, leaving it in a rigid mass at other

You hew out of its side a recess the size ap-box. You fashion grooves and lands, ls and projections, on various surfaces. time you have 600 pounds of metal left, has gone into the scrap-heap. Now you nish this, grind it smooth, polish it inside , and when it is all done every dimension egister to within one two-thousandth of ; the bore and the line of the eight-foot holes, the angles of the recess, the walls, must be accurate to th fraction of a hair!

The Dodge Brothers owned a pasture land on the outskirts of D they decided to erect their plan only guess at the size, for they c hand how many or how large th tools would have to be and there w to lose. It is a saying in Detroit but three seasons, July, Augus Unless the building could be put heaviest frosts, it must wait till s Army needed six-inch guns. S Brothers staked out twelve acres ber 19 began to lay a foot of co whole of it; they couldn't get a accept the job. With the therm the time many degrees below zero ished in four months a huge build feet, steel framed, brick-walled, c roads were graded and trolley lin new electric power sub-station b dollars or so of the Dodge Brothe spent merely for the housing of a existed only in the mind's eye, for ing is not yet a manufacturing pla

7 MONTHS AND 7 MILLIONS TO

Machinery is scarce and hard officer of the company spent thr five and a half million dollars buy and getting it moved toward t To bore the four holes in one opera had to be devised. Mechanical draughtsmen worked it out an machines were built; huge device thousands each. Nobody stopped speed was what counted. Then delicate and difficult work of all, and making of the tools, the actua for fashioning the steel into shape chinery does is to serve as the mech hold and operate the cutting tool must be drawn to the exact size a cut to be made in the steel, then high-speed steel by the highest-p skilful mechanics, the toolmakers. ing machine cutting head in oper nearly $1,000 in labor alone, a dozens exactly like it. This tool one of the forty or fifty operatio fashion the rough billet into the re bed.

Have I made it clear what quan involves in money, time, brains, an single finished article can be turne seven months and seven million

andth of an inch; some parts must be accurate to within a ten-thousandth of an inch! Accuracy to this microscopic degree is even more essential in the case of the Liberty motor than with almost any other device. The absolute reliability upon which the air pilot's life literally depends cannot be assured except by absolute perfection of every detail; absolute perfection cannot be attained in an apparatus composed of a multiplicity of parts unless each part conforms to the standard of size to the utmost humanly possible degree, since each added part increases the liability to error. Detroit contains probably more mechanics accustomed to working with micrometer calipers and gages than any other city in the world, yet, so delicate are the final grindings and adjustments of the Liberty motor, those made in one plant are not interchangeable with those made in another plant, nor even with each other, without painstaking attention by a highly skilled machinist. It is not deemed sufficient, for instance, to finish the contiguous surfaces of the two halves of the aluminum crank-case as well as this can be done by machinery; before they are permanently mated they are ground to an oil-tight, gas-tight joint by rubbing them against each other with minutely pulverized ground glass as an abrasive. Those two halves *fit*, and no other part can thereafter be substituted for either of them without going through the same process. And since the crank-case is the foundation upon which the whole engine is built, a variation of a ten-thousandth of an inch resulting from this grinding must be compensated for in the fitting of every part subsequently added.

PACKARD COMPANY WAS PREPARED FOR WAR

The Packard plant has been producing Liberty motors for months and is now turning out 35 a day. The Lincoln plant, the only one built and equipped solely for the production of Liberty motors, is making about as many as this is written, and will soon have production above that figure. The Ford plant has only just begun actual production of completed Liberty motors; the first four of its output were under test when I visited the plant. There are sheds for testing 153 Liberty motors at once at the Ford works. When one was run continuously for 63 hours, nobody living within half a mile of the plant got any sleep. With 150 of them under their twelve-hour test at one time, residents of Highland Park and adjacent sections of Detroit will not be likely to lose sight of the fact that the United States is at war; there are no mufflers on aircraft engines.

The Packard company got under way in the quantity production of Liberty motors earlier than any one else because it already had a large plant equipped for the
cylinder motors that req
to make the new engin
president, Mr. Henry B.
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LELAND WHO COULD

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RD WANTS TO BE SENATOR

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BY
HENRY FORD

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his leadership we are going to administer to militarism and its champion such a thorough and crushing defeat that no nation will dare to start a war so long as people remember this one. And long before this war is forgotten we will have found a better way than war to settle questions that arise between nations, and will have made at least some progress toward giving every man an opportunity to get what he wants with the least amount of labor and without robbing any one else. Once that sort of opportunity is universal and all men know it exists there will be no excuse or desire for war.

DOES NOT REGRET PEACE VOYAGE

I hate war. I am a pacfiist, if to believe that war is the worst thing in the world is to be a pacifist. I am willing to fight only to put an end to all war. I believe this will be the last war; I think the President believes that, too. That is why I have placed myself, my resources, my organization, in fact everything I have, at the command of the Government—to do everything possible to make this the last war. I wish we could find some other way to end this war—and all war—without killing a lot of fine young men. There ought to be a better way. It was on the chance that there might be a better way that I took the peace expedition to Stockholm. I do not regret that effort. I would send another peace ship or spend a million dollars in any other way if I thought that by doing so I could shorten the war a single day. It would do no good to stop this war, however, unless it could be stopped in a way that would provide a guarantee against future wars. Now that we understand how impossible it is to negotiate with a nation that deliberately breaks its pledges, and know how Germany has been responsible for the most outrageous treachery, there does not seem to be any way to stop the war but to fight it out to a finish.

We are going to win the war, and by winning it we are going to show the enemy and the rest of the world how foolish it is to think that it can be ruled by piling up armaments, and maintaining great standing armies. Germany had been preparing for this war for forty years;

we were unprepared, but before we have been in the war two years we will have an army large enough, well enough trained, and sufficiently equipped to defeat her. When you have great industries whose business is making war materials, and a great army of professional soldiers whose business is fighting, war is bound to come sometime; they cannot earn a living without war. If there was no profit in war for any one, there would be no war. It is because people can make money out of war that war occurs. I do not believe in killing men for money or to get something that belongs to someone else, whether it is money or land or the right to live in liberty and peace. That is why I will not take a cent of profit out of the war work I am doing. Liberty motors, Eagle boats, helmets, tractors, ambulances, trucks—everything we are making for the Government will be made without profit; I will find some way to give those profits back to the Government, for I cannot prevent the profits from accruing, since it is impossible to determine in advance just what the cost of everything will be and the prices had to be fixed in advance. But, personally, I am not going to touch a dollar of war profits. My share will be carried back into the United States Treasury, and I am hoping that other stockholders will do the same. I cannot think of anything worse to accuse a man of than of being a war profiteer.

HAS NO USE FOR DOLLAR PATRIOTISM

I do not believe in the kind of nationalism that tries to set one country up against another. That is what causes wars. It keeps people from understanding each other. If the German people understood the French people, do you suppose they would be at war to-day? But the men who control governments for their own profit find it to their interest to hoist the flag and rally their subjects around it and make them believe the people of other nations hate them and are trying to injure them. Then secret diplomacy comes in and the people are led to believe their liberties are threatened and they are ready to go to war. The nation they attack has to fight back, of course.

People could not be made to hate each other if there were absolute freedom of intercourse between them, if they were not lied to by those with selfish interests to serve. There are no real differences except those caused by environment and opportunity between the people of America and the people of the rest of the world. The phrase "Made in America" doesn't mean anything unless it means that the thing it is stamped on is the best of its kind. The only thing that counts in the long run is quality, and if some fellow in Germany or Russia or China can make a better car than the Ford and sell it cheaper, let him do it. It puts it up to me to make mine better and cheaper, and if I can't compete I have no right to survive. Quality is what counts, and nothing but quality. The men who want high protective tariff are the ones who are trying to get away with poor quality goods or to make a larger profit than they are entitled to. So long as we keep people from buying the best goods in the cheapest market by setting up artificial barriers, so long we will be maintaining conditions that tend inevitably to war. A man can love his native land as I love mine, without feeling obliged to talk patriotism all the time; I have no more use for patriotism that is measured by dollars than I have for war itself. Dr. Johnson said: "Patriotism is the last resort of a scoundrel."

WANTS BIG ESTATES BROKEN UP

The way to end war permanently is to give everyone in the world a chance to get what he wants at a price he can afford to pay. Human nature is essentially selfish. We all want things for ourselves and we want to get them with as little trouble and labor as possible. I am for that. I think it should be made as easy as possible for people to get what they want. The principal things people want are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They cannot hope to be happy unless they are sure of a comfortable living with leisure in which to enjoy themselves. If all the people of every country were sure of that, if they had it within their reach in return for a reasonable effort to get it, there could be no war, because war is caused by people trying to get something they can't get, think they can't get, by any other means. Almost everywhere people have taken their governments into their own hands and have real liberty within their grasp; they will take the government into their own hands in Germany and Austria, too.

Then they must take the land into their own hands. When a few people own most of the land there cannot be real liberty. They are breaking up the big estates in England and before they get through nobody will be allowed to hold more land than he can put to the most profitable use. The big estates in Germany must be broken up, too. What we must do is to give everyone a chance to own his own piece of land and teach him how to live on it. The key of the whole problem is education. We must teach men that they can live well and comfortably without spending every waking hour in drudgery, and provide the means by which they can do this.

An idea is of no value unless it is put into working effect. This idea must be put into effect

as rapidly as it is possible to do so, and ideas become effective very rapidly in these days. It no longer takes a hundred years to educate a nation to a new thought; means of communication and of education have so multiplied and operate with such speed that a year or two is enough to accomplish what formerly would have taken generations. All that is necessary is the practical demonstration that an idea is workable and if it proves to be what the people want they demand it faster than it can be supplied. The Ford car is an example; we could sell thousands more a day if we could make them. After the war we expect to get production up to such figures, with the price going down as the sales increase; we have turned out more than 3,000 a day as regular production.

WHAT THE FORD CAR REALLY IS

Now, the Ford car is something more than a commodity. It is the first step in the demonstration of the practicability of the idea that it is possible for people to live well and comfortably without undue drudgery. The Ford car has made it possible for everyone to have means of transportation for himself and his family and his merchandise or farm products. It makes life in the country no longer a lonely, isolated existence. The farmer can get to town or to visit his neighbors whenever he wants to; the worker in the city can live in the country and travel to and from his work in comfort and convenience. More than that is needed, however.

The solution of the world's economic problems will never be complete until the problem of living in freedom and happiness has been solved for every individual, for all society rests on the individual. To accomplish this we must connect up the three basic arts of agriculture, industry, and transportation, and supplement these by education. The Ford car has done more than anything else to help solve the transportation problem, but the same principle that has been applied in the construction of the Ford car must be applied to railroad transportation. That principle is to reduce weight wherever possible without sacrificing necessary strength. Every body knows that the Ford is the lightest car made and that it is the most durable. I make it that way because I use higher grades and better qualities of steel in the essential parts than had ever been used before for such purposes. We have a large staff of metallurgical chemists working all the time to find new alloys and new ways of using high-grade steel to give greater strength with less weight.

Now, what the railroads need to do is to apply the same principle to their rolling stock. [illegible] must use better steel and build their cars and engines lighter. The ordinary freight car in many cases weighs more than the load it carries; passenger cars are many times heavier than their loads. A Pullman car, carrying 50 people, weighs between 120,000 and 150,000 pounds. This means that the equipment of a railroad costs too much, in the first place, and that there is a terrific waste of power in hauling the empty cars. Rails and roadbeds have to be heavier and more expensive than they should be, bridges and trestles too heavy and costly. The average movement of freight trains is between 25 and 28 miles a day under normal conditions. They could move freight much faster and at less cost if they were built lighter, and the difference could be expended in increased power and terminal facilities,—the lack of which has been so apparent during the last two years. Freight trains could move many times faster and passenger trains could move at safer speeds. It would not cost so much to build branch railroads and operate them; places that under present practice may never have railroad connections could be opened up to transportation.

"Of course, the reduced cost of transportation brought about by such a change in railroad construction would mean reduced cost of food and commodities to the consumer, and wider distribution.

The first thing needed is to make better steel and to make it cheaper. We haven't been making enough good steel; there has been very little made in this country. We are building a smelter out here on the River Rouge, where I intend to do some things in making iron and steel. The first time I ever saw a blast furnace in operation I asked why the final casting could not be made direct from the first melting, instead of having to re-melt the pig iron. I have asked the question of many steel men since, and none has given me a satisfactory answer. We have some ideas on that line which we shall try out in practice, and we expect to get iron and steel cheaper and of better grades than are now generally used. I do not know that I shall ever build a railway car, but if I can show how we can produce better steel at lower cost it will not be long before someone will be making lighter cars that will carry loads equal to those now carried in heavy cars, and we shall have made a start toward cutting railroad transportation costs.

GOING TO BUILD A LOT OF CANAL BOATS

Long before we have accomplished this, however, I look for a very great development of inland water transportation. Most kinds of freight can be moved much more cheaply by water than by rail, as everyone knows. What

the Government is doing in the operation of the Erie Canal is a most valuable demonstration of the possibilities of water transportation. We do not make anything like the most efficient use of our canals, rivers, and lakes now; more of our rivers could be made navigable and be connected up with canals so that a large part of the United States could be reached by water. As soon as we get through building the Eagle boats for the Navy, I contemplate building a lot of canal barges in my ship plant. A boat that can carry a thousand tons can be built very cheaply.

We are going to see transportation methods improving very rapidly, as soon as the war is over. The programme of good road construction will be resumed everywhere, and we will have roads on which motor trucks can carry freight into every part of the country, in all weathers. The war has taught us more about aviation than we would have learned in a hundred years of peace, and there will come back from the other side thousands of skilled young aviators who will be ready to operate the airplanes which we have learned how to build.

GOING TO SOLVE FARM PROBLEMS

Transportation improvements will be of no consequence, however, unless at the same time we improve agricultural conditions. Farming used to be the hardest kind of hard work; I know, for I was born and raised on a farm, which I now live on. It is no wonder young men and young women have been rebelling against the hardships of farm life and flocking to the cities and the factories. For the man with only a small farm and not much capital, the actual farm labor meant drudgery from dawn till dark and later, with hardly more than a roof over his head and three meals a day to pay him for all he went through. For his wife it meant even harder labor, and for his children it meant that they were fortunate if they got even the beginning of an education. For the whole family it meant a lonely, isolated life, especially in the winter. Much of that has changed; my friend Thomas A. Edison, with the invention of the electric light and his coöperation in the development of the telephone, helped greatly to make the farmer's life more tolerable. Improved roads and the Ford car have done a great deal; the parcel post and rural free delivery have contributed. Farm work, however, is still hard work, and it is too largely in the hands of men who are not adequately equipped to get the greatest production out of their land. It is not surprising that so few of our intelligent young men and their wives are willing to go on the land for their living, as conditions are now; it is not surprising that the farmer is discontented, for he has been having a hard time of it.

I am speaking now of the small farmer, the man who has from 160 acres down. I think we are to come in for an era of still smaller farms and more intensive cultivation. I do not believe any one should be permitted to hold land out of use, and nobody should keep for himself more land than he can cultivate to the limit of profitable productiveness. It was with the idea of making it possible for the man of moderate means to reduce the labor required to farm successfully, and make a better living out of his farm, that the Fordson tractor was developed. We have put about 3,000 of these in the hands of county agents all over the country; 6,000 have gone to England, where the British Government is using them to break up the great estates, putting land to the plow that has been in grass for centuries. Some have gone to France. All over the United States they are being shipped to state agricultural and food conservation organizations, as well as to many individual farmers. We are turning out about 140 a day now; using the same methods of quantity production that have made the Ford car possible, I shall soon be able to turn out a thousand a day. The tractor now sells for $750; after the war, when prices of materials come down, with greater production, we ought to get the price down to around 15 cents a pound, or in the neighborhood of $350 to $400. Manufacturers of agricultural implements are making plows and other tools especially for use with the Fordson tractor, so that a farmer for a thousand dollars will be able to buy his entire equipment of farm tools, including motive power that he can also use for many other purposes. So far we are equipping the tractor to run on kerosene, and get 22 horsepower; with alcohol we have got nearly 30 horsepower. I believe alcohol, made from farm waste, will eventually take the place of gasolene and kerosene. A distillery is now being built on my farm so that we can see what can be done with alcohol from wheat straw.

"I have five thousand acres under cultivation, all plowed with the Fordson tractor, hauling two bottoms. It is the cheapest plowing I have ever seen done, and we plowed deeper than is usually done, about 12 inches. I have had as high as 54 bushels of wheat to the acre and averaged about 25 bushels last year. To house this year's crop I have built a concrete elevator with a capacity of 110,000 bushels. Eventually I shall cut my whole 5,000 acres, except for the part immediately adjacent to my home, up into small farms—farms on which it will have been successfully demonstrated that good profits can be made with the least amount of labor. And I am prov-

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speedy bankruptcy. Well, we have made and sold more cars and better cars and sold them at a lower price since I began to pay the higher wages than we did before, and we have about $65,000,000 cash in bank subject to check and don't owe a dollar except current bills. We have about 38,000 contented workmen, who work eight hours a day, instead of the nine hours of most other concerns.

HE WILL GIVE FARMERS WINTER WORK

Everything that is a necessity can be manufactured on the same basis, for every necessity has a sufficiently wide market to warrant production on a quantity basis. I don't care what the commodity is, if it is something that has a wide enough possible market it can pay high wages and give short hours and still sell the best quality of goods at the lowest possible price if its production is properly organized. The whole secret is to make one thing in one plant, concentrate every effort on that one standardized product, and adapt the machinery for its manufacture to automatic operation at the highest practicable speed. By educating the machine instead of the worker, it is possible to use untrained or practically untrained labor and pay it high wages, and still perform mechanical operations that formerly baffled even the most highly skilled worker.

It is this sort of productive industry that I am going to link up closely to the farm, to demonstrate the final stage of what I believe to be the solution of the problem of living. Manufacturing instead of being concentrated in a few centres, should be and can be widely distributed. We have proved that we do not have to turn out a completed product in our central plant. We used to assemble all our cars here in Detroit; we found it more economical to build great assembling plants in many other parts of the country and of the world, and ship the finished parts. Now we know that we can make different parts in different plants and ship them to the assembling plants.

What I am going to do is to establish plants for manufacturing parts of Ford cars and Fordson tractors in places where they will be within easy reach of farming districts, and provide employment for farmers and their families in winter. And these plants will be operated by water power.

WATERPOWER SAVES COAL AND BEATS IT

There is enough water power running to waste to turn every wheel in the world and provide all the light and heat the whole world needs. We are going to operate our Mexican tractor plant with water power, and we shall build water power

plants in several places in the United States. I have been demonstrating what can be done with water power right here at my own home. The River Rouge, which runs through my farm, close to my house, is not a very large stream and has but an eight-foot fall, but I am obtaining 200 horsepower the year around, which lights my house and operates all sorts of electrical conveniences and which is coupled up with the steam plant at the tractor plant, so that we are really making tractors now partly by water power.

We must develop water power because it is not only more economical than steam power, but we ought to save the rest of the world's coal supply for chemical use. There is nothing we now do with coal, aside from its chemical products, that we cannot do with water power, electrically transmitted; most things we can do better with water power.

One of my first demonstration plants will be on the upper Hudson, between Albany and Troy, where I have acquired several hundred acres adjoining the government dam which develops a large amount of power, and intend to begin construction of a plant to make tractor parts at once. As it is a navigable stream there are some War Department questions that must be settled before the actual power development can begin. Another plant will be located at Hamilton, Ohio, where the water of the Miami River will be utilized for power. Plans for this are in course of preparation and we expect to begin building very soon.

Other water power rights have been acquired in various parts of the country, and will be developed by us.

We can get good iron from the Lake Champlain mines at Port Henry, and make parts in my Hudson River plant that will fit with parts made a thousand miles away, and we can give employment in this plant to a large number of workers who can live on farms for a long distance around. They can work in this plant and earn $5 a day and upward, and get enough out of their winter's labor to pay for their farms; some will undoubtedly work in the factory the year around; some may want to live on the farms all winter and motor back and forth to work, others will live in one of the cities in the winter. Some whole families, doubtless, will want to work in the plant; in some cases only one member of a family may desire to do so.

It is my intention to try to make this plant a demonstration centre for the rebuilding of the abandoned farms of New England and northern New York. I motored through that country recently, from Oswego east, and I was amazed at the amount of valuable farm land lying idle.

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PUTTING VISITORS IN TOUCH WITH FRIENDS AND RELATIVES
At the War Camp Community Service booth the home folks find lists of rooms for rent at reasonable prices and learn how to find their soldiers most promptly

"That's better," approved his new acquaintance. "Come inside."

"I can't."

"Why cantcha?"

"I don't belong to the club."

"Oh, heavens!" said the fat engineer. (This is not precisely what he said, but I must respect the censorship which objects to the betrayal of the army's private code). "You gimme a pain. *Cahm* on!"

"Can you take me in?" asked Private John Smith doubtfully. "Do you belong to it?"

"Oh, Heavens!" repeated the fat engineer (again with the reverse English). "Have I gotta fetch a stretcher and carry you in?"

Thus adjured the rookie followed his captor doubtfully up the steps. "Now, you blow me to a nut Sundae and you'll be a full-fledged member," directed the masterful one. "Make yourself at home," he added with a large and hospitable wave of the hand when the simple initiation ceremony had been concluded, and departed on his way.

Though clearly perceiving that he had been made the victim of a mild joke, Private John Smith decided to hang around until somebody discovered and turned him out. He dropped into the most inconspicuous chair he could find and took stock of his surroundings. The room was large and airy and designed for comfort in the highest degree. There were easy chairs everywhere. Books and magazines, chess and checker boards were scattered about in profusion. "Shower baths down stairs," announced a sign, and another pointed the way to the bowling alleys. One end of the room was set with small restaurant tables, and a group of girls and soldiers had drawn two of the tables together and were having a little party of their own. Private John Smith felt an inclination to cock up his feet and act like what the Sunday newspaper of his respectful reading termed "a typical clubman"; but decided he'd better not take so big a chance. Greatly daring however, he did walk over to a counter and ask if he could buy a package of cigarettes.

"Sure," said the attendant. "You can buy anything but booze. Except what's free," he added, "like writing paper and envelopes. Give you those, if you got letters to write."

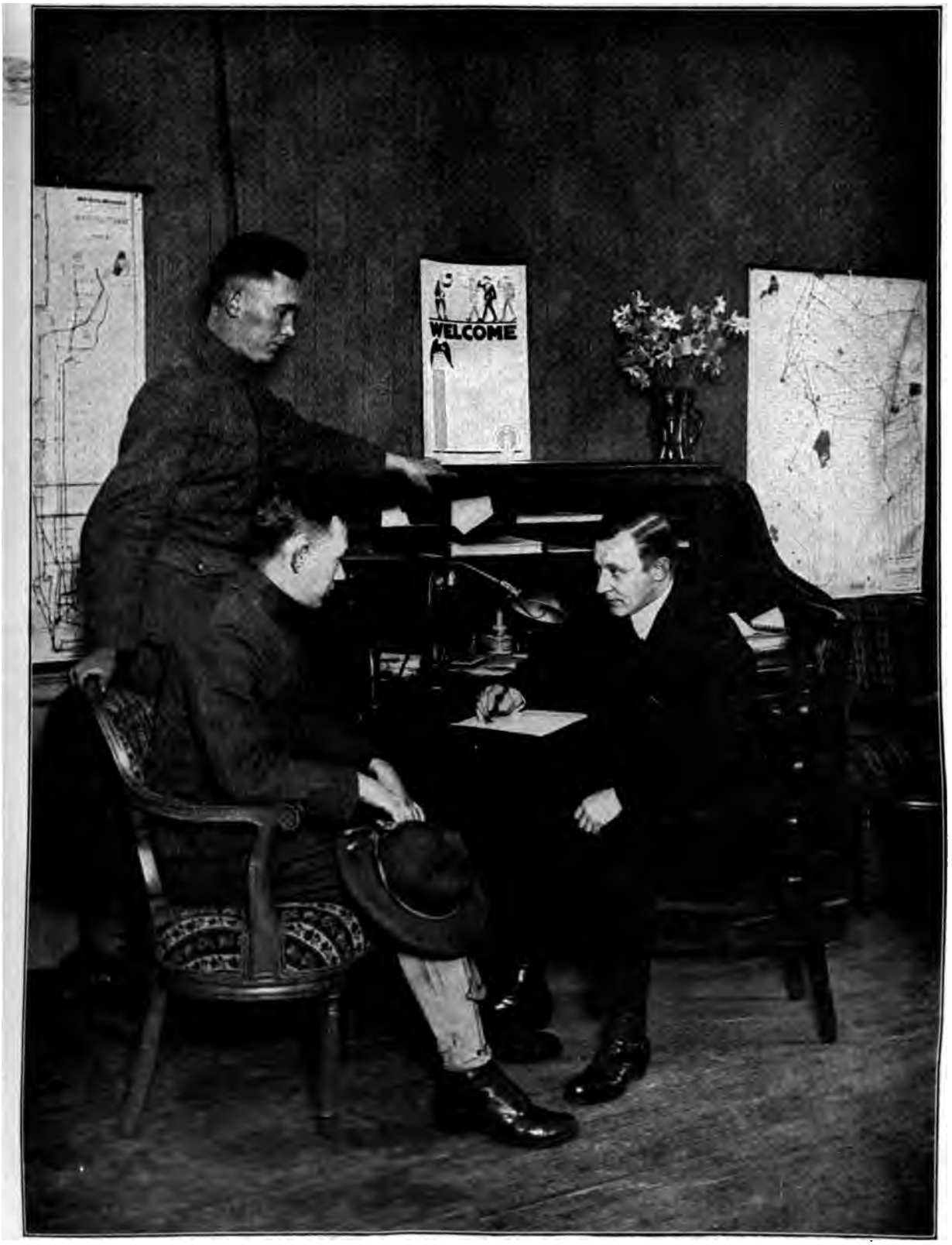
The click of pool-balls, however, caught his ear and lured him upstairs to a wide balcony encircling the whole room. What he saw there almost caused him to fall down the stairs again. A lady practising at the newest pool table! You could tell she was a lady, a "swell," a "society woman" as Private Smith's favorite Sunday reading would have expressed it, by the trim smartness of her dress. But—playing pool! Such a thing had not hitherto come within the country mason's helper's experience. Almost creeping, lest he should disturb and embarrass her, he sidled into a near-by chair. But when she happened to catch his eye, she looked neither disturbed nor embarrassed, which is more than could justly be said of Private John Smith.

THE BOSTON WAR CAMP COMMUNITY SERVICE CLUB

This is one of the best equipped clubs in the United States. A study of this picture will give a good general idea of what the Service is doing for the men in uniform

AT THE SAILORS' CLUB IN NEW YORK CITY

The dances given for the men ashore have been an especially successful part of the War Camp Work

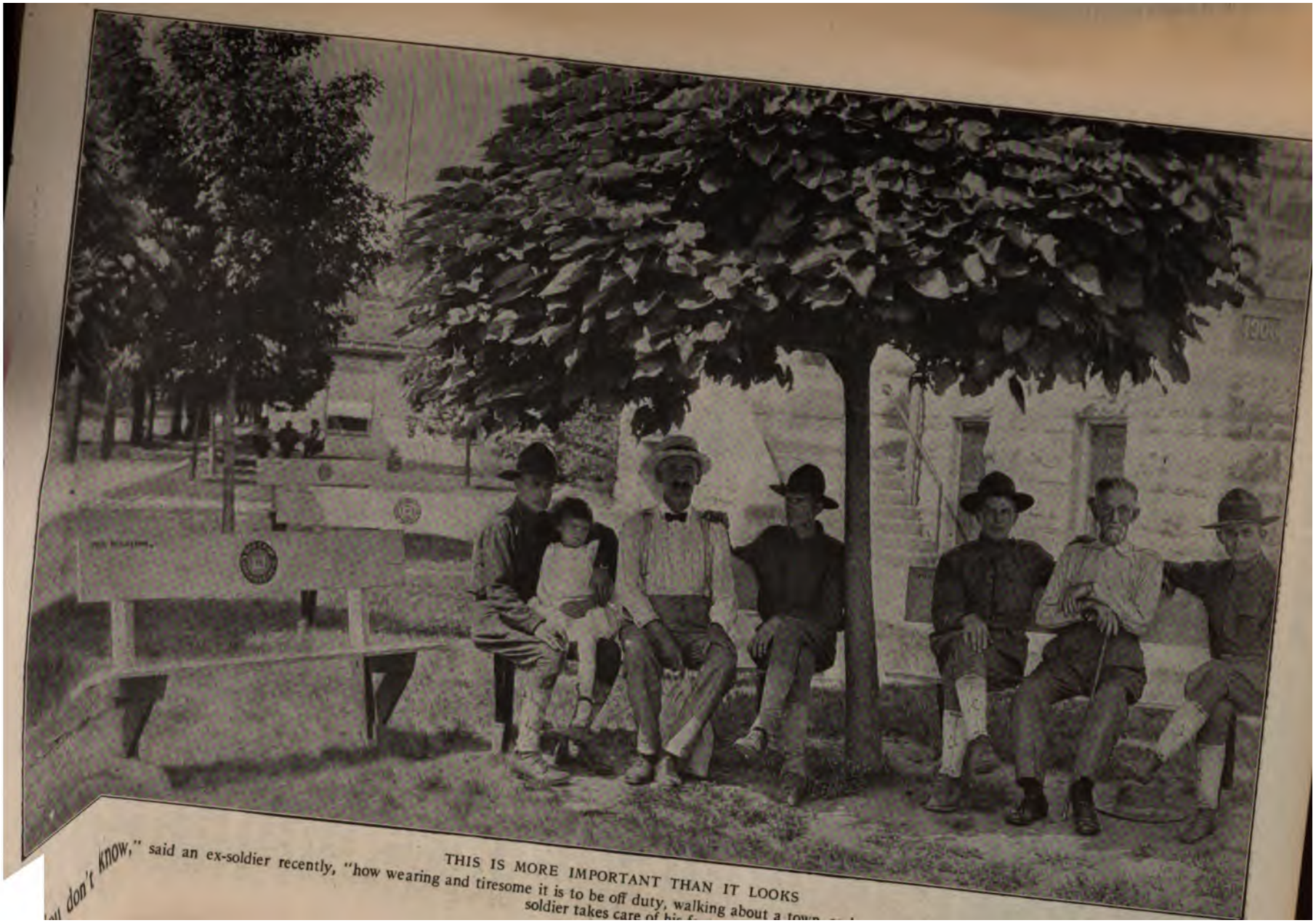


"THE GO BROKE MAN"

The soldier who finds himself without money in New York, can, by applying to this official, get money enough to get back to camp. This prevents charges of desertion

A CHURCH THAT IS DOING ITS BIT

This Christian Church in Richmond, Virginia, and many other churches that are located near camps have provided recreation rooms and invited soldiers to all services



THIS IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN IT LOOKS

you don't KNOW," said an ex-soldier recently, "how wearing and tiresome it is to be off duty, walking about a town
soldier takes care of his

"Well, old Google-eye! Come into the club and cheer up!"

Whereby we see that that endless chain has endless forms.

Private John Smith is the vital concern of the War Camp Community Service. I had almost said the exclusive concern. But that would be inaccurate, because the service is almost equally interested in Private John Smith's mother, sister, fiancée, near fiancée, or, for that matter his father, brother, or any other relative who may visit the cantonment to see him and whose comfort and well-being react upon the well-being of their soldier relative. In a word, the War Camp Community Service wants to make and keep Private John Smith as comfortable and happy as possible. It isn't concerned with healing his body. There are plenty of expert agencies inside camp to take care of that. It isn't concerned with looking after his soul. There are plenty of expert agencies inside camp to look after that, also. It is concerned with his having a good time, in decent, normal, manly, healthful, independent fashion.

For this it has ringed about the cantonments with a circle of ready but unforced hospitality in the form of hundreds of clubs. It has organized its hospitality—the personal, friendly kind of hospitality distinct from the institutional and professional—in 300 communities where our soldiers come into contact with the surrounding civilian populace. It has spent millions of dollars—one of its standard soldier clubs cost about $100,000 for buildings and equipment, and it proposes to spend many more millions next year if the public will support the work. Had not the editor of the WORLD'S WORK firmly, though courteously, refused to exclude all other contributions to this issue, thereby leaving the entire magazine to me, I would undertake to explain in detail the multiform activities of the War Camp Community Service. As it is, I can only mention a few of those which are the most obvious and striking, such as:

Organizing athletic contests.

Giving receptions, parties, and dances for the soldiers.

Establishing choruses, glee-clubs, and private theatricals.

Securing teachers of French or other languages for ambitious soldiers.

Ascertaining the church affiliations of the soldiers and having them personally invited to their own churches.

Acting as general information bureau for soldiers and soldiers' relatives and friends. ("No matter who you are—No matter what you want—Ask us—If we don't know, we'll find out," reads one placard).

Finding lodgings for soldiers' visitors and keeping strict account of them when found.

Protecting the soldier (and his friends) from local exploitation or profiteering.

Getting invitations for week-end parties for lonely soldiers.

Mending for the soldiers.

Giving advice and help when asked for (never otherwise, for there is a sedulous avoidance of officiousness) on any troublous matter under the sun from etiquette to financial involvements.

Supervising movies and dance halls near the cantonment.

Bringing together men of the same college, fraternity, or other common bond.

And several hundred other activities just as varied and important.

In short, the War Camp Community Service says to Private John Smith—and keeps on saying it to him, by the way, after he has risen to Corporal John Smith or Sergeant John Smith, for the clubs are for all enlisted men—eventually this:

"Your country has called you away from your home. It's hard for you. We know that and we want to make this community just as friendly and home-like as it is possible to make it for you and yours. Tell us what we can do for you."

One question inevitably suggests itself: Why are the War Camp Community Clubs always outside and never inside the camp limits? The answer is simple. Because this service does not deal with the soldier while on duty. The clubs are a link between the soldier or sailor and the outer social scheme of things. The moment an enlisted man steps into one of these clubs he becomes, for the time, a civilian equal in status to all those about him; and with only this difference that he is an object of special regard and consideration for all that portion of the public which is brought into contact with him through the War Camp Community Service. It is noteworthy, that in not a single instance, though literally hundreds of thousands of men have used the clubs and enjoyed the various hospitalities, has there been any major breach of decorum on the part of a soldier.

In the Spanish-American war, of dubious memory, there was a stock reply among certain regiments to any complaint, however well-founded, on the part of a soldier:

"You're out o' luck; you're in the army now."

War Camp Community Service has reversed that. To every new, raw, bewildered, uncouth, uprooted, and groping John Smith in uniform who comes into a cantonment it reaches out a friendly hand, saying:

"You're in luck. You're in the service now."

he had learned his lesson, and that he was reading a different paper.

This experience helps to answer the question asked by another man of broad education who possesses accurate information in many fields of knowledge, but is without experience or training in the field of finance. This professional man and the business man of the story are examples of that large group of men in this country who are having their first experience in investment with their purchase of Liberty Bonds. Heretofore these men have either had no margin of savings over their expenses, or they have placed that margin in their own business ventures or in the local ventures of others. Usually they have at one time or another bought stock in some worthless or fake promotion, and the loss of that capital has often turned them against all securities and all those who sell them. Many of them have never had any experience with the honest side of finance. Now they have joined that great army of investors which has absorbed in one year five times as many securities as were ever sold in this country before. They have had their first real investment lesson and they want to learn more.

IS THE INVESTMENT BANKER USELESS?

This professional man wants to know if the investment banker is not a species of middleman that the war is going to show us how to get along without. "Now that the Government has shown the way, will not our large corporations hereafter sell their bonds direct to the public?"

The answer to that question is no. The investment banker performs a service to the corporation that makes him worthy of his hire. And he performs a service to the investor that is well-nigh indispensable. With the creation by the war of ten million new investing families in this country, his responsibility and his opportunity have grown many fold. It is largely to him that we must look for the proper leading of these young investors so that they will continue to be a great asset to the nation. If the honest investment banker does not accept this obligation, and grasp the opportunity, then these new and untrained investors will be abandoned to the temptations of the unprincipled promoter, and their savings will be lost to productive enterprise. At the present time, while the responsible investment banker is seeing his own business greatly reduced by government regulations and is gladly giving a good part of his time to selling Liberty Bonds, these crooks of finance are most actively plying their nefarious trade and are reaping a harvest of the people's savings that should be going to help win the war; either into Liberty Bonds, or [illegible] financing.

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Because of the great

behind them than in municipal bonds, the character of the banker or broker who recommends them is a still more important consideration. The best bankers have the interests of their clients at heart. They are careful to tell the exact character of the security they offer, and if the client wishes to take the risk of buying a speculative issue in order to get a higher return on his money, the banker tries to make him understand what the risk is. The banker's reputation is at stake. The get-rich-quick promoter has no reputation, and he has no responsibility. He will tell a prospect anything in order to sell his latest promotion. He can afford to buy more advertising space and send out a great volume of "literature" because he gets a much larger percentage of the money paid by the buyer of the issue—some times more than half.

He is out already to get their Liberty Bonds away from trustful people. This is how he does it:

HOW A WIDOW WAS ROBBED

A widow in the South had all her savings in Liberty Bonds. Her older son worked in the steel mills. Her other boy had been drafted and was in France. The older one had been the staff on which she had leaned for years; he had put his younger brother through college, and had always insisted that his mother must have everything she wanted. He gave her nearly all his pay each week and she saved what she could of it, for she knew he had found the girl he wished to marry. When she urged him, however, he always declared he would not marry until he knew she was provided for, or he could properly support both her and a wife. Now he said it could not be until Tom came back. This worried her, for Jim was already more than thirty-five.

One day a salesman of the Great Western Guarantee Investment Company of Oklahoma City called on her. He knew that she owned Liberty Bonds, or guessed at it. He offered her stocks in an oil company, in which he said she could double her money in a few months. It cost only a dollar a share, and he showed her the guarantee of the Great Western Company that after six months it would re-sell it for her at two dollars a share. She saw an opportunity to help Jim. She gave the man her Liberty Bonds—all except those Jim had bought and paid for at the plant. She did not tell Jim; she wanted to surprise him.

After a time letters began to come telling of the great success of the company. She started to plan a campaign to convince Jim that she could get along alone, now that her savings were about to be doubled. Just before the six months was up, word came that the dollars a share. She co told Jim. He was som but her happiness was cided it would be best t the stock, even if they g dollars that had been gu and sent the stock. Sh pecting every day a che wrote again. Then one paper that the promote Guarantee Investment rested; that the compan receiver, and that all t were believed to be wort said she certainly would by her own hand, had no been so kind to her. A shadow in her life that face and drooping body.

CAREERS OF THESE CRO

To warn the public ag sirens of promotion the gin next month a series characters now operatin promotion field, and on all use to allure the s The careers of the most will be laid bare, and the they use as bait to catch Around a group of these game of get-rich-quick p hand of one of them, or their methods, is usuall fraudulent promotion of esting than fiction are t of the game. Were th their genius would certa to high places in the are masters of "the cor Shakespeare and a Kipli

The first article will these arch crooks; one w back," even from the and who was plying h heart of Wall Street, u cently arrested him agai the authorities of a plan which would put the othe in New York out of bus tically without competit of this story. The wr promotions that has be pictured. As part be as complete a list as of all the fake and frau cent years.

which latter person has meantime been expelled from Japan, thus cease to be independent representatives of *the Indian Independence Committee existing here.*

ZIMMERMAN.

In other words, before February, 1916, the German Government had been plotting with Hindus in the United States for the national independence of India. Indeed, they had begun the work before 1914, and they had become active in it in July of that year—before they started the World War but after they had decided to start it. By December, they were directing Indian plots from Berlin with ramifications in nearly every neutral country in the world. Two of these plots were hatched in the United States—one in San Francisco and one in Chicago. They were conspiracies to organize military expeditions to India. Our Government spoiled both of them, and the day after we went into the war, or on April 7, 1917, the United States' authorities arrested 34 German-Hindu plotters in half a dozen cities and subsequently convicted them all but one of conspiracy.

REVOLUTIONISTS IN SAN FRANCISCO

The story begins in San Francisco. In 1911, a fanatical Indian agitator named Har Dayal came to this country. He worked among the large colonies of turbaned Hindu laborers on the Pacific Coast who have succeeded the Chinese and Japanese coolies in the orchards and gardens and on the railroad tracks in that region of abundant climate and scarce labor. Dayal organized the Hindu Pacific Coast Association and established a headquarters in San Francisco, to which these men came looking for a job or a night's lodging, and where they were fed on rice and revolution. Dayal next established a printing plant and began to publish a paper called *Ghadr*, which means *The Revolution*. The *Ghadr* was out for blood. It preached Hindu uprising in terms of assassination, and dynamite.

The first number of the *Ghadr* was published in November, 1913. At once it disclosed a German influence. In the issue of November 15, 1913, it printed these sentences: "The Germans have great sympathy with our movement, because they and ourselves have a common enemy (the English). In the future Germany can draw assistance from us, and they can render us great assistance also."

As the World War approached, this German influence became more manifest. On July 21, 1914, two days before Austria's ultimatum to Serbia, the *Ghadr* said:

"All intelligent people know that Germany is an enemy of England. We also are mortal enemies of England. So the enemy of our enemy is our friend."

A week later, the *Ghad*
of war:

"If this war does not
morrow. So welcome!
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war starts in Europe,
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And on August 4th, it
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Hindu revolutionists, a
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there. He asked me if I cared to proceed to San José del Cabo on the *Maverick* and then transfer to another ship, the *Annie Larsen*, either at San José del Cabo or at any other point on the Mexican coast. He told me that the *Annie Larsen's* cargo consisted of war material, which was to be transshipped to the *Maverick* at whatever point they should meet in Mexican or Central American waters; that a man named Page, I do not remember his initials, but perhaps they were A. W., who would be on the *Annie Larsen*, was to take charge of the *Maverick*, and that I myself was to take over the *Annie Larsen* and proceed to trade with her in whatever manner I might wish to, for six months, between Mexican or Central American ports, but I was not to return to any American port until after the expiration of six months. He did not tell me why the *Annie Larsen* was not to return to an American port for six months, but the reason was quite clear to me. As a matter of fact, I had heard while I was in Chihuahua that the *Annie Larsen* had departed from San Diego with a cargo of war material, presumably for some belligerent faction in Mexico. She had cleared from San Diego for Topolobampo. This fact had given rise to considerable comment and notoriety. American papers had taken the matter up, and the several arrests of Americans and Mexicans made by the Government in San Diego at the time were popularly believed to have been in connection with the *Annie Larsen* and her cargo. Evidently Jebsen, therefore, thought that if the *Annie Larsen* returned immediately to an American port complications might arise. Jebsen was not explicit as to either the destination, or the purpose, of the cargo. One thing I was, however, sure of was that it was not intended for the Mexican rebels. All that Jebsen told me was that the cargo was intended for the Orient, and in the course of conversation he once mentioned Borneo.

OFF FOR THE ORIENT

"On the (?) of April, the *Maverick* finally sailed from Los Angeles. On the morning of that day Jebsen gave me a sealed letter, addressed to nobody, with verbal instructions to hand it over to Page on the *Annie Larsen* immediately after I met him. Jebsen seemed to be anxious regarding this letter, and warned me to be careful and to see that it fell in no other hands. He also handed me another unaddressed letter to be given to the same man. This was an open letter which I read soon after leaving Los Angeles. There were two enclosures which were printed. One was a circular or memorandum of instructions as to how to work the machine gun or a small Hotchkiss, the diagram of which was given on the

second enclosure. I am not quite certain of the type of weapon drawn on that second enclosure, but I think it was one of the two I have mentioned. The printed circular was evidently from the makers of that arm, but the manufacturer's name was carefully cut out from it. Jebsen also handed me a third letter without address for Page, and open. It contained typewritten instructions as to how to stow the cargo to be transhippped from the *Annie Larsen*. It was just a short note, more in the nature of a suggestion than instructions. It said that the cases containing rifles were to be stowed in one of the two empty tanks of the *Maverick* and flooded with oil. The ammunition cases were to be stowed in the other empty tank, which was not to be flooded except as a last resort. This note, too, was intended for Page. There was a fourth open note for myself which contained suggestions as to what I should do in future with the *Annie Larsen*. Jebsen, at the same time, made over to me a bundle, consisting of about ten letters, with instructions to hand over to Page. All these letters were addressed to Captain Othman. Although Jebsen did not tell me so, I concluded that 'Page' and 'Othman' were one and the same man, and that 'Page' was an assumed name.

"The day before sailing Jebsen introduced me to a man named B. Mil Swedish mining enginee on the *Maverick* as far a proceed from thence to

A HINDU PLOT LETTER IN CIPH

Written by Dr. Chakravarty, the German-Indian agent in New tor in Pekin, outlining a treaty between China and Germany wh Chinese Government to sign. Part of the text of the letter, as d

Li Yuan Hung is now the president of China. He was former leader. W. T. Wang was then his private secretary. He is now for China. He says (that) Li Yuan Hung is in sympathy with (would) like English power weakened. Some of the prominent (India directly and Germany indirectly, without exposing herself conditions:

"The first: Germany (to) make a secret treaty with China, th any power or powers Germany (will) give her military aid. It w after the discontinuance of the present war; and there would be (should) get one tenth of all arms and ammunition she will receiv Revolutionaries and the Indian Border. In return, China (is) to and ammunition in the name of the Chinese Government and fro sailing boats and by coolies to any near port or any border place will help Indian Revolutionaries as (much as) she can, secretly, w

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Altogether

we were twenty-nine days at that island waiting for the schooner, which did not turn up after all. By the time we had anchored it was very dark and the first sign of life on the island was a camp fire, close to the shore. Shortly after a small boat pulled alongside with two American sailors in it. One of them came on the bridge and saw the captain, and after putting the question 'Are you the people who are looking for the *Annie Larsen*'? and getting a reply in the affirmative, he said that the *Annie Larsen* had been at the island, and being short of water, had left some thirteen days before. He delivered a note to Nelson stating that it was left by the *Annie Larsen's* super-cargo Page. Nelson passed the note over to me to read. It was a short note in English, saying 'this will be delivered to you by a member of the crew of the schooner *Emma*, who will explain his own position. I have been waiting for you a month, and am now going to the Mexican West Coast for supplies and water. I will return as soon as possible. Please await my return.' Signed 'Page.'

"The sailor man then told the following story: that he and his companion in the boat and two Mexican customs house officials who were in camp ashore had left San José del Cabo some time before on the small American schooner *Emma*, with a cargo of bark for the Mexican port of Loreto; that the captain had proved himself incompetent, and they had lost their bearings, and after sailing for many days had eventually arrived at this island, which the master declared was a point close to Manzanillo, but which they discovered to be an island. The mate had died at sea; the master's name was Clarke. These four men declined to go any farther with the captain of that ship and preferred to be left on the island on the off chance of being picked up by a passing vessel. The captain and the cook, the only other members of the crew, had left some days ago for the Mexican coast. At the same time the *Emma* touched the island the *Annie Larsen* was there, and she provided the castaways with three empty water tanks, a rifle, and a few provisions. Since the departure of the *Annie Larsen* they were hoping for assistance being sent to them from the Mexican coast. We subsequently discovered that these castaways had rigged up a sort of condenser with the aid of their tanks and some old piping.

"The castaways who came on the *Maverick* at Socorro further told us that Page had told him that he had left another letter buried somewhere on the island close to the shore by the bay, which could be easily found if we would make a search for it. Assisted by some of the castaways I made a search for the second note left by Page

Abschrift.

Berlin, den 4. Februar 1916.

An

Deutsche Botschaft, Washington.

MARZ 8 1916 Eing.
mit.....Anl.
J.-Nr. 159

In Zukunft sollen alle indischen Angelegenheiten ausschliesslich durch das von Dr. Chakravarty zu bildende Komitee behandelt werden. Dhirendra Sarkar und der inzwischen aus Japan ausgewiesene Heramba Lal Gupta hören damit auf, selbständige Vertreter des hier bestehenden indischen Unabhängigkeits-Ausschusses zu sein.

Zimmermann.

****

Abschriftlich

Sicher!

der K.N.St.

New York

zur gefälligen Kenntnisnahme ergebenst übersandt. Ich bitte auch das Kaiserliche Generalkonsulat zu benachrichtigen.

In Auftrage.

Haniel

THE GERMAN EMBASSY IN THE HINDU PLOT

A letter from Zimmerman, the German Foreign Minister, sent from the Embassy in Washington to Von Papen in New York. Translated, it reads: "Berlin, February 4, 1916. The German Embassy, Washington. In future all Indian affairs are to be exclusively handled by the Committee to be formed by Dr. Chakravarty. Dhriendra Sarkar and Heramba Lal Gupta, which latter person has meantime been expelled from Japan, thus cease to be independent representatives of the Indian Independence Committee existing here.—[Signed.] Zimmerman. Copy to the Military Information Bureau, New York. Transmitted respectfully for your information. Please also inform the Imperial Consulate-General, for: Haniel."

and found it buried in a bottle under a sign which read 'Look Here.' The second note was a lengthy repetition of the first. Page asked us to help the castaways but cautioned us not to take them aboard our ship. He said he would return as soon as he could get water and that we were to wait for him. I returned to the ship with the note and read it out to Nelson. Disregarding Page's warning not to take the castaways aboard, he immediately asked them to come aboard if they cared, which they did. They remained on the *Maverick* till the 6th of May when the American collier (Government ship) *Nanshan* arrived and took them off.

"The following Thursday, 13th May, H. M. S. addressed to Page in case after we had left. I put conspicuous place in the note read as follows: 'Co 'our Post Office' I meant t self had buried his note f I buried where I had fo another signboard sayin note told Page all that h stay at the island and t where where we could g

"Immediately after t from H. M. S. *Kent* had going through our pap Captain Nelson on the

there I found him in conversation with Jehangir. I gathered from Nelson that Jehangir had aboard two sacks and six suit cases full of literature which he was very anxious to hide from the *Kent*. We were expecting another visit from the *Kent* for the purpose of searching the ship, and Jehangir said he would not like the literature to fall in the hands of the *Kent* party. Jehangir did not like the idea of destroying the literature and suggested that it should be quietly taken ashore and buried there, pending the departure of the *Kent*. Neither Nelson nor myself fell in with the suggestion and were of opinion that it should be destroyed straight away if it were dangerous to retain it. Jehangir eventually agreed to this and said he would just keep a sample of the various papers and pamphlets he had. Nelson grumbled even at that. I am not sure whether Jehangir did really preserve any specimens, but I think he did. The two sacks with their contents and the contents of the six suit cases were immediately burnt in the engine room. I personally saw some of this literature. It was all printed matter in a character unknown to me. Some of it was newspaper form, some in leaflets, but most of it was in the form of pamphlets, the outside cover being mostly pink. The six empty suit cases were appropriated by various members of the crew, I took one of them myself and it is with me at the present moment. Later I learned from Jehangir that the literature was printed in San Francisco and copies of it 'existed' in Constantinople and Berlin.

"After depositing the two notes on the shore, we weighed anchor. Nelson informed me that he intended proceeding to San Diego . . .

"After about thirty hours' absence ashore at San Diego the party returned to the *Maverick*, bringing with them a few supplies. Nelson informed me that he was now going to Hilo, Hawaii, and when we were well under way he told me that from the Brewster Hotel, San Diego, he had rung up Jebsen at San Francisco on the long distance telephone and was told in reply to wait at the hotel till he heard from him (Jebsen) further. The following morning he got a wire from Jebsen instructing Nelson to proceed to Hilo, Hawaii, where he would receive further orders. Nelson said he had no word of the *Annie Larsen*.

"We left for Coronados Island on or about the

اے مردانو ہندی جوانو جلدی ہوشیار۔

غدر

انگریزی راج کا دشمن ہفتہ وار — اردو گورمکھی اخبار

جلد اول | یوگانتر آشرم - سان فرانسسکو - امریکہ سے شائع ہوا | ۱۶ و ۲۳ ستمبر ۱۹۱۳ء | نمبر ۷ و ۸

فہرست مضامین

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تمام خط و کتابت اور ترسیل زر مندرجہ ذیل پتہ پر ہونی چاہیے۔

سیکریٹری - یوگانتر آشرم -
سان فرانسسکو - کیلیفورنیا -
یونائیٹڈ سٹیٹس امریکہ

The Secretary
Yugantar Ashram
San Francisco
cal.
U. S. A.

انگریزی راج کا کچا چٹھا

چند موٹی موٹی باتیں

(۱) انگریز ہر سال پچاس کروڑ روپیہ ہندوستان سے کھینچ کر انگلستان لے جاتے ہیں۔ اس وجہ سے ہندوستانی اتنے غریب ہو گئے ہیں کہ روزانہ آمدنی فی کس صرف پانچ پیسہ ہے۔

(۲) زمین کا لگان ۶۵ فیصدی سے زیادہ ہے۔

(۳) چوبیس کروڑ آدمیوں کی تعلیم پر پونے آٹھ کروڑ روپیہ اور انتظام حفظ صحت پر دو کروڑ روپیہ۔ مگر فوج پر ساڑھے انتیس کروڑ

(۴) انگریزی راج میں قحط بڑھتے ہی جاتے ہیں۔ اور گزشتہ کال میں بیس کروڑ مرد عورت و بچے بھوک سے مر گئے۔

(۵) پلیگ سے گزشتہ ۱۶ برس میں اسی لاکھ موتیں ہوئیں۔ اور تعداد اموات گزشتہ ۳۰ سال میں ۲۷ فی ہزار سے ۳۴ فی ہزار تک بڑھ گئی ہے۔

(۶) ہندوستانی ریاستوں میں فساد اور ابتری پھیلانے کی اور انگریزی راج کا سورج بڑھانے کی ترکیبیں عمل میں لائی جاتی ہیں۔

(۷) انگریزوں کو ہندوستانیوں کا قتل کرنے کی اور ہندوستانی عورتوں کی عزت برباد کرنے کی کوئی سزا نہیں دی جاتی ہے۔

(۸) ہندو و مسلمانوں کے روپیہ سے عیسائی پادریوں کی مدد کی جاتی ہے۔

(۹) ہندو و مسلمانوں میں ہمیشہ فساد کرانے کی کوشش کی جاتی ہے۔

(۱۰) ہندوستان کی صنعت و حرفت کو انگلستان کے فائدے کے واسطے برباد کیا گیا ہے۔

(۱۱) ہندوستان کے روپیہ سے اور ہندوستانیوں ہی کی جانیں تلف کر کے چین افغانستان - برما - مصر اور فارس فتح کئے گئے ہیں۔

(۱۲) ہندوستان کی آبادی ریاستوں میں سات کروڑ - انگریزی علاقہ میں چھبیس کروڑ ہے۔

(۱۳) انگریزوں کی فوجی طاقت - ۱۹۶۱۱۱ - انگریز افسر و سپاہی - اور ۲۷۳۸۹ والنٹیر ہیں۔

(۱۴) ۱۸۵۷ء کے غدر کو ۵۷ برس گذر گئے ہیں - اب دوسرے کی سخت ضرورت ہے

THE FIRST PAGE OF "GHADR"

The Hindu revolutionary paper published in San Francisco. Its editor, Ram Chandra, was a principal in the German gun-running plot to supply American arms to Indian seditionists

2nd of June and arrived at Hilo on or about the 14th. Port officials came alongside and demanded who we were and what our business was. The captain told them what sort of clearance we had and that we had entered Hilo to communicate with his owners. At about 8 P. M., when it was dark, Captain Elbo, of the war-bound German merchantman *Ahlers*, came alongside in a small dinghy rowed by one German sailor and asked to be allowed aboard to speak to the captain. Nelson spoke to him over the rail declining to take the German captain aboard as the health officer had not cleared the ship, but offered to see him the following morning. Before, however, Elbo left he passed a note up to Nelson, who showed it to me later on in his cabin. It read as follows: '*Maverick* is to proceed to Johnson Island and then await the arrival of the schooner *Annie Larsen* and the rest of the ship's programme is to be just as settled before,' namely, that after transferring the cargo to the *Maverick*, the *Maverick* was to proceed on her original voyage.

THE GERMANS AT HILO

"Later, Captain Elbo took us to the office of Hackfield & Company. There we met a young German named Schroeder who, Elbo gave us to understand, was the chief representative of the Maverick Company at Honolulu and had specially come down to Hilo to meet Nelson about *Maverick's* future plans. It appeared that whilst we were still at the Collector's office a war telegrams slip had been out, and among other items of interest was mentioned the arrival in Hilo of the mysterious ship *Maverick*, whose captain had made a statement that he had been trading in the South Sea Islands and he intended leaving for Anjer-Java, stopping at Johnson Island on the way. Schroeder had seen this slip just before we called on him and was apparently highly indignant that Nelson should have disclosed the future movements of the *Maverick* to the Press representative. Schroeder told Nelson that it would be impossible for him to permit him, Nelson, to go on to Johnson Island after the news had been made public and that he, Schroeder, would have now to recast his plans. He asked Nelson to wait at Hilo till he should hear from him from Honolulu, where he, Schroeder, must return to arrange for fresh plans. At Nelson's request Schroeder authorized Hackfield to pay all bills 'O. K'd' by Nelson and to give him such money as he may require.

"Thus we were at Hilo close on two weeks, during which time I personally attended to all the ship's needs. I was assisted by Captain Elbo.

"A couple of days before we sailed from Hilo, Nelson and I met Elbo
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GERMAN-INDI

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to be met by numerous small friendly fishing craft. The fishing craft, together with the five blacks aboard, will attend to the unloading and landing of the cargo. Two of the blacks should go ashore immediately on arrival and proceed inland to notify your arrival to "the people." The remaining three blacks and the friendly natives will assist in burying the cargo. Should no friendly fishing boats meet you, two of the blacks should go ashore and do the notifying of the people.'

"After the mission was over, that is whether the *Maverick* was successful or not, she was to go to Batavia and report to Behn Meyers & Company. The last instruction in the letter was that all undelivered papers were to be handed over to Behn Meyers. In accordance with this I made over the letter to Helfferich on our arrival.

ARRIVAL AT BATAVIA

"After we had been in the harbor (Batavia) for about an hour or so a German came aboard and introduced himself as Kolbe, 2nd Officer of the war-bound merchantman *Selesia*. Nelson signed me to leave them alone, which I did. After they had conversed for about twenty minutes, Kolbe, Nelson, and myself went ashore together and motored down to Helfferich's residence at Konigsplein W. 8. On the way we stopped at the American Consulate; Nelson went in alone. While waiting for him outside in the car I had a talk with Kolbe. He knew all about the *Maverick* and her mission. When I told him that I should like to interview the manager of Behn Meyers to deliver the letter given to me by Dinart at Hilo, Kolbe replied that Helfferich, the man we were on our way to, was the manager and I could make the letter over to him. Dinart had not mentioned Helfferich by name at the time of handing the letter to me. He asked me just to deliver it at Behn Meyers. When Nelson joined us again we proceeded to Helfferich's place where I met for the first time the brothers Theodore and Emile Helfferich. Kolbe and I retired to another part of the house whilst Nelson and the brothers held a conversation for half an hour or so. After Nelson had done, he left with Kolbe, leaving me with the brothers. I spent about an hour with them. I gave Theodore Helfferich Dinart's letter which he opened in my presence. It was a typewritten sheet in code. Helfferich said it would take him some time to decode it. The 'weight' inside the letter I have spoken of was what looked like a thin slab of lead enclosed in another cover. Helfferich opened this cover and on seeing that it was a thin slab, threw it aside without taking the trouble of examining it closely. I have no idea what it was for, but I imagine that,

in case it had to be suddenly thrown overboard the weight inside the cover would sink the letter at once. I told them all about our trip, and showed them the letters I had brought with me. Helfferich read the letter intended for Page, and remarked that the arrangements made at this end were substantially the same as those indicated in the letter. He said the signals were the same, and password was the same, and the code was the same. Emile spoke up and said that he had waited for the *Maverick* for three weeks in the Sunda Straits. They deeply regretted the failure of the *Maverick* in not bringing the arms and said that their arrangements on this side were excellent and complete, and they were only waiting the arrival of the cargo when they could have easily put their whole scheme through. They observed that 'the people' in India were all ready and prepared and had only been waiting for the arms to turn up. They did not discuss their own scheme with me. Theodore Helfferich expressed his disgust at the *Maverick* being thrust upon him and could not understand the object of her being sent to Batavia when she was not carrying the cargo, and when she could have as easily returned to America. It was then arranged that I should take up my lodging in a hotel ashore and in the meantime Helfferich would decipher the code letter. Things were to be left alone until he had read that.

"A couple of days after, I was rung up by Helfferich and I went and saw him at his place in the evening. He had deciphered the letter which had 'originated' from San Francisco. Helfferich said that the letter directed the abandonment of the *Maverick*, which was either to be sold or chartered to anybody or that she could be used for any regular purpose if Helfferich so desired. She was, if not sold, to be retained in this part of the world and on no account to be returned to America."

So fizzled the German-Hindu gun-running expedition to India. The *Maverick* had arrived with five Hindus and no guns, at a Dutch port in the Indies—not India. The Hindus and the crew scattered to the winds, Starr-Hunt started to return to Los Angeles, but was detained by the British authorities at Singapore, and ultimately appeared in the Federal court-room at San Francisco as the chief witness for the Government in its case against the German consul and his staff, the complacent Americans, and the Hindu conspirators. The *Annie Larsen* wandered up and down the Pacific Coast, and finally put in at Hoquiam, Wash., where she was promptly seized and her cargo of arms and ammunition locked up by the United States Government.

Von Brincken bore bitter testimony to the failure of the *Maverick* expe
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VON BRINCKEN S

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dots and routes of travel. Beside the map were printed the names of the defendants, so that their strangeness might be somewhat simplified. Among the polyglot evidence were Hindu publications in six Oriental languages, including Persian; cipher messages which, when deciphered, proved to be an Indian revolutionist's letters which had to be translated by reference to page and line of an American's book about "Germany and the Germans;" enciphered code, written in Berlin by the German Foreign Minister, transmitted to Stockholm and thence by the Swedish Government to Buenos Aires and thence by Count Luxburg to Bernstorff in Washington, telling him to pay an Indian in New York money for use in San Francisco to send arms to revolutionists near Calcutta—besides other oddities of men and places and documents too numerous to mention.

The episode of the *Maverick* and the *Annie Larsen* occupied a large place in the trial. One of the humors of that fiasco was the proof that "Juan Bernardo Bowen," of Topolobampo, Mexico, was a romantic imagining to conceal plain Bernard Manning of San Diego. There was no Juan Bernardo. The man who got Tauscher's shipment of arms for the *Annie Larsen* was Manning.

The prosecution proved that the funds for the purchase of the *Maverick* and for the charter of the *Annie Larsen* were got from the German Consulate's bank accounts in San Francisco, and were concealed by an elaborate jugglery through a chain of American lawyers and shipping agents in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego.

The end of the story is briefly told in the following dispatch to the New York *Sun*, dated San Francisco, April 24, 1918:

> Twenty-nine men, charged with conspiring on American soil to start a revolution against British rule in India, were found guilty by a jury in Federal Court early to-day.
>
> Just as court adjourned for the noon recess yesterday, the last day of the trial, Ram Singh, a defendant, shot and killed Ram Chandra, another defendant. United States Marshal James Holohan shot Ram Singh dead in his tracks.

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AN AMERICAN'S ESCAPE FROM

PARLEYING WITH THE "REDS" AND THE

A Party Delayed for a Month in Starving Finland, and the I the Battle-line

BY

FREDERICK M. CORSE

General Manager for Russia of The New York Life Insurance Company

WHEN the Bolsheviki seized Petrograd and turned the city upside-down, the majority of the foreigners, and not a few of the natives, were shaken out of it. The exodus was immediate. Refugee trains were numerous and packed in those early days of Russia's era of topsyturvydom.

Street fighting, the rattle of rifles and machine-guns by day and by night, the dissolution of regulated government, the sudden outcropping of mob authority, pillaging, drunkenness, the uncertainty as to what the next hour might produce, the sinister shortening of the food supply—all these things kept gradually detaching the more tenacious of the foreign colony. By February there was only a handful of us left: the Embassies, Legations, and Consulates, all with much reduced staffs, and a few whose business interests were of such a nature that we must hang to them until the last possible moment.

Then came that amazingly rapid advance of the German armies. They had overrun Courland, Livonia, and were now sweeping onward through Esthonia. Apparently all they needed do to seize Petrograd itself, was to reach out for it. It was the prospect of an indefinite stay in a German internment camp that finally put to flight the last remnant of Petrograd's foreign colony.

There was a quick decision to go. But where?

There were only two routes of escape from Russia: one to the east, across Siberia, to Vladivostok and the Pacific; the other, to the north, across Finland, and thence to Sweden and the outer world.

Neither route was alluring.

To go by way of Siberia meant a journey of more than 5,000 miles on a railroad whose trains were commandeered by hordes from Russia's disbanded armies, undisciplined, uncontrolled, but armed and autocratic. They ejected passengers, changed schedules, overruled engineers, train dispatchers, and station masters. Delay, confusion, and occasional disaster were the consequence. In one instance, more than 400 soldiers paid with their lives for
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THE AMERICAN PARTY
Mr. Corse is the fourth figure from the right

the vicissitudes of Finland. It is safe to say that not one who chose either of these two routes but wished fervently and often that he had gone the other way.

The exodus from Petrograd began about February 20th. Everything was hustle, bustle, and uncertainty. None of us knew what was happening in the outside world. None of us knew just how near the Germans were. We knew little of what was going on even in Petrograd itself. Train schedules were non-existent. A train might go or it might not go; and if it did go, how far it would go was simply a matter of conjecture. A special train to carry Americans across Siberia, was to leave Saturday, the 23d. It left the following day.

At midnight of Monday the factory whistles began blowing, and continued to blow for an hour. It was the signal used to rally the workmen. The streets were soon filled with hurrying men, and tense, excited, questioning groups. I finally ascertained what it was all about: news had come that the Germans had taken Pokrof, and the Soviet, after a very lively meeting, decided on a general mobilization. Companies were formed and troop trains ran all night.

The following day the American Ambassador, the two aides who had stayed with him, and the American Consul, left Petrograd by rail for the east. The same day I learned that the members of all the other embassies, legations, and consulates were leaving within the twenty-four hours, by three special trains via Finland.

About twelve o'clock that Tuesday night, soldiers came to my apartments with papers for me to sign, in reference to the general mobilization, an order having been issued that no man or woman, between the ages of 15 and 45, could leave Petrograd.

Fearing to be cut off by the sudden capture of the city by the Germans, or by the failure of the train service, or by some new order of the Bolshevist authorities, I decided to make my escape immediately. All our household effects—things that I had collected during a seventeen years' residence in Russia, some of them picked up in the remotest corners of the old empire—were hastily sent to a storehouse. With an eye on

ON THE "RED" PARAPET
Waving the American flag for one hour as a signal for the "Whites" to stop firing

BETWEEN THE FIRING LINES
The neutrals going from the "Red" trenches to talk with the "White Guard"

impending events, I selected a storehouse that was largely patronized by Germans and Austrians.

At 8 o'clock that Wednesday night, February 27th, my wife, her sister, and I drove to the station of the railroad to Finland.

Disaster threatened us at the station. The Bolshevist guard who examined our papers, said that I had not secured some last permission for departure which, so he said, I should have got, and that therefore our party could not board the train.

It was a moment for quick, determined action. I happened to have in my pocket a letter from the Swedish Embassy. It had nothing whatever to do with the situation, but I remembered that it had a fine official appearance. So I produced this letter and a large amount of American bluff, and the combination succeeded in getting us aboard the train and off for Helsingfors.

This was luckier than a person unacquainted with Bolshevist authority can appreciate. For instance, one of the special embassy trains, due to leave an hour before our ordinary train, was held up in the Petrograd station for 24 hours while investigations were made as to the propriety of permitting the departure of certain of its passengers. Meanwhile, all the passengers were afraid to leave the train lest at any minute the order be given for it to pull out.

Within an hour our train had reached the frontier. Here there was more Bolshevist examination of papers. And once again we fared better than the special embassy train for the latter was here held up another six hours while Petrograd was queried as to one of its passengers.

In another thing were we lucky; the next morning an order was enforced that no one crossing the frontier could carry with him more than 500 roubles. The courier of the Norwegian Embassy was discovered to be carrying 2,000,000 roubles. The entire sum was taken from him, and he was put in jail. What became of him after that, I do not know.

And it was at this frontier station that we began the first of a long, long series of meetings with the "Red Guards." Dressed in the everyday clothes of workmen, their only distinguishing mark being a bit of red ribbon tied around the

SIGNALING TO THE WHITE GUARD
Midway between the opposing armies the party halted and beckoned the "Whites" to a parley

ONE HOUR BETWEEN THE OPPOSING FORCES
The "Reds" have gone back to their trenches, and the party is waiting for the "Whites" to come out to rescue it

inevitable rifle, a sleeve, or a hat, and occasionally around all three, squads of these men boarded the train at every stop, demanding to see the papers of all passengers. Most of them were ignorant of passport usage, some of them could not even read. But they had the authority and they used it. They all made a show of examining papers, particularly the seal. If this was impressively big and official-looking, the papers were usually approved.

Five o'clock of the next day brought us to Helsingfors. This fine, spacious city proved to be a veritable nest of "Reds." They were buzzing in all directions. The railway station, like every other station in "Red" territory, was in their over-busy care. To go into a station, passport or permit had to be shown; to go out of a station, passport or permit had to be shown. This was a formality that seemed to be in order at all times. Squads of "Reds" were patrolling the streets; every now and then a wagon load of them rattled by.

We had left a hungry *city. We now found* ourselves in one that was facing starvation. Though we got rooms at the largest hotel (through the intercession of a friend), we could get no bread with our meals until several days later when we succeeded in securing "bread cards." And such bread as it was! It was made out of grain ground with the husks on and mixed with reindeer moss. But we were glad to get it, glad to get anything that had the name of food.

I have travelled over a large part of the world, but it was here in Finland that I encountered the most expensive living. Dinner at Helsingfors' best hotel consisted of a piece of fish with a jacketed potato and a piece of meat with another jacketed potato. For this I paid $3.50. In the shops, an egg cost 50 cents, a pound of honey $8. Even at these prices there was little to be had. During the days of waiting that were now thrust upon us, there was little sight-seeing done: our party would scatter over whatever city fate put us in, scouring it for food.

The same day we arrived, Helsingfors had a very unwelcome influx of visitors. The Germans

BEHIND THE "WHITE" LINES
After having passed through both armies, the neutral party is journeying on northward

had captured Revel, the Russian seaport just across the Gulf of Finland; but before they took the city several thousand Russian sailors seized a ship and escaped to Helsingfors. They arrived about the same time that we did. They were all armed, ugly, idle. They fought among themselves, and there were also clashes between them and the "Red Guards." This fighting was especially frequent after nightfall. There was an order that all lights be out at 9 P.M. From without the darkened hotel, there often came the rattle of rifle-fire. It was more than a week before the "Reds" succeeded in shipping by rail the last of the Russian sailors to Petrograd.

Not all of the shooting, however, resulted from this visitation from Revel. There were "White Guards" and active sympathizers with the "Whites" hidden in Helsingfors and other "Red" cities. Man-hunts were frequent, As I have said, it is a war without quarter.

The day after our arrival, I went to see the Chief-of-Staff of the "Red Guards." His headquarters was in that imposing piece of architecture, the Senate House. My credentials got me by the numerous sentries. The Chief-of-Staff, I found, speaks good English. His name is Arthur Wesley. He had lived for twelve years in Seattle where he was a leader of the I. W. W. Prime Minister Sirola, whom Wesley called in for consultation, also speaks English. He too had lived in America, for several years in Illinois where he busied himself organizing coal strikes. Later we met many Finns who had been in America.

Wesley was very courteous and anxious to do all in his power to get us out of Finland. He absolutely refused to take any responsibility if we attempted to drive north through the lines, but said that he would give us all a safe conduct to Abo whence we could get to Sweden by way of the Aland Islands. And so we packed up and journeyed to Abo.

There we learned that a boat sent by the Swedish Government to rescue Swedes stranded in Finland, had been crushed in the ice on the return trip, and that it was unlikely that any more boats would attempt the trip until the ice melted. The frozen gulf could be crossed by a three days' drive in fishermen's sleighs, the route including a necessary stop at the Aland Islands.

THE PARTY'S "WHITE" HOST
A typical soldier of the "White Guard" who aided the Americans in their escape

This seemed the easiest way out of our dilemma. Arrangements were practically completed for the trip when a telegram warned us that there was a rumor that the Germans had already taken or were about to take possession of the Aland Islands. A hurried council was called to decide whether or not we should trust to luck and make a dash for it. The decision was no. Subsequent news showed that this decision was a wise one. Two of our Petrograd friends, Professor Emery and his wife, had started out over the Aland Island route a few days before our arrival in Abo. Their capture by the Germans has long since been an old piece of news to Americans.

Back to Helsingfors we came. The situation was getting critical. The Germans had landed at a number of places on the Finnish coast, their airplanes were flying over Helsingfors daily. It looked as though Finland was going to be a trap that would hold us for the enemy that we had fled Petrograd to escape.

Another of our friends, Captain Arthur Crosley, naval attaché to the American Embassy at Petrograd, had gone to Björneborg, a seaport just a little to the south of the battle-line of the "Reds" and the "Whites." From there he sent telegram after telegram to Mr. Morris, the American Minister at Stockholm, urging that an ice-crusher be sent to Björneborg to carry away the Americans

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with the 'Whites' for you to cross their lines, we will let you cross our lines at Mantyluto on Saturday morning."

Captain Crosley returned to the hotel in high glee. A telegram was forthwith sent to Stockholm. All Thursday afternoon, Thursday night, and Friday morning we waited anxiously for a response. Then we heard that every one at the telegraph office had been arrested (for what, we never heard) and the place closed. But we decided that we would endeavor to cross the lines even without assurance from Stockholm that all was well. Friday night Captain Crosley went to make final arrangement with the chief for our departure the next morning. He was told that it must be postponed until Sunday. The outlook began to be discouraging.

Much to our relief, Sunday morning came without any further orders from "Red" headquarters. Bright and early our party—11 men and 5 women, not forgetting 80 pieces of luggage—were aboard our "special," a passenger coach and a baggage car that had been courteously placed at our disposal by Chief-of-Staff Wesley to carry us from Helsingfors. We had had the use of this "special" for more than a fortnight. The two cars were attached to the regular Mantyluto train; and at last, after almost a month's harried stay in "Red" Finland, we were off for the lines.

Mantyluto is a hamlet on a low-lying, rocky peninsula that juts far out into the Gulf of Bothnia, and whose northern shore, at that time, formed the extreme western end of the "Reds'" line. An hour's journey brought us to the appointed place—bleak, wind-swept, nothing in sight but snow, ice, rocks, and patches of scant forest. There our "special" was switched to a siding, and the train went its way. Our flags—3 American and 2 white ones—were got out and nailed to poles. Captain Crosley put on his uniform. A box sleigh was procured, and in this our party of intercession—Captain Crosley, a plucky Finnish girl who acted as our interpreter, and a member of the party who spoke Swedish—drove off over the ice for the "Red" lines a few miles distant. And we who were left behind settled down as best we could in our unheated car, for an anxious wait which dragged out into the late afternoon.

To follow the sleigh: On reaching the last outpost of the "Reds"—a rocky point on an island which looked across less than a mile of ice to an island outpost of the "Whites"—it became evident that there had been no negotiations, or at least no successful negotiations in our behalf from Stockholm for there was a constant sputter of rifles and now and then the deeper note of a gun.

The local "Red" chief did his best to dissuade the party from attempting to cross over to the "White" lines. To go out on the ice, he said, was sure death. He pointed to two black spots on the ice about midway between the island outposts. A glance through field-glasses showed them to be dead bodies. A "Red" reconnoitring party, sent out a few nights before, had been discovered. Six of them were killed, the party succeeding in carrying back four of its dead. "We cannot get those other two," said the chief, "for they" (pointing toward the "Whites") "will not respect even a Red Cross flag."

When Captain Crosley insisted that he was none-the-less going, the chief sent mounted couriers in both directions to order his men to cease firing. Then Captain Crosley raised a big American flag and a big white flag on a high rock, behind which the party of three crouched. Gradually the firing from the "White" side ceased. In about an hour there was an absolute lull. Captain Crosley jumped up on the rock and waved another American flag. Then he and the other two, each carrying a flag, climbed down the face of the rocks and started across the ice. Immediately there was a shot from the opposite island. Then silence again. Captain Crosley believed that it was a test shot, fired to see if the "Reds" would respond.

A terrific wind was blowing. It was almost impossible to hold the flags up. The surface of the ice was soft and covered with three or four inches of water. Such little headway was made that the party returned to the "Reds" and borrowed a sleigh. In this they advanced slowly across the ice.

Reaching the other shore, officers came out to meet them. The "Whites" were very polite, but firm in the assertion that the party could not return for their compatriots. Captain Crosley was taken to headquarters, some miles back in the village of Achleisen on the mainland. Here the superior officers, when they heard his story, showed him every courtesy. "We will call a truce until 8 o'clock to-night," said they. "Have your party on the ice midway between the lines before the expiration of that time."

Captain Crosley and his American companion hurried back to their sleigh. But they were without the Finnish girl: the "Whites" refused to let her return to the "Red" lines. It was, however, no hardship to her as she has a sister on the "White" side.

By 5 P.M. we had heard the good news. Within half an hour we and our baggage were loaded into eleven sleighs and off for the temporarily neutral ground. But we were required to pass through "Red" headquarters, and here there was the inevitable examination
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village pastor's house a hot supper was awaiting us—arranged by telephone from "White" headquarters at Achleisen.

It was near midnight when the light of Christinestad finally began to glimmer across the ice ahead of us. Here, too, a telephone message had preceded us. The hotel was crowded; but we were quartered about the town in hospitable homes, hot suppers and comfortable beds were all ready for us. And it must be remembered that the larder of the "Whites" is as near empty as is that of the "Reds."

But in spite of the delightful home hospitality of Christinestad, it was here that we first breathed the pro-German atmosphere of "White" Finland. The streets were filled with so-called "Jägers," men who had volunteered in the German army, but who had been allowed to return home to fight for the "Whites." And as we progressed farther north, this atmosphere made itself more and more noticeable, until it showed itself in open rudeness and hostility. We did not escape from it until, on March 28th, in a driving blizzard, we at last crossed into neutral Sweden.

HE GENIUS OF THE DRAFT

he Success of the Conscription Act—How he Made a)pportunity for an Unprecedented Display of ıess to Serve—The Man and His Methods

BY

RICHARD BARRY

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That second lieutenant is now Major-General Enoch H. Crowder, holding the double office of Judge Advocate General and Provost Marshal General of the Army. However, it is as Provost Marshal General that Crowder has come into his own. In the old days the Provost Marshal was a camp police officer. He rounded up the drunks and disorderlies, and was the recipient of the rag-tag and bob-tail of odd jobs that regular sure-enough officers hadn't time to look after. That is not true to-day. The Provost Marshal General now adminsters the selective service law and mobilizes the fighting man power of the republic. Under his direction 4667 local boards and 158 district boards are choosing the men to fill the new armies. Already he has mobilized close to two million soldiers and sent them to camps and cantonments in this country and in France. At his instant command is more special

and exact knowledge of the man power of America than is anywhere else possessed. Already he is methodically working to secure his third million, while the fourth, fifth, and sixth millions are fairly in sight. Beyond that, up to at least twenty millions, he knows exactly where and how they may be found, and just what it will mean to the complex life of America to take them.

This nation has accomplished so many marvels in the past eighteen months that we are inclined to lose sight of one of the greatest marvels of all—the triumphant operation of the selective draft law. Among the great things we have done in connection with the war this will always stand in the front. Yet, already we accept it as one of the casual facts of our existence, one of those well-organized departments of government that slip along smoothly, like the post office, in season and out of season, despite the fact that it was as revolutionary an experiment as consigning a million troops in transports to the high seas.

Why? The answer is—Crowder.

When the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate recommended that Crowder be made a lieutenant-general, he did not want to be advanced in rank and told them so. Crowder's reason was this: he had been assisted in administering the law by more than 16,000 prominent citizens, who had devoted their time to the work of the draft for nominal pay. It was a patriotic duty exacted of them and on its successful performance depended the satisfactory securing of the armies. Above all it was a civil and not a military service they rendered, though its value was purely military. Into that service entered the very essence of the idea of our draft law, an idea new to the world, the fine fruit of Crowder's thirty years' thought on the subject. This idea, the antithesis of the Prussian which we have marked for defeat, was rooted in the democratic principle that the men came forward voluntarily to offer their services to the Government. Every effort was made to avoid any appearance or feeling of compulsion. Therefore, he felt, that if the head of the system should accept at the hands of Congress the reward of a lieutenant-general's commission there might be a crippling of the fine democratic morale which had been developed throughout the country in the working of the local and district boards. He wanted to avoid the military spirit as much as possible. So Crowder said "No."

In a sense Crowder has been the legitimate heir of more than 140 years of American army thought and experience on this subject.

In 1904 I met Crowder in Japan where he was attached to the first Japanese army as military observer for his government. Then his first thought was directed ch
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by this method of administration it was robbed of the sting of primary Federal jurisdiction and of immediate military authority.

More important, however, than the fact that civilians composed the boards was the added fact that no soldiers, no police, no sheriffs were sent forth to summon the prospective soldiers. None stood beside the boards as the registrants assembled, as if for an election. It was very different from Civil War times when sheriffs rode from house to house, knocking on doors and demanding, in the name of the law, that the men come forth and be counted.

CALLED FOR PHYSICAL EXAMINATION

Of 9,586,508 registrants for the first selective service draft 3,082,949, or 32.16 per cent., were called for physical examination

Crowder himself disclaims credit for the law, but the Secretary of War said recently at Carnegie Hall: "No one knows so well as I to whom we are indebted for the selective service law in all its bearings, its inception as well as in its complex administration. The man to whom we owe the most in this respect is Crowder."

THE PHYSICALLY FIT

General Crowder's report shows that of 2,510,706 examined 1,779,950, or 70.89 per cent., qualified as being physically fit for service

CROWDER'S SUPREME MOMENT

To one familiar with the arbitrary law of quick reward in the army for success or censure for failure, June 5, 1917, may be regarded as the day of supreme crisis in the life of Enoch Crowder. That day was to be his Austerlitz or his Waterloo. On that day his theories of a lifetime were tested as instantaneously and as thoroughly as were Foch's when he ordered the general assault on the Marne.

However, the success of the new idea was spec*tacular.* Between dawn and dark of one day the entire male population of the United States within the age limits of 21 to 31 presented themselves at the enrolment booths with the registered result of nearly 10,000,000 names. No great national project had ever before been attempted with so great a reliance on the voluntary co-operation of citizens for its execution, and this despite the fact that it was a project for a mighty war, and that the nation was reluctantly entering it. No project was ever more successful.

The writer asked him recently what had been the chief lesson he had learned in his first year of operation of the selective service law. "The need for including certain classes of married men in the preferred list," replied Gen. Crowder, "to my mind too great a fetish has been made of the exemption of the married man. I do not advocate an indiscriminate taking of married men, but rather a more careful examination of their claims to exemption. However, I recognize that in this matter my opinion is not so important as that of the President and the Secretary of War which are doubtless guided by careful consideration."

Gen. Crowder, himself, is a bachelor. He lives at the old National Hotel, half way down Pennsylvania Avenue, once a fashionable place but long since deserted by the prominent habitues of the capital. He dines at the Army and Navy Club, but no one has yet seen him in a drawing-room in Washington, at any social affair, on a golf course, or a tennis court. He has no hobbies, no pastimes, no recreations. Soon after the war began he showed signs of breaking down, so his doctor insisted that he take an hour each

CLAIMS FOR EXEMPTION

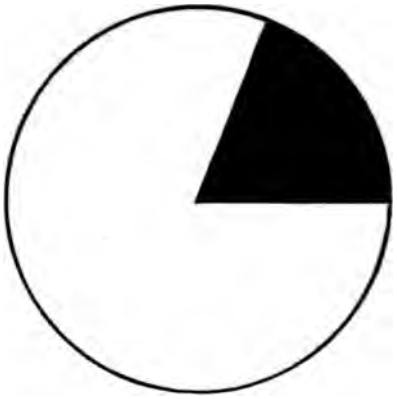
Of the 3,082,949 called for examination 1,419,678, or 46.05 per cent., filed exemption claims

evening driving. Consequently he may be seen almost any day just before dinner in an army automobile touring about the speedway or through other environs of Washington. Each morning, and usually seven days a week, he is at his desk before seven-thirty. He seldom leaves before midnight. Three or four hours of the morning he devotes to the office of the Judge Advocate General in the War Department; the rest of the time he is in his dingy corner of the Provost Marshal General's office. His regular business is that of the judge advocate, while as a sort of side line he directs the mobilization of the Americans who are to win the war.

Crowder uses no files, no reference books, no memorandum pads. He leaves these to his aides, his secretaries, and assistants. The desks in both his offices hold very few papers and though he is obliged to read very many reports, most of his time is spent with human beings, judging of affairs by direct contact. Although a pundit in his knowledge of laws, his solution of each question is curiously Middle-West American of a by-gone epoch. The writer was seated by his desk one morning when there entered a prominent person from Kansas City to plead for some special favor. It appeared that he was a resident of the same congressional district which had once appointed Crowder to West Point, and he urged this as reason for consideration. The visitor finally asked naïvely, "Aren't you going to do anything for your old district, General?"

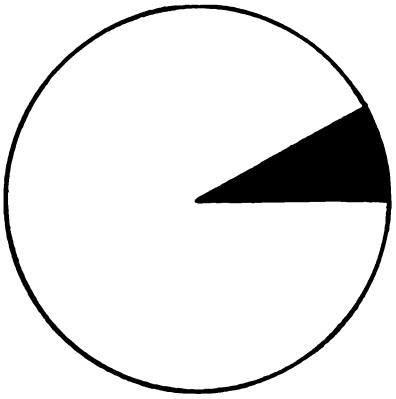
"My dear sir," replied Crowder, with a suave unction that belied the finality of his words, "I come from no district. I come from the United States."

Exemption cases occasionally come to him for final review and he always asks to talk with the principals, if possible. These come usually with trepidation, expecting to find a martinet, or to receive summary treatment, but invariably they depart without knowing what has hit them, though always after swearing allegiance to Crowder. If the applicant is a mother, whatever her station in life, he always treats her with the gallantry of a gentleman of the old school, and usually takes her in person to the door when she leaves, though the case is yet to be recorded where his decision has been altered by tears or supplication.



EXEMPTION CLAIMS GRANTED

Of the 1,419,678 claims for exemption filed 1,161,206, or 81.79 per cent., were recognized as being reasons worthy of acceptance



"FAILED TO APPEAR"

Of the 3,082,949 called for examination 252,294, or 8.18 per cent., failed to appear. This by no means indicates that 8.18 per cent. of the eligibles were draft dodgers

For rich men seeking to have their sons exempted, of whom there are not many, Crowder displays a special interest, apparent only to his intimates, but when such a one is announced his eyes glow and he passes one hand through the other, like a barber whetting a razor, and then his voice becomes, if possible, even more modulated than before, but there is terrible steel in it as he says, "Sir, I have no doubt that your son is dear to you, but is he dearer than another man's son to him? I have no doubt that he is competent, as you say. That is well, for that is the sort of men the President has demanded that I secure. But have you paused to think that if I exempt him another must take his place, and that this other may be the only wealth of some man or some woman poorer than yourself?"

THE CIVIL WAR DRAFT

A drafting of 776,829 men added but 46,347 soldiers to the army. This was not quite 6 per cent. of the number in the draft

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The argument made no impression on him. It is hard to realize that his record peculiarly parallels Pershing's.

The two (Pershing and Crowder) were born in Lynn and Grundy, counties adjoining, in the second congressional district of Missouri, and are within one year of the same age. Both were appointed cadets to West Point, Crowder going first and Pershing following immediately afterward. Both left the Academy commissioned second lieutenants in the cavalry, and saw their first service together in the Apaché Indian campaign in Arizona and New Mexico which suppressed the Geronimo uprising. The then Lieutenant Crowder was detailed as instructor of military tactics at the University of Missouri and Pershing had the same detail at the University of Nebraska. While on these details both studied law and graduated from their respective universities, receiving law degrees. They were together again in the campaign against the Sioux in the Dakotas in the early nineties, Crowder's troop going to the support of the Indian police which finally defeated the famous old Indian warrior, Sitting Bull. They were both in Cuba, both in the Philippines, and both were sent by the Government as military representatives to Japan during the Russo-Japanese war.

Crowder jumped over the heads of several hundred officers from the rank of second lieutenant to that of major in 1895 when he was appointed judge advocate in the regular army, while Pershing later went over 800 heads, from the rank of captain to that of brigadier-general. Both now hold the maximum rank possible under our system in the offices to which they have been appointed, Pershing that of General in command in the American Expeditionary Forces in France and Crowder that of Major-General, the highest rank that can be held under the statute law by an officer attached to staff corps duty in Washington.

Between them they have a pretty big share of the war work, Pershing directing the men on the field while Crowder, the elder, the more adroit, the more astute, the less showy, like a pied piper, sounds his endless call through the mountains and the valleys and the plains and cities, conjuring forth magically, as it were, army after army, million upon million, for the final sanguine test.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

THE LIBERTY MOTOR

WHEN the War Department announced, in 1917, that a number of mechanical engineers had locked themselves in a room in Washington and at the end of five days had emerged with complete plans for a perfected airplane engine—the "Liberty" motor—the public marvelled and engineers laughed. So great was the skepticism aroused by this announcement, that it has been difficult to make the public believe that the "Liberty" is really a good airplane motor. It is a good motor—probably the very best airplane motor, from every point of view, that has yet been produced. But it is not the result of a miracle.

It is true that two engineers, Vincent and Hall, both of them now officers of the United States Aviation Service, did lock themselves (with a staff of draftsmen) into a suite of rooms for five days in the spring of 1917, and when they came out they had drawings completed for the Liberty motor. But they took into the locked rooms with them, not blank sheets of paper but the complete, detailed working drawings of the best and most powerful airplane engine that had been made up to that time, the Packard airplane motor. The Liberty motor, in every essential feature and, indeed, in most of its precise details, is the Packard motor.

Early in 1915, foreseeing that the United States would eventually be involved in the war, the Packard company began experimental work looking toward the perfection of an airplane engine. No high-powered engines of this class had ever been made in America; Europe was just learning what was needed. Three different models were produced. The first was completed in 1916. Mounted in a racing car, it drove the vehicle 110 miles in a single hour on the Indianapolis speedway; 616 miles in 6 hours! The second model, with more than three times the piston displacement, was tested by driving a truck around the streets of Detroit by means of an air-propeller only; with the rear wheels locked it pushed the heavy truck over the snow-covered streets. On the speedway this motor drove a car at the world's record speed of 123¾ miles an hour!

The Packard airplane engine model number

MAKING STEEL CYLINDERS FOR THE LIBERTY MOTOR

By a process devised at the Ford works the engine cylinders are formed from steel tubing, heated and closed at one end while hot. The steel water-jacket covering is then welded on electrically

three, finished in May, 1917, differed from the second model only in detail, and it was the drawings of this third model, the result of more than two years of development and the expenditure of $400,000 in money, that the engineers took as their basis for the Liberty motor. They enlarged the piston displacement, to give more power, but made substantially no other changes except in details. Such changes as were made, at the suggestion of Army engineers, were later largely abandoned and a return made to the original Packard plans.

Liberty motors are now being manufactured complete by the Packard company, the Ford Motor company, the Cadillac company, the Nordyke-Marmon company, and the Lincoln Motor company. Parts are being made by numerous concerns throughout the country. Until recently all the cylinders were made by the Ford company, which devised a method of producing steel cylinders out of tubing. No steel cylinders for gas engines had ever been made in this country; all automobile engines and all previous American aviation engines had cast-iron cylinders. Now the J. G. Brill company of Philadelphia, railway car builders who have been making shells for the Allies for three or four years, are making some of the Liberty motor cylinders by a process exactly similar to that used for making shells. A steel billet, almost white-hot, is placed in a mould of the proper size for the outside of the cylinder; then a plunger operated by hydraulic pressure is forced into the steel. The result is a steel cup with thin walls, all ready to be machined into a finished cylinder. After this the sheet steel outer casing that forms the space for the water-jacket is attached by the electric-welding process.

Liberty motors are made only in twelve cylinder size. Each cylinder has a bore of [illegible] inches and the piston-stroke is 7 inches. The cylinders are mounted individually on the aluminum-alloy crank-case, in two rows of six each, the angle between the two rows being 45 degrees, instead of the 60 degrees of standard automobile practice. It was the intention at first to use magneto ignition, on the advice of military observers who had reported that this was the only form of ignition with which European peans were familiar. This was abandoned however, in favor of the simpler and more reliable Delco system, specially designed to meet the problem of firing twelve cylinders. There are two spark plugs in each cylinder.

There is no difference between the two types of Liberty motor, "A" and "B," except that the "B" type is geared down to 1,400 revolutions per minute, from the 1,800 or thereabouts of the "A" type. The "A" type Liberty motor has developed, with the latest improved carburetion system more than 450 horsepower; it weighs only 8[illegible] pounds—much less than two pounds per horse power. Engineers who are experimenting with the carbureter problem are confident they will get it up to 500 horsepower with no change in design. And the Liberty motor has met every test, for endurance, reliability, altitude, and ease of control, with better results than have been achieved by any other aviation motor under similar tests. Even British aviation engineers, reluctant as they are to admit that there is anything superior to the Rolls-Royce motor, concede this.

KEEPING THE SOLDIER'S FEET FIT

AMERICAN soldiers have always been the best-shod soldiers in the world, as they are the best-fed, and the best-paid. Our standard Army shoe, when we went into the war, was the best military boot issued to any army. For field service in France, however, with its continual rains and consequent mud, something even better was needed. So a board of Army specialists—staff and line officers, enlisted men and surgeons—studied the feet of whole regiments and have devised a new field boot that, shoe men say, is the most substantial and most nearly water-proof footwear ever made by the million.

This new Army boot is known as the "Pershing" shoe, because the essential requirements of weight, durability, and protection against wet were prescribed by General Pershing when he sent word back from France that the soldiers of the A.E.F. must have new shoes for field service. It has three outer soles—three thicknesses of sole leather cut from the best quality of vegetable-tanned hides—all running the full length of the shoe. These outer soles measure half an inch in total thickness, in addition to the inner sole which is of the grade and weight of ordinary outer soles. The outer soles are metal-fastened and clinched to the inner sole. The heavily oiled uppers are of the best grade of chrome re-tanned natural colored cowhide, the most substantial leather used in shoe manufacture anywhere. A feature in which these and other boots made for the American Army differ from civilian footwear is that the shoes are made up with the "flesh" side of the leather out. This gives the outside a rough effect that is not especially beautiful, but beauty is not the test of a military boot; the inside of the shoe is as smooth as po[illegible] that is what counts.

Protecting the sole of the "Pershing" shoe from wear is a steel toe-piece which overlaps the edge of the toe. The heel is reinforced with a horse-shoe-shaped steel rim and the sole is studded with 50 steel hob-nails. The soles alone weigh more than three pounds; a pair of these shoes complete, of the average 8-D size, weighs five pounds. The Government has placed an order for 3,500,000 pairs of the "Pershing" shoes as a beginning!

This new shoe does not take the place of the standard marching boot of the American soldier, but is issued for field service in addition to the marching shoe which is worn when in camp in this country and for marching overseas. This shoe,

FOOTWEAR OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS

Above is the U. S. marching shoe and below the new "Pershing Service Boot"

THE ENGLISH SHOE

known as the "Munson" from the medical officer who headed the board that devised it in 1908, has for ten years held its place as at once the best-looking, the lightest weight, and the most serviceable marching boot

spread and perform their proper functions, which they seldom do, even in the most "common-sense" shapes sold to civilians. One of the first things the young soldier learns is that he needs a shoe a full size or so larger than he has been accustomed to wearing in civilian life.

Some interesting facts concerning soldiers' feet

THE CANADIAN SHOE

men in every thousand require shoes made to order; they cannot be fitted in the stock sizes. Six men out of every ten thousand require a 12-EE shoe, the longest and widest of the regular shoe sizes; the same pro-

THE PRUSSIAN SERVICE BOOT

were discovered when the general inspection that led up to the adoption of the new shoe was made this year. Two

THE ITALIAN SHOE

issued to any army in the world. In the average size it weighs 2 lbs. 5 oz. to the pair. The last—which has been closely followed in the design of the "Pershing" boot—is so shaped that the shoe fits closely around the heel and up to the ball of the foot, but there is plenty of room in the forepart of *the shoe for* the toes to

THE FRENCH SHOE (Below)

THE AUSTRIAN SHOE

portion take a 5-A, the shortest and narrowest shoe. One soldier was found with feet 13 inches long and five inches broad. He had never worn shoes and had to be fitted with specially made footwear in a 17-EE size! More soldiers take a 7-E than any of the other sizes, 535 out of every ten thousand.

The World's W

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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The NEW COUNTRY LIFE The GARDEN MAGAZINE

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MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM S. GRAVES

Assigned to command the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia which, with Vladivostok as a base, will coöperate with the Japanese and the Czechoslovaks. General Graves is a Texan. He graduated from West Point in 1889, and was until recently Assistant Chief of Staff

THE
WORLD'S WORK

OCTOBER, 1918

VOLUME XXXVI

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

"WE SOLEMNLY purpose a decisive victory of arms." In these words, President Wilson proclaimed the new draft law on August 31st. They are more than the summons of America's manhood to the field of war—they are the answer to Germany's insincere demand for our terms of peace. "A decisive victory of arms" is now our only concern: peace will come automatically when the victory of arms is achieved; and the peace terms will be such as America and the Allies impose. These will be tempered by such magnanimity as their good sense and far-sighted statesmanship suggest, but they will not be the bargain-counter proposals of the unrepentant autocrats of Prussia.

The President's grace of phrase was never so fortunately employed as when he wrote that line, for it was as true as it was pithy. America has usually been divided upon the momentous issues of its history: in this case, division there is none.

Thus Senator Lodge, in his first speech as Republican leader in Congress, said on August 23rd: "No peace that satisfies Germany in any degree can ever satisfy us. It cannot be a negotiated peace. It must be a dictated peace, and we and our Allies must dictate it."

And Samuel Gompers, the leader of American labor, at the luncheon given in his honor by the British Government in London on August 30th, after declaring that the United States was with Great Britain and her Allies to a victorious end of the war, said on behalf of American labor: "We found ourselves in the position as to whether it were possible to live in a world dominated by Kaiserism and militarism. American labor found it impossible. We dare
lose. We will win."

In concluding his proc
the President truly decla
. . . our solemn notic
we stand absolutely togetl
tion and purpose."

Now that the Natior
agreed upon its object o
arms, only two great
First, to make sure each
not clouded by German p
that every barrier be br
in the way of the most
marshaling of our war-ma

Of propaganda, one s
does it look toward a ne
way peace, any peace exce
cisive victory of arms?

Of barriers in the way
our war machine, we shal
to face the facts and the
too tender a regard for p
personal position. The S
a good beginning with
air programme. Mr. H
complete the public faci
then the clear duty of
move boldly to a reme
followed by action, sho
progress of our other
artillery, field artillery, t
others. A united peopl
crated to personal sacrific
that the Army, to whic
themselves, is doing to be

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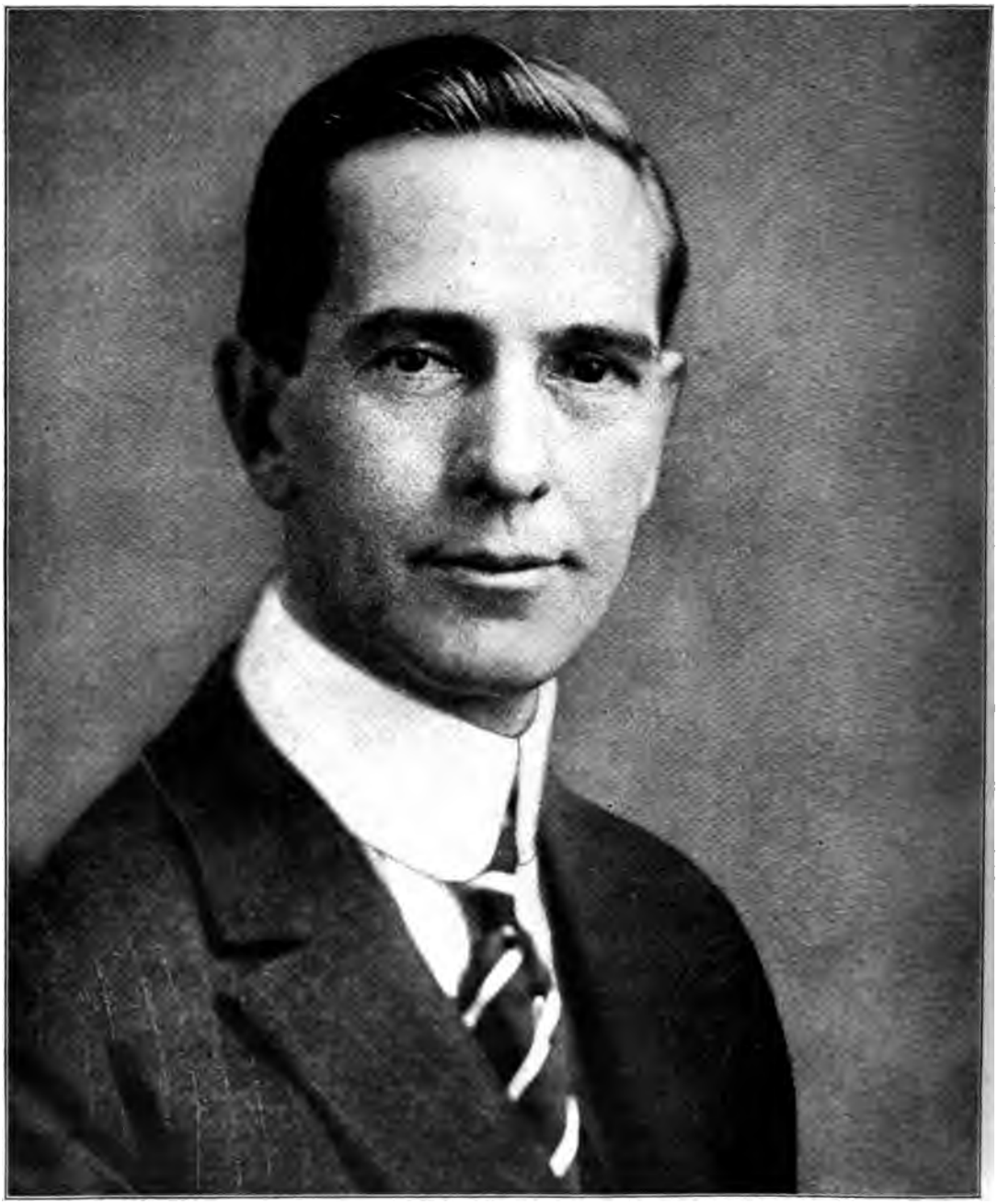

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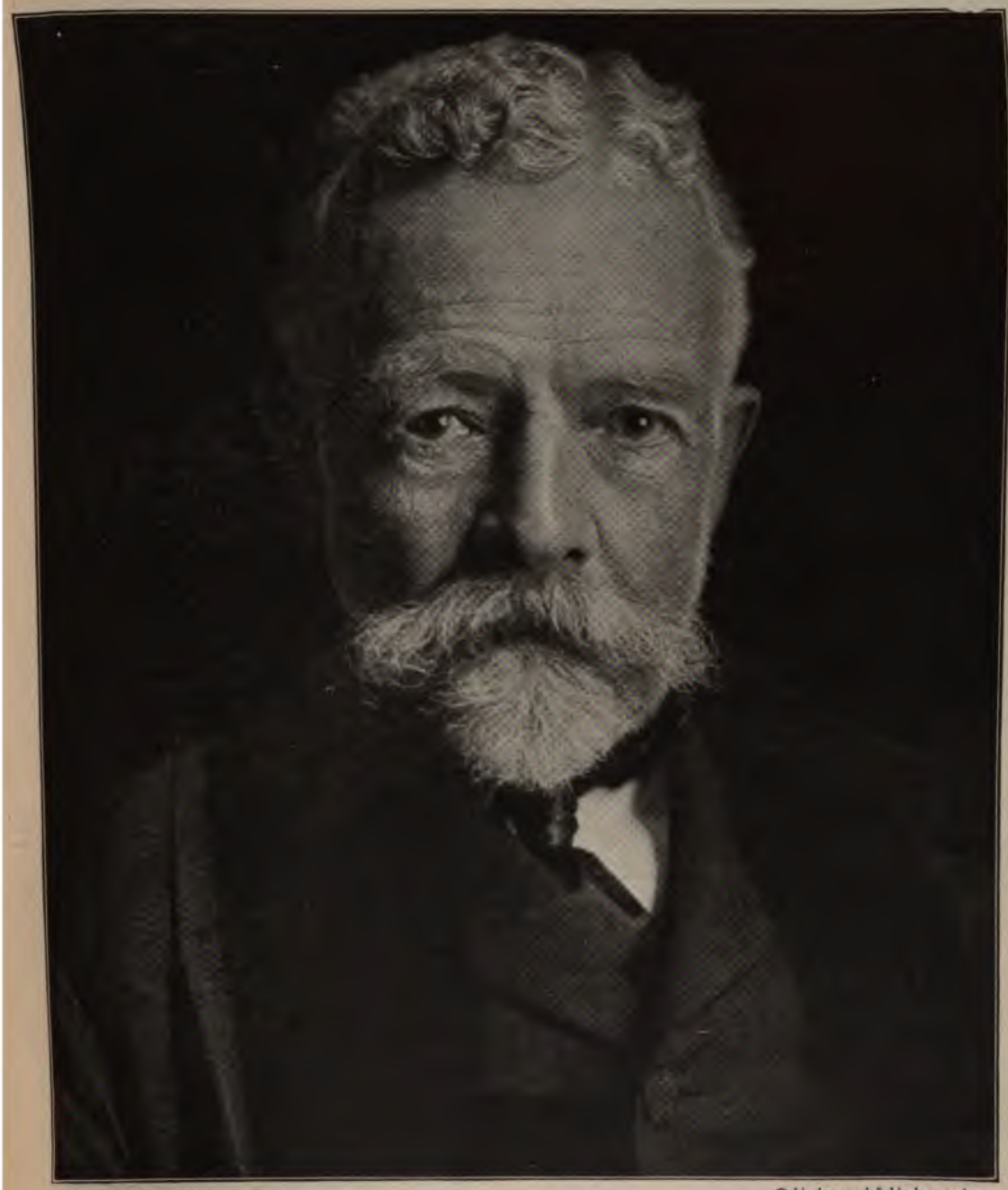
MR. BRECKINRIDGE LONG

Third Assistant Secretary of State, who has been intimately concerned with that part of the work of the State Department from which was worked out our policy in Russia and Siberia



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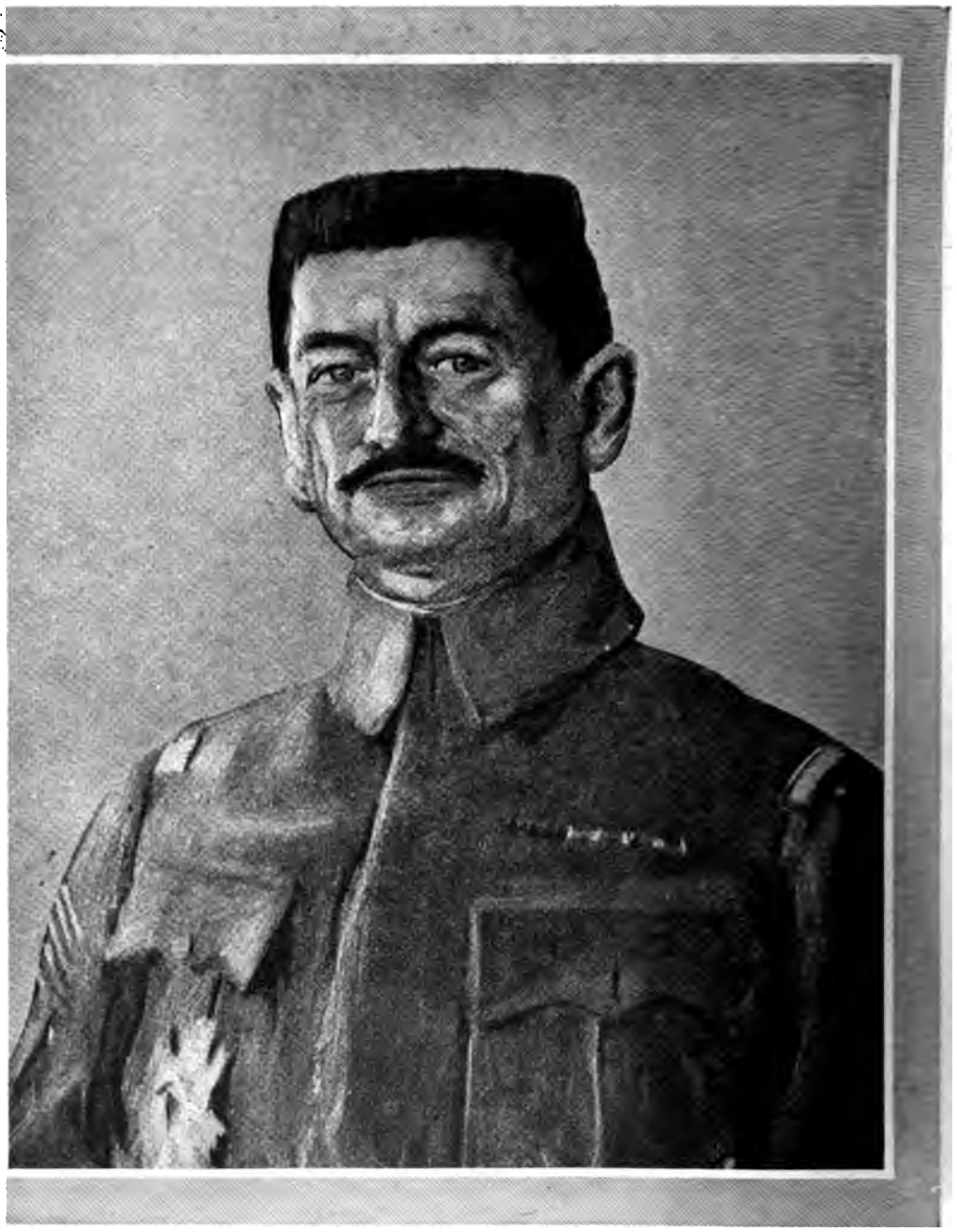
SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE

Who, in his first speech as Republican leader of the Senate, recently said: "No peace that satisfies Germany in any degree can ever satisfy us. It cannot be a negotiated peace. It must be a dictated peace, and we and our Allies must dictate it"



By courtesy L'Illustration

GENERAL CHARLES MANGIN

Commander of the forces which struck the German line near Soissons and started the great retreat

LIEUT.-GEN. THE HON. SIR JULIAN BYNG

The British officer who originated the method of surprise attack without prolonged artillery preparation which has recently been so successfully used in the Allied advance. General Byng commands the British Third Army operating in the region around the Drocourt-Quéant switch line

GENERAL GOURAUD

The one-armed veteran (central figure in group) to whom Marshal Foch assigned the task of holding the line near Rheims with but few troops so that the armies farther west and north could be reinforced and enabled to crush in the German line. In executing this trying commission he issued an order of the day to the French and Americans of the Fourth Army which read: "We may be attacked at any moment. . . . No one must look back, no one must recoil one step." Obedience to this injunction made possible the success in the Château-Thierry salient

Russia, Germany's Last Hope

RUSSIA lies Germany's last hope of avert-
ıg disaster and defeat. Her chaotic po-
tical condition opens the way for whatever
itation of her vast material resources Ger-
may be astute enough to get, to say nothing
e men —ignorant and poor—who may be
ved or paid into the military service of the
r. This is not only Germany's last hope,
he greatest danger (save only the danger of a
ɔtiated" peace) that confronts the Allies.
eyes of the world are upon Russia, for the
ɔf the world is largely in her hands. That
reason this issue of the WORLD'S WORK is
ssian Manual.

e articles that comprise this issue were chosen
ıse they interpret the outstanding elements
ıe Russian problem. First of all, "Save
a—Or Face Defeat" tells in detail what
any is doing there to renew her strength for
var and to secure her power for the future
e of the richest empires of the earth. What
nilitary possibilities are that lie before the
litions on the Murman Coast and at Vladi-
k are next described. The specific means
hich economic aid will be extended to Russia
iven. The leaders and the philosophy of
Bolshevist movement are portrayed by an
ican who spent a year in intimate relations
them. Professor Masaryk, in an interview,
the aspirations of Czechoslovakia, the new
of which he is the head and which the
ican Government formally recognized as a
erent on September 3rd. The dramatic
of the Czechoslovak army, on its romantic
h to the Pacific Ocean, is told by one of its
rs. The remarkable maps collected by Mr.
. Martens condense the economic history of
ia into pictures that can be quickly digested.

America's Problem in Russia

HE part the United States has played
in determining what the Allies should do in
Russia may seem at first glance out of
roportion to our interests involved there.
or whatever was to be done, we should have
ıpply most of the money, and, if the very
military movement were undertaken which
at first proposed, we should ultimately have
pply probably half the men. And, of course,
ave a great and growing interest in the future
ıe Orient, where we have large possessions
a large trade. To say nothing of our rela-
with the Russians themselves, who inhabit
ixth of the globe and who one day will be
f the strongest and richest of the Powers.

The Government at Washingto
that it believes "the war will be w
and this implies that our energie
concentrated upon rushing all our f
to France. Nevertheless, it r
there are grave reasons for some
in Russia. These reasons appe
the articles in this magazine.

But there is another phase of t
demands intervention. That is
our Far Eastern Allies. Japan h
in the premises which cannot be ig
very existence will be threatened b
Siberia. Japan has always fear
power. It has been a constant
continued peace and safety. Bu
many times more menacing if it b
Russia: that is but eighteen hour
If, therefore, we allow Germany
Siberia, we will place Japan, a nat
in its history has broken an inte
ment, in a position where she
national hari kari, or break from
side with Germany. China, b
tent China, would also be at th
newly Teutonized state. All of i
developed mineral wealth—secon
to that of Russia—would be at t
new Alliance. It would not be
of Hamburg-Bagdad, but all of
one form or another be paying trib
Create this situation in the East
be created and the British Emp
into dust almost overnight. For
at India's gateway, it will not be
will throw the gates open and her a
through. And where is the Briti
the United Kingdom is cut off fr

This is not to imply that Ge
physical possession of Siberia
turn it into a German colony.
would be suicide as the differen
their conflicting natures would
East into a seething turmoil. Bu
process of peaceful penetratio
influence would be predominant a
of the country turned to German

Russia, Japan, and the U

JAPAN itself, on the other han
the cause of a good deal of th
delay in determining the poli
States in Russia. Once the J
Siberia, would they ever come ou
in, would the Russians act towar
tional enemies, and so defeat th
Allied expedition?

not ceased. The crux of the plan is a gigan- envelopment. The south is well fixed, the curving widely about the German left from von to the Ailette. Step by step the British throwing a similar loop about the German it. At the proper time the jaws of the pin- will begin to close. Then will the Germans eat or be destroyed. Thus they will be own back to the old Hindenburg line, their ale thoroughly shaken, weaker in men by e than a million, poorer in material by two usand guns and countless shell, victor only in erience——

nd only defeat in 1919 to look forward to!

The Red Cross in China

THE war has widened many a horizon of the mind and spirit of the nations, perhaps of our own the most conspicuously ll. But none appeals more strongly to our ginations than the discoveries we are making he real character of the Chinese. They have ioned the externals of their life so differently n ours that we have come to assume that the, us, oddity of their dress and architecture mode of living indicate a habit of mind and ing equally foreign to our own. But daily evidence appears that they are one with all ikind in their thoughts and emotions. Their ane impulses are as strong as ours, and, re they have opportunity, express themselves generously. The following letter from Presi- t Wilson to the Chairman of the American Cross strikingly attests this brotherhood of :

13 August, 1918.

WHITE HOUSE,
Washington.

DEAR MR. DAVISON:

y attention has been called to the very interesting significant fact that about twenty-five thousand ens of China in different parts of the Republic, particularly in Shanghai, Canton, and Hankow, become associate members of the Red Cross and liberal assistance was given by the President of Republic, the Prime Minister and his associates, several Governors of the Provinces. I hope that will know some channel through which you can proper occasion express my very deep personal est in this circumstance and my great gratification so many citizens of China should have thus asso- d themselves with us in the great work of the Cross.

Cordially and sincerely yours,
WOODROW WILSON.

Henry P. Davison, Chairman,
ed Cross War Council.

The Japanese Amba

BY AN error as inexplicab the WORLD'S WORK last his predecessor's name the present Japanese Ambassad His Excellency, Viscount Kikuj

The I.W.W. As An Agent of

A MAN is a fool to fi rag!" exclaimed a of the Industrial Wo not long ago, pointin flag. This gentlem 100 men whom an American convicted of seditious conspira can jury has sentenced to var penitentiary. It is well that stand precisely the offenses w these heavy punishments. W osophy that directs the impuls Haywood stripe? We should in the first place, they dema cessation of the war. They den national enterprise, the greates engaged in, as a "war of capita tection of Wall Street loans and They and their 14,000 followers everything in their power to jus which was made in a letter to wood, head of the I. W. W., th good will of the German peo they are in sympathy with ou been proved that at the time L were planning the destruction government, these mercenaries corresponding with I. W. W. l avowed purposes of the I. W. W viki are identical; both demand of all constitutional governmen of all industry" by the class to bers belong. This class consi skilled laborers and anarchist number is vastly smaller here th social conditions more settled, ment well-organized, or we ou in serious danger of falling into disciples of destruction. Neve have proved, they are sufficie numbers and organization seri our industry.

Is there any connection betw the I. W. W.? On January, 15 cher, Counseiller General of th sent a letter to his agents in Am "agents to carry on destructiv cruited among the workingmen

o tell, how-
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nt Germany
president of
ew York, de-
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llion dollars
rnment war

W. seem to
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it at will."
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y; for . . . if
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gain access
Conventions.
e I. W. W.
t three years
iculty in de-
laimed their
work of the
have made
etting fire to
bridges; the
od are con-
A letter of

Charles Lambert, a prominent I. W. W. leader which was read at the Chicago trial, boasted that his organization's campaign of sabotage for several years had amounted to an annual loss of ten million dollars' worth of property. There have been immense losses in lumber from incendiary fires and such occurrences have been particularly frequent in Washington and Oregon, where spruce essential for airplanes is obtained. In the northern part of Idaho the number of workers on Government contracts has been reduced by half. Workers in airplane factories have made faulty parts so that on its first flight the machine would fall and cause the complete wreckage of the airplane and the death of the aviator. Could Von Papen or Boy-ed think up anything better than this? They have destroyed crops in the fields and barns, and have placed pieces of metal in the harvesting machinery and dynamite in sheaves of wheat; they have destroyed, bruised, and missent large quantities of fruit. They have misplaced signal lights and put sand in the journal boxes of railroads. They have destroyed mining machinery, and in the summer of 1917 they caused a shut-down of the copper mines in Arizona, resulting in a loss in output of 100,000,000 pounds of that necessary metal. They have incited strikes among other places, in Pennsylvania and Minnesota mines, and in Bridgeport, Waterbury, and New Haven munition plants, and they have incited food riots in New York. Norman H. White, April 19, 1918, testified before the Military Affairs Committee that 800 I. W. W.'s had been discovered in a plot to effect a strike in a New Jersey plant where vital military supplies were manufactured.

Whether the I. W. W. are the allies of Germany is not the important point. What is clear is that both agencies are working to the same end. We should show as little mercy to internal agitators caught committing these acts as to the Huns who destroy women and children and who seek to annihilate democratic civilization.

IT RULES OF AN INSURANCE
PANY TREASURER

ing of the
f the Metro-
Company is
H. Ecker,
These have
rs past and,
e he is well

qualified to talk on investments. His advice to individuals can be summed up in these rules:

(1) Buy Government Bonds.
(2) Select only investments that fit you.
(3) Take as good advice in regard to your investments as you do in other business matters.
(4) Diversify your holdings to spread the risk.

The Investment Rules of an Insurance Company Treasurer

"Eternal vigilance is the price of safety."
Don't buy issues recommended by friends.
Start with safe securities, so you will not have ke up a loss of principal from interest.

ordingto Mr. Ecker, the fourth of these regarding diversification of investments, not apply at the present time. He says: investment problem was never so easy as se days. The answer begins and ends with: Government Bonds.' It is the only form vestment in which one can afford not to d the risk.

ivestments, like clothes," continued Mr. , "should be selected to fit the individual. is suitable for one may be inappropriate nother. A business man not dependent the income may select something quite ent from those otherwise circumstanced. l cases, it is desirable to spread the risk. sity of traffic insures lasting prosperity to road—when some classes of freight are light, s are heavy and the business constant. sity in investment accomplishes the same

lost men make money in one line of business ose money in another. They are wont to wisely on the business matters with which are familiar, but fall into the error of acting their own judgment in matters of which have no knowledge or experience. You safely conclude that the man who said, all your eggs in one basket and watch the t,' knew all about some one business and o situated that he could capably perform servation of that business. Most investors t put all their accumulations in a business know all about, and such advice lamentably when we have only human judgment to d upon to select the basket.

few instances like the man who put all his gs in New York, New Haven & Hartford oad stock, illustrates the fallibility of human ent in this respect. Through a period of this man had observed the stock advance lue and had come to have so much confi- in its future that upon his death he trusteed come and prohibited his trustees from selling tock. The result was that his dependents e almost penniless and without income.

is not only wise to spread the risk in making ments but eternal vigilance is the price of . This is the practice followed by corpora-

Their investments are made upon tried stablished rules of selection, but then they t forgotten; the enterprises continue to be ed carefully. Even if in bonds on pro[illegible] ith substantial equities, [illegible] been paid through goo[illegible] such bonds as are classified as sea —even those investments are not and forgotten. The analyst is paring the results of the busines periods and with those of other prises. Anything suggesting suspi studied and investigated. Some small sacrifice saves an ultimate

"The case of a woman own on what was at one time proba retail cross street in New York vestment conditions sometimes values were at their maximum, a huge profit on her investmen receiving from one tenant a ne than she could safely get on the if invested in other securities. Al this property. Then there ca shifting of location in the retail did not see it coming in time to property fell in value to one thir had been offered. In fact, for so unsalable at any price in reason. vacated at the end of the lease trend of business up town, and sh out an income. From affluence, s almost to want through the misfo all her eggs in one basket and bei in watching the basket.

"The most prolific source of speaking from experience and ob from investments made at the friends. Not by any means are character confined to widows or th in financial matters who suddenly in possession of funds for invest rare exception to find an individu a large or small way, but sufficie to have had some means to inve been the victim of that sort of dence. I do not refer to dishone friends, I eliminate all such and i well-meaning friends; those with of their own which they thorou or one in which they themselves interest. Nine out of ten of suc fail.

"As it takes a long time to interest a loss of principal, even w is above the safe yield rate, the seek safety first, and carefully exte into the different fields. As ex tended, some speculative investr be out of place in conservative pr total holdings; but investment confused with speculation, and onl n determine from his own cir k he can afford to take."

# of Promotion

ɔerty Bonds with Their Get-Rich-Quick Schemes

:ORGE GRAHAM RICE

Quick Crooks Who Now See in the Seventeen Million
's a Golden Opportunity—The New Schemes
ıve Devised to Fleece the Public

BY

LOUIS GUENTHER

ı John K. Barnes, the Financial Editor of the World's Work)

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It is open season for hunting Liberty Bonds for the get-rich-quick pirates of promotion. While the reputable investment banker is devoting a good part of his time to selling Liberty Bonds, and is only offering other securities when the Government says they are "not incompatible with the national interest" these crooks are offering their fake promotion issues broadcast and are getting Liberty Bonds away from untrained investors by holding out promises of enormous returns on the stuff they offer. When it is realized that there are more than 17,000,000 Liberty Bond owners of the first three loans, as compared with not more than 400,000 known bondholders in this country previous to the war, it is no wonder that the get-rich-quick promoter is directing his efforts toward these new investors. He is practising all the tricks known to his trade, and originating new ones, to bag this easy prey. The prospects are for the best hunting he has ever seen. It was to be expected that George Graham Rice, who has been a leader in nearly every phase of get-rich-quick promotion, would join the hunt.

A man from Ohio who trusted a Liberty Bond to Rice was not as successful as the Indiana man in getting it back from him. This man sent his bond in with an order for some New York Stock Exchange stock and informed Rice that on receipt of statement he would send draft for the full amount due and Rice could return the bond and stock. Rice immediately reported the stock as bought, and the Ohio man, on February 1st of this year, sent a New York draft in payment. On July 31st, six months later, he had received neither the stock nor his Liberty Bond.

It was for this and other similar offenses that

Rice was arrested on July 29th by Federal authorities, charged with using the mails to defraud, and a few days later by the New York District Attorney's office, charged with larceny. He had no difficulty in getting bail, and at this writing is still doing business, although it seems likely that a fraud order will be issued by the Post Office Department excluding him from the use of the mails.

RICE'S PREVIOUS RECORD

This is not Rice's first offense. His record in the field of crooked finance is a long one. He has played the game in the face of the law for years, and once before the arm of the law closed around him for his operations in this field, and he spent a time, in 1911, peeling potatoes on Blackwell's Island. But that is by no means his total criminal record. He started as a boy of nineteen stealing from his father. His full story is here told for it illustrates the character and methods of that class of dealers in securities who should be shunned as poison by investors. He is a headmaster of the get-rich-quick promotion game and his methods are copied by the others who are now out after Liberty Bonds.

Rice was born as Jacob S. Herzig, of respected Jewish parents, who could give him every advantage of education he desired. But he early showed a predilection for the race track and other forms of gambling. It was to pay his racing bets that he began stealing from his father; and to protect himself, the senior Herzig had to have his boy arrested. Two and a half years of the strict discipline of the New York State Reformatory, however, failed to change the moral character of the youth. Less than three years later he was again before the bar of justice, charged with forgery, and again his father was the victim. He had by this time shown his tendency to adopt new names, for now he had the alias of Joseph Hart. He was sentenced to six years and six months of hard labor in State Prison, and Justice Goff, in committing him, said that because of his education he was a "dangerous criminal."

Twice previous to this year Rice has been arrested for using the mails to defraud; once when his Maxim & Gay race-track "tipping" establishment was closed in 1903, and again when his B. H. Scheftels & Company bucket shop in New York was raided by the Federal authorities in 1910. It was then that Rice was sentenced to Blackwell's Island Penitentiary for a year. In connection with that case he pleaded guilty of an attempt to bribe the jury; and in divorce proceedings brought against him by one of his wives, the fact was brought out that he had committed bigamy by not taking the trouble to secure his legal freedom from a former spouse.

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Stray Dog Manhattan	
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Jumping Jack Manhattan	
Fairview Hailstone Mining	
Furnace Creek South Exter	
Eagle's Nest Fairview	
Great Bend Consolidated	
TOTAL	
Goodwin and	
Rawhide Coalition	
Rawhide Queen	
Ely Central Copper Co.	
Bovard Consolidated	
South Quincy Mining Co.	
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RICE'S LATEST

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it all the second time, and very carefully, does he realize that there is not one statement of fact in the whole thing on which an opinion as to the value of the stock could be based. Rice's game is to paint such an entrancing picture of the future that people will not think of the facts of the present. Any one who has lost money in Rice's promotions would have a hard time to find in his literature any place where he had actually misrepresented the stock. He is too shrewd for that. For one thing, he never issues a comprehensive financial statement of any of his companies. He indulges freely in opinions, promises, and exaggerations. These are the tools with which he ensnares his victims. And they are the common tools of all get-rich-quick promoters.

One of Rice's most frequently used and most misleading tricks is his statement that "ample finances" are assured to his companies through the "underwriting" by him of so many shares of stock at a certain price less 5 per cent. commission. This simply means that if enough suckers can be found to buy the stock at that price, he will sell it to them and take the commission. He can even say in connection with this "underwriting" that the money is being supplied "as fast as called for by officials of the company" —he being the controlling official and certain not to call for it unless it suited his purpose. But then there is what Rice calls "ownership stock," which is the stock that goes to the promoters, the proceeds of which never reach the company's treasury. The man who sends in his money for stock cannot tell whether it goes into Rice's pocket or to the company.

ADVICE TO INVESTORS—BUY OIL STOCKS

Rice's newspaper runs many columns on good bonds and reputable New York Stock Exchange and Curb market securities. Thus does he camouflage his paper. He will devote the front page to a Liberty Loan appeal, with his offer to take subscriptions without charge; give seven pages to prophecy of the good things that the fixing of the price of silver by the Government means for the silver mining companies, with particular reference to two of his silver promotions, under such headings as "Lampazos Yield 58 Per Cent. Net," although that company is not earning a cent of profit and most likely will never pay a dividend, and "International Mines a Fine Speculation," although that promotion dates back more than four years and Rice is still talking of its being "on the eve of extensive development"—which means that operations have not begun; give a page to each of his oil promotions, and on the last page under the edi-

torial "Forecast" urge his readers to "Buy the oils. . . . Don't be afraid to embark in either the silvers or the oils." Or the front page may be devoted to War Savings Stamps, with a beautiful essay on thrift, signed by George Graham himself, into which creeps such statements as: "investment possibilities were never more appealing than at this moment"; and among the issues that one should buy after sub-

The only Market Publication issued by any STOCK BROKER AND DEALER IN SECURITIES in the United States that charges $5 per year subscription, AND GETS IT

GEORGE GRAHAM RICE'S

INDUSTRIAL AND MINING AGE

LARGEST CIRCULATION IN ITS FIELD IN THE WORLD

VOL. XVIII NO 688 27 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK, MONDAY, APRIL 15, 1918 $5 A YEAR

THIRD LIBERTY LOAN

To Readers of the INDUSTRIAL AND MINING AGE who may be remote from convenient banking facilities:

The house of George Graham Rice is at your command for the placing of your subscriptions to the Third Liberty Loan. There is no charge whatever for the service.

The terms of the loan are as follows:

Subscriptions must be made on or before May 4.

Initial payment, 5 per cent down.

Second payment, 20 per cent, due on May 28.

Third payment, 35 per cent, due on July 18.

Fourth and last payment, 40 per cent, on August 15, 1918.

Rate of interest for loan 4¼ per cent, with the bonds dated May 9, 1918. First interest payment for 129 days due to holder on September 15 next.

Interest payments thereafter due every March 15 and September 15.

Bonds mature on September 25, 1928.

The merit of the Nation's cause is known to us all. No eloquence of words is needed to emphasize the appeal for instant response. It is not generosity when one subscribes to this loan, but the simplest and most elemental justice—the obligation of every American.

George Graham Rice

RICE, THE PATRIOT

Front page of Rice's sixteen-page paper which he would send free to any prospective sucker despite what he says at the top of the first page. This offer to take subscriptions for Liberty Bonds without charge was camouflage to cover the alluring predictions made inside regarding his latest mining and oil promotions. It was for keeping money sent him to buy a Liberty Bond that Rice was arrested recently

scribing for Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps come first "the oils, the metal mining securities," then, "the equipment issues, the steels, the motors, the airplanes, and, indeed, peace stocks and war stocks alike."

Usually, however, the front page, as well as the back, says: "Buy the Oil Stocks," in large type, for, "above all, the oil-producing companies are now prospering as never before as a result of geological skill which makes it possible at this

time to reduce to a r
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The only Market Publication issued by any STOCK
United States that charges $5 per

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GEORGE GR

INDUSTRIAL A

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VOL. XVIII NO 688 27 WILLIAM STREET NEW Y

APPALACH
WINS Q

Exclusive Offering of

Makes Its Appearance While Teutonic L
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Response—Acceptances Beginning t
Profits in the Thousands of Per Cen

By GEORGE

DESPITE the fact that the exclusive offering of Appalach
made its appearance at a moment when the greatest t
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beginning to roll in at a rapid rate. The merits of the stock

*If you have already remitted for some of this stock, d
will have. If you have not already obtained an allotment
opportunity. If the entire offering is absorbed before y
reside at a distance and wish to make absolutely certain of
an confirmation.*

I reiterate the statement that Appalachian Oil is the be
well as company career.

Owning an empire of acreage in a new proven oil and g
which will be sent down immediately, will be a producer.

There is room on the acreage for from 600 to 1,500 wells.

Buy the stock outright now for full cash payment, which
ferred into your own name, and hold them pending complete
of success which will mean profits on your investment off to th

The offering may remain open for another fortnight or li
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RICE, TH

More often the front page c
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now dwindled to 3,150 acres, it would cost, at 10 cents an acre, only $315 a year to control them. That is a fair figure for Rice to be paying for something on which to base a $5,000,000 promotion. The following stories indicate the difficulty that a promotion of his might have to get even that sum from Rice.

A well-driller operating in the Kentucky fields recently had a rig to sell. All he wanted for it was $1,500. Rice learned of his desire to sell, and sent a man to see him with a proposition to purchase the outfit for $2,500 in stock of his oil company. But the hard-headed Kentuckian was shrewd enough to refuse. He inquired of Rice's representative why the company could not raise the small sum of $1,500, and Rice's man admitted that his employer did not have the cash to spare, but expected to make it out of the sale of stock.

The man who did drill the test wells for the Rice Oil Company later under contract, had $1,100 due him which he tried to collect. Two managers had left the company because they were doubtful about getting their pay, and the driller had become a bit uneasy. S. M. Herzig the new manager, gave him six drafts covering the amount, which were to be presented on six different days. He presented them according to directions and they all came back unpaid.

No wonder Rice this year organized a new oil company, with leaseholds on 6,358 acres in Kentucky (probably part of the Rice Oil's original holdings) and started selling stock at 10 cents a share, saying that "any one who buys Appalachian Oil need not be satisfied with a 100 per cent. advance in quotations, but should hold the stock pending the results of complete development operations, with a view to taking out profits running into the thousands of per cent."

Rice has not yet made the success of oil stock promoting *that he has in the* mining field. It was inevitable, however, that he would enter the oil field, for he is a shrewd merchant and always has on hand the class of stocks that are in greatest public demand. If permitted to go on, he undoubtedly will find some way of "rigging" the market price for his oil stocks up to high levels and attracting more suckers. In his ability and daring in this particular, Rice probably excels every other get-rich-quick promoter. Most of them want to keep their stocks out of the market so there will be no embarrassing comparisons between the offering price and the market level. The securities bought from them can never be resold. Rice can make a point of the fact that his stocks have a market, and some of his greatest "killings" have been due to his ability to manipulate the market in his mining shares. In that field he can, for instance, produce reports from C. S. Herzig, "the noted mining expert of international standing" — which makes one smile when they recall Rice's real name.

GEORGE GRAHAM RICE
One of the most dangerous of all the get-rich-quick operators

THE CALL TO THE WEST

Rice's operations in the field of mining promotion—the most interesting period of his career —show the lengths to which the get-rich-quick pirates go to rob the public. Early in the present century Tonopah and Goldfield, mountain camps tucked away in the desert of southern Nevada, were startled into life by the discovery of rich gold deposits in their neighborhood. At once they sprang into national prominence, and a human invasion of gold hunters fell upon them. Along with those who came to dig for gold came also another kind of fortune hunter—those who saw an easier way of getting gold than digging for it. Among these was George Graham Rice.

When Rice struck Goldfield he was broke. He soon saw that Goldfield was in need of a press agent; it wanted the whole world to know what a metropolis it was becoming.

started a news bureau, and with it he soon had developed a new method for the exploitation of his fellow men. By boosting new mining enterprises on fake news he was making more money than he ever did following the races.

FAKE NEWS BUREAU

There was no dearth of material for a news bureau such as Rice conducted. Goldfield was filled with people who had chosen the easy path to fortune of organizing mining companies into which they could inveigle the money of the stay-at-home mining enthusiasts. For these men, Rice, by issuing exaggerated stories of the value of their properties, acted as "capper." And he charged a good fee. If he could not get it in cash, then his patrons could pay with a good block of their mining stock. Rice would immediately offer these stocks on the market, anticipating the demand his fake press work would create. If Goldfield was unable to absorb them, there always remained the larger mining stock market of San Francisco. He always hurried to cash in his profits.

Many newspapers ran Rice's fake mining news. In the first place it cost them nothing to get it, and secondly, its publication contributed materially toward getting the lion's share of the great volume of mining stock advertising which was then coming from Goldfield. The gold boom was in full swing and everything was running smoothly for Rice, but still he was not satisfied with the profits from his news bureau, and he started in connection with it an advertising agency as a means to increase not only his profits but his prestige with the newspapers. By controlling Goldfield's advertising, he was in a stronger position to dictate to the newspapers, who were unaware that in distant Nevada their correspondent and principal advertising patron was a former convict.

Rice says he made $125,000 out of his press work and his Goldfield and Tonapah Advertising Agency. There is no reason to question the accuracy of his statement. However, his profits were small compared with the millions of dollars his fake mining news lured into the innumerable fake Nevada mining stocks. We have Rice's own statement over his signature that there was none other as much as himself responsible for the public dropping more than $200,000,000 in Nevada mining stocks. In the announcement of his serial "My Adventures With Your Money," which appeared in 1911, he declared that the people never had a chance in buying mining stocks after he had so boldly and unscrupulously roped them in.

Because of his inveterate gambling habits

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George Graham Rice
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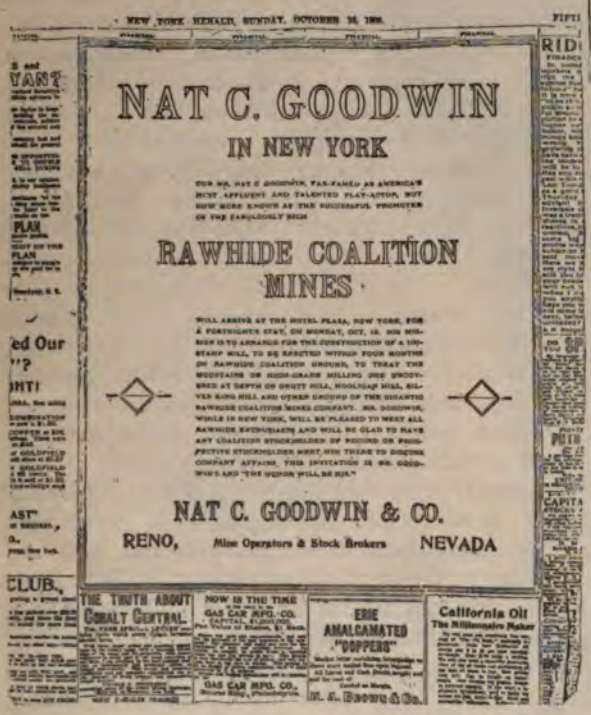
About this time there a

an incident that aroused a deep suspicion that there was little genuine in Nevada mining stocks which were being so flamboyantly advertised. As a result of it public confidence was greatly shaken. An unbidden guest had appeared in Goldfield—Dr. J. Grant Lyman, a swindler with an international reputation. He also had come to Goldfield to get some easy money, and he had a mining scheme—the Bull Frog Rush Mining Company. He immediately looked up George Graham Rice, with whom he was acquainted when they both played the races at Saratoga. Lyman wanted Rice to promote his company, and Rice could not very well refuse for the smooth Doctor knew his record. Lyman, however, could not even play fair with his own confederates, and when Rice discovered this, with the assistance of his strong-arm friends from the Palace Bar, he ran the Doctor quietly out of Nevada. It was necessary then to offer some explanation to the dupes who had bought Bull Frog Rush Mining stock and Rice was not at loss for one. He saw a chance to capitalize the experience by proclaiming his innocence and willingness to take back the stock the public had bought. He thought this would revive the flagging confidence in the Sullivan Trust Company. But it was too late.


NAT C. GOODWIN
IN NEW YORK
RAWHIDE COALITION MINES
NAT C. GOODWIN & CO.
RENO, Mine Operators & Stock Brokers NEVADA

ONE OF RICE'S DUMMIES

A typical advertisement of Rice's Rawhide period, showing his method of using the names of well-known people to promote the sale of his stocks. In this case it is "our Mr. Nat. C. Goodwin, far-famed as America's most affluent and talented play-actor, but now more known as the successful promoter *of the fabulously rich* Rawhide Coalition Mines"

BANKING AND FINANCIAL
BUY
ELY CENTRAL
on the
New York Curb
BE QUICK
It's the one best buy on the entire securities list.
To-morrow is the time. The next day may be too late.
B. H. SCHEFTELS & Co.
Established 1902
Stock Brokers
42-44 Broad Street, New York
ALSO
Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, Providence.

RICE CONCEALED AS "B. H. SCHEFTELS & COMPANY"

When Rice's presence was no longer desired in Nevada, he came to New York and joined with B. H. Scheftels, who had started in business in Chicago some years before. Rice continued his promotion operations through B. H. Scheftels & Company until the Federal officials arrested him for fraudulent use of the mails. This advertisement appeared in September, 1910, not long before the arrest, and that may explain why the emphasis is placed on being quick to buy Ely Central stock

The Doctor had revealed Rice's criminal record before he departed, and this, together with the suspicion in the public's mind of the Sullivan Trust Company, brought it crashing to the earth. Its failure resulted in the collapse of one of the prominent banks of Goldfield, whose officials were too closely affiliated with Rice. This ended Rice's Goldfield days.

He left the city with, he says, only $500. It is safe to say, basing the calculations on Rice's own admissions as a witness under oath, that while he was in Goldfield he took in through the Sullivan Trust Company more than $10,000,000.

FORMS PARTNERSHIP WITH NAT GOODWIN

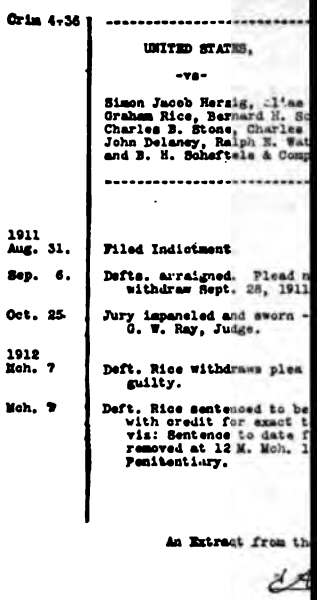
Rice left Goldfield for Reno and with him went Larry Sullivan. For a time they tried to get back into the game by operating the firm of Sullivan & Rice; but they could not make it go, and soon parted company for good. Sullivan disappeared, but Rice, favored by a secondary mining boom, quickly bobbed up again. This new mining camp was properly [illegible] is the

ultimate results demonstrated, Rawhide. Nat. C. Goodwin, the well known comedian, happened to be in Reno at the time. Rice, much in need of a new "fence" behind which to hide, got hold of this actor and by showing him how he could make some easy money, induced him to become the active head of a new firm for the financing of Rawhide mining companies. Goodwin was now to play in real life the part he so often mimicked on the stage—"The Gilded Fool."

Rice, with the aid of the Nat C. Goodwin Company and much more additional fake news disseminated through his *Nevada Mining News*, a publication he started about that time, was able to unload reams of new securities on investors: Rawhide Coalition, Rawhide Queen, and Bovard Consolidated Mining Companies. All of these companies were promoted on a shoestring, for Rice confesses that he borrowed $10,000 with which to start Goodwin and himself in business. All in all, Rice sold about 3,000,000 shares of these various enterprises; not all from Reno, but a considerable proportion from New York, where he moved his firm when the decent citizens of Nevada came to their senses and sent word to him that the state could be made as hot as one other place for any one whose presence was no longer wanted.

Goodwin now became nervous and announced that he wished to retire from active participation in the affairs of the firm. So in place of Nat C. Goodwin Company, Rice started B. H. Scheftels & Company, a corporation, of which Scheftels was president and Goodwin, vice-president. Under cover of this disguise Rice kept the mining stock mill running until the Government backed up patrol wagons to the doors of Scheftels in Broad Street, New York, in 1910, and took all the members to jail on the charge of using the mails to defraud. Scheftels & Company brought out Emma Copper and Ely Central, with a capitalization of $12,000,000, in addition to promoting the companies Rice had imported from Rawhide.

After Rice was released from Blackwell's Island, he bought the New York *Mining Age* and ran it just long enough to gather about him a new following. When he felt that he could safely start up again without attracting too much attention, he began a brokerage business in a modest way at 27 William Street, a block south of Wall Street. His first promotion in this latest period was the International Mines & Development Company. Regarding this he wrote to the readers of the *Mining Age* on May 2, 1914: "It is the first mining company of any character with which I have permitted myself to become personally interested since
intervening period I so
proposition, out of whic
money for myself and at
the readers of the *Mini*
I could recommend the



Crim 4-36

UNITED STATES,

-vs-

Simon Jacob Hersig, al'as
Graham Rice, Bernard H. Sc
Charles B. Stone, Charles
John Delaney, Ralph E. Wat
and B. H. Scheftels & Comp

1911
Aug. 31. Filed Indictment

Sep. 6. Defts. arraigned. Plead n
withdraw Sept. 28, 1911

Oct. 25 Jury impaneled and sworn -
O. W. Ray, Judge.

1912
Mch. 7 Deft. Rice withdraws plea
guilty.

Mch. 9 Deft. Rice sentenced to be
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viz: Sentence to date f
removed at 12 M. Mch. 1
Penitentiary.

An Extract from th

RICE SENTENCED TO

The official record of George
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defraud

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will give this issue such
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To be continued

CHIEFS OF OUR WAR BOARDS

Portraits painted from life, in
Washington, by Joseph C. Chase

I

EDWARD N. HURLEY

Chairman United States Shipping Board
President Emergency Fleet Corporation

II

A. MITCHELL PALMER

Custodian of Alien Property

III

HERBERT C. HOOVER

United States Food Administrator

IV

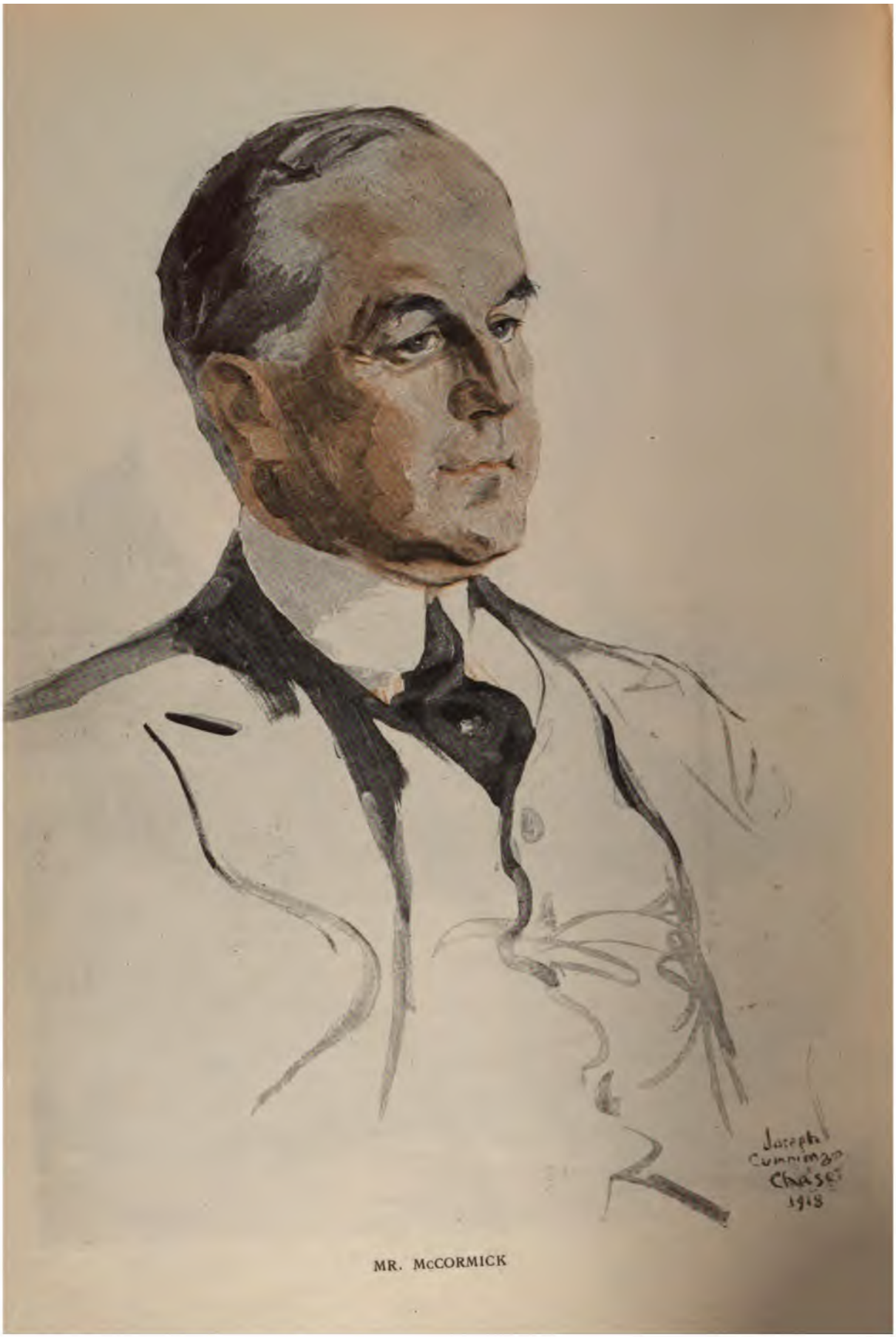
VANCE C. McCORMICK

Chairman War Trade Board

MR. HURLEY

MR. PALMER

MR. HOOVER



MR. McCORMICK

WHY WE SHOULD BUY LIBERTY BONDS

They Are Our Answer to Helfferich's "Other Nations Will Drag the Leaden Weight of The Billions"

BY

HON. JAMES W. GERARD

(Former United States Ambassador to Germany)

THERE are two ways of raising money for a war—by taxes or by loans.

Money paid for taxes is gone forever—you bid a fond farewell and never see it again, but the money paid for Liberty Loan Bonds goes into the safest investment in the country. If Liberty Bonds are worthless, then there is nothing that any of us have that is worth anything at all.

Once when I travelled through Northern France to see the Kaiser at Charleville, I passed through many French towns and villages. In them I saw whole blocks of houses each, built perhaps, by some provident Frenchman, who believed that he had made solid real estate provision for his old age, destroyed by one shot from a great German gun.

When the Germans invaded Belgium they went through the land like locusts. That poor country, so small that we can cross it in a motor in three hours, deprived of all means of manufacturing or otherwise creating wealth, was compelled to pay forty million francs a month—a sum later increased to sixty millions. In addition, provinces and towns were laid under contribution, raw materials and machinery seized and shipped to Germany.

Worse than all this the working men were rounded up, put in cattle cars, starved for days and sent to the industrial towns of Germany where soldiers kicked and beat them until they agreed to work to save their lives.

And more dreadful still the twenty thousand girls and women of Northern France were taken from their homes and driven out with bayonets to become slaves and worse for the conquering Huns.

That is what a German conquest means.

Methods of communication have so multiplied in recent years that the shores of America and Europe have been, as it were, drawn nearer so that when we fight in Flanders, we are fighting at our own front door, fighting to preserve our goods and our homes and our women from the fate of Northern France and Belgium.

There can be no mistake, we fight for civilization, and for our own property, for our own lives, for our own souls.

For a long time before we broke relations, Von Tirpitz and his friends, the Pan-Germanists and the military welcomed the prospect of war with America. They said openly that they would take from the British the British fleet and join that fleet, manned by Germans, to their own and with the combined fleets sail gaily to the United States of America and collect from that "fat, rich, degenerate nation the entire expenses of the war."

Remember that we must fight on. We cannot lower the Stars and Stripes before the barbarians who have murdered our women and children. If the money cannot be raised by loans, it must be raised by taxes.

The burden of taxes (and this is another reason why we should subscribe to loans), falls entirely on this generation.

Loans place part of the burden where it belongs—on the shoulders of those who come after us and who should bear their share of a war fought to preserve them and their children from the horror, not only of Hunnish cruelty, but of all wars.

Helfferich, the Secretary of the Treasury of the German Empire, said at the commencement of the war, referring to the war loans of Germany and the absence of war taxes, "Other nations will drag the leaden weight of the billions." Of course, meaning that Germany expects to collect from us and the Allies the amount raised by loans in the German Empire.

We know what to expect—there is no concealment of the aims of Germany, of those who wage war for plunder.

Either loans—a safe investment, if anything is safe, and placing part of the burden on our children; or taxes so heavy that all business will be disrupted—that is our choice.

And what clear-thinking, patriotic American will hesitate to do his part?

The Hun—his Mark

Blot it Out

with

LIBERTY BONDS

LEND A HAND

The Fourth Liberty Loan Campaign opens on September 28th. This is to be the largest loan ever raised in any country in the world, larger even than Great Britain's Victory Loan of nearly $5,000,000,000. The wealth of this country is twice that of Great Britain, the annual income more than four times. The duty of every American in connection with the Fourth Liberty Loan is measured by the record si... the Loan

Save Russia–or Face

Germany's Opportunity to Gather Men, Food, and Munitions in Ru
Lines in the West—The Danger in the Theory That "The Wa
on the Western Front"

BY

J. B. W. GARDINER

EVER since the beginning of the war, popular thought—and to a large extent governmental action—has been centred on the Franco-Belgian battle front. Italy, Serbia, Rumania, and the near eastern theatres offered temporary diversion but the interest in these soon failed and sentiment swung back again to the west. During the past eighteen months this condition has been strongly accentuated through the Russian Revolution and the consequent retirement of Russia from the war. Russia is considered no longer as a possible factor. She has been dismissed from public thought. As these lines are being written the Allies on the Western Front are adding victory to victory in the most successful series of movements we have ever undertaken. Marshal Foch, with a huge army of reserves and an ample reservoir from which his losses may be filled, is striking powerful sledge-hammer blows first here, then there, before which the German lines are everywhere recoiling. It is terrific fighting with the Germans taking the loser's end. The general public is jubilant and rightfully so, and see victory within our grasp, since victory appears to mean driving Germany out of France and Belgium.

But is this a correct interpretation of victory? Victory means the capture or destruction of the German Army, the elimination from the forces of the world of Germany's military power; it means the realignment and readjustment of the great political forces of the world so that, in so far as human foresight is capable of doing so, the causes of war and the conditions which contain the nebulae of future conflict shall be uprooted and burned as the noxious weeds in the garden of human society; it means the establishment of a new order out of which shall grow universal peace. Putting aside for future discussion specific peace terms, let us consider whether our peace programme demands the present and future defense of America and the future peace of the world. If this is our object the question is: Can it be achieved by victo
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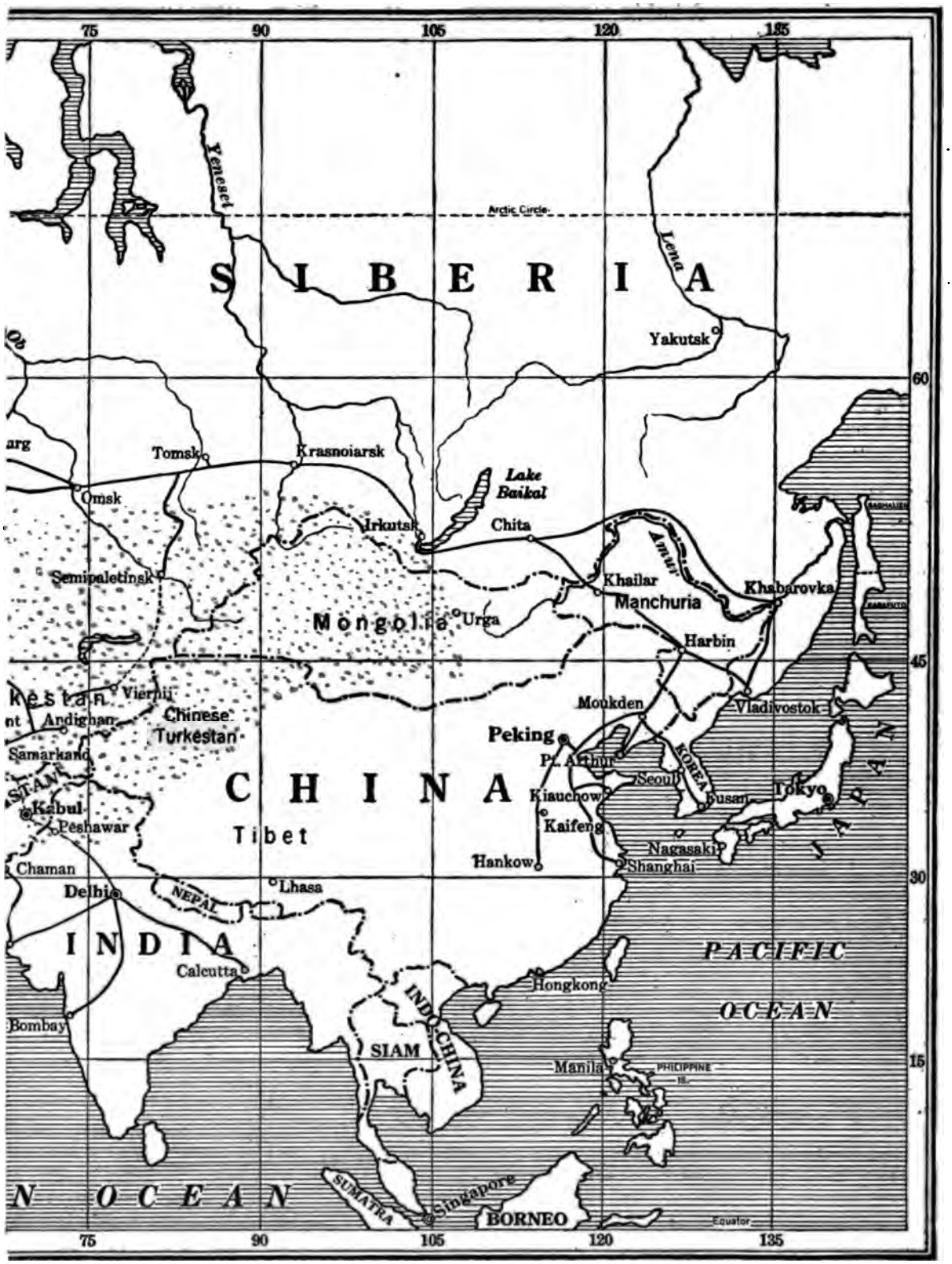
THE MENACE OF GERMAN

Germany will, if given time and a free hand, recruit a million soldiers in this vast domain, besides gathering the fats, grains, supplies this year; she hopes to get more next year; and in 1921, unless the war is won or she is stopped by military action thing she has gained in the West and her dream of the "Drift to the East" by way of the Balkans as well



DOMINATION IN RUSSIA

minerals, oils, and cotton she needs and which Russia and Siberia produce in lavish quantities. Germany got little of these now in Russia and Siberia, she will have obtained a foothold that would richly repay her for the war, even if she lost every-

In the Battle of the Somme, after incessant hammering of the German lines from July to November of 1916, the Allies had pushed a wedge into the German positions but twelve miles deep. The British loss in this fighting was about 500,000 men, the French loss at least another 100,000. What the German losses were we do not know, but they were probably about the same—possibly somewhat larger. In 1917, in the battles for the high ground about Arras and in Flanders and at other points where the British were fighting against entrenched positions, the British losses aggregated nearly a million men—and all this against a Germany whose forces were divided by the activity and strength of Russia. The gain in territory was important locally but it was small—was measured indeed by yards. If, therefore, Foch attacks against a fortified line, we may expect a repetition of the conditions of 1916 and 1917. Germany, however, will be largely undivided; all of her strength will be concentrated on the Western Front where she will be from a million and a half to two million and a half better off than she was in 1916. How much can be accomplished then in the 1919 fighting? On any basis of figuring we adopt it is unreasonable that we should expect more than that during 1919 we should drive Germany back to the lines she held at the close of 1917. It is true that, ignoring casualties, we will be stronger by 2,000,000 men than we were in 1917. But it is equally true that Germany's accretion of strength will have been just as great. This side of the case is then evenly balanced.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1920

The campaign of 1920 comes. Through the advance in America's preparations, the Allies are stronger than ever. Germany, at her maximum the year before, has appreciably declined as a result of the 1919 fighting. But with a million more men than she had in 1917 she now holds the old Hindenburg line. Once again the Allies must attack. Germany will have to give ground before them unquestionably. The pressure will be so great that although she may be able to exact a toll equal to if not greater than her own, she will have to go back. But we must remember that in this retrograde movement Germany will be moving from one trench system to another. Long ago, before Germany had reason to base her plans on any such débâcle as has occurred in Russia, she expected to fight only a defensive war, to cling stubbornly to all she had and to make the price of taking it from her so terrific that the Allies would consent to a negotiated peace rather than fight the war on to a military decision. She, therefore, constructed behind the Hindenburg line trench after trench, an unending series of parallels in which her men could take retreat when forced from the forward lines. It is to this system of trenches which Germany will fall back. But backward she will have to go due to the superiority of the forces against her. This process will continue all during the campaign of 1920, and an extremely expensive process it will prove to be. At the end of 1920 when the advent of winter forces the armies to cease operations, Germany will have been forced to shorten her lines materially, will have been driven, possibly, out of Belgium and out of much of Northeastern France, back behind the Meuse on the north and the Vosges on the south. Here she will be behind a wide river, an almost impassable barrier and behind a screen of mountains which can be crossed against effective defense only at the several gaps of Toul, Epinal, Nancy, and Belfort. These gaps can be held with relatively small forces so that the German lines will have reached a state of almost perfect stability.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1921

This will be the situation when we come to the campaign of 1921. This line, shorter by many miles than the present front, rigidly entrenched behind the strongest of natural obstacles, will be almost if not quite unbreakable. When in this position Germany will move for peace, will offer certain advantages and concessions to the Allies which seem reasonable, and the long suffering world which has been literally decimated will agree. In other words, if by the beginning of 1921 Germany can prove to the world that she is still unbeaten, that she still has strong positions which can be wrested from her only at a further and even a greater sacrifice, the world will make the peace Germany is willing to make now—concessions in the west for an unmolested régime in Russia. And this will be a German made peace just as surely as was the peace of Brest-Litovsk, and the Allies will pay the penalty in a future war, shorter, but more terrible and more decisive than the present struggle, a war in which Germany will be returned the uncontested victor.

WHAT HAS GERMANY BEEN DOING IN RUSSIA?

This situation appears to be hopelessly pessimistic, it seems itself to bear the label, "Made in Germany," But it is not. It is an outline of a situation which proper steps now can avert. The solution can be found in the proper answer to the question, What has Germany been doing in Russia during the period from 1918 to 1921?

Germany has been busy since the treaty of Brest-Litovsk in moulding Russia absolu
her own interests. She knows the v

sia just as we know it. Russia, although she has produced only about eight or ten million tons of steel annually has a possible production of many times this amount. The Donets basin is rich both in coal and iron. Farther east still the Urals are a treasure house of minerals of all kinds—of coal, iron, copper, gold, and platinum. The wealth in oil also rivals that of the United States. In every product which enters into the making of war, Russia possesses vast wealth which awaits only the hand of the organizing genius to turn it to use. Even cotton grows in abundance and is readily available. In addition to this Russia is a great food reservoir, exporting ordinarily thousands of tons of grain both from Eastern Russia and from Siberia. There is enough surplus raised in peace times to feed almost the entire German army if it could be devoted to that purpose. Finally, during that period Germany would be mobilizing the Russian man power to her interests and driving them by conscription or otherwise against the Allies in the West. The present Russian leaders, or those whom we regard as such, are in German pay, working in German interests and receiving for their labors German money. The Russian is readily led. He is ignorant, is ready to believe almost anything and if properly handled and taught could be made to war against the Allies just as well as against the Germans. The only possible solution of the problem is intervention—with an army of soldiers, an army large enough to form the nucleus of a force about which can be drawn all of the better Russian elements so that Germany will be prevented from taking the profit out of what she holds under her thumb now.

OUR MILITARY PROBLEM IN RUSSIA

The Number of German Troops Now There—The Possibilities in the Recruiting of Russian Soldiers—Strategy of Our Advance by Way of Siberia—By Way Of the Murman Coast—The Czechoslovaks

BY

J. B. W. GARDINER

The military expert of the New York *Times*

THE first thing that must be decided before troops can be sent into Russia must be the end which it is designed to accomplish. This military expedition should have but one object—or remain at home. That object is the reconstitution of the Russian frontier in a military sense. Germany has scattered about Western Russia thirty-eight divisions of troops—about a half million men. Not only must this number be offset but sufficient additional numbers must be found to force a withdrawal of a number of divisions from the front in France. Inasmuch as it is impossible for the Allies to put such a great number of men in Russia, the question at once arises—where else are they to come from? The only answer is from Russia herself and this brings up the problem of the Russian population. From such data as is available and from the testimony of the best informed and most intelligent Russians who have expressed an opinion on the subject, the Russian population is composed of about 10 per cent. Bolsheviki, 10 per cent. royalists and the remaining 80 per cent. hating Germany, but desirous of stability in government and consequent security of life and property. They will take this from the Allies, will assist the Allies to obtain it, but if forced to do so will accept it from Germany. From this element in the population the great bulk of the new army must come. Part of this force is already organized in the armies of Kaledine and Semenoff who have been active in Siberia. The first essential in the intervention plan must be then that it must approach the majority of the Russian people or it will fail from the outset. The only function the Allied troops can perform is to form the nucleus about which the Russians themselves may rally. We have come then to the point in our argument that the object of intervention is to rebuild an eastern battle front with an army essentially Russian and with a small contingent of soldiers from each of the Allied powers. The next consideration is what are the necessary steps by which this can be accomplished. The first thing that must be done is to reach the Czechoslovak forces which have been so ably fighting the Teutonic-Bolshevik régime for the past several months. This force, consisting of about 75,000 men—prisoners taken by Russia from Austria—

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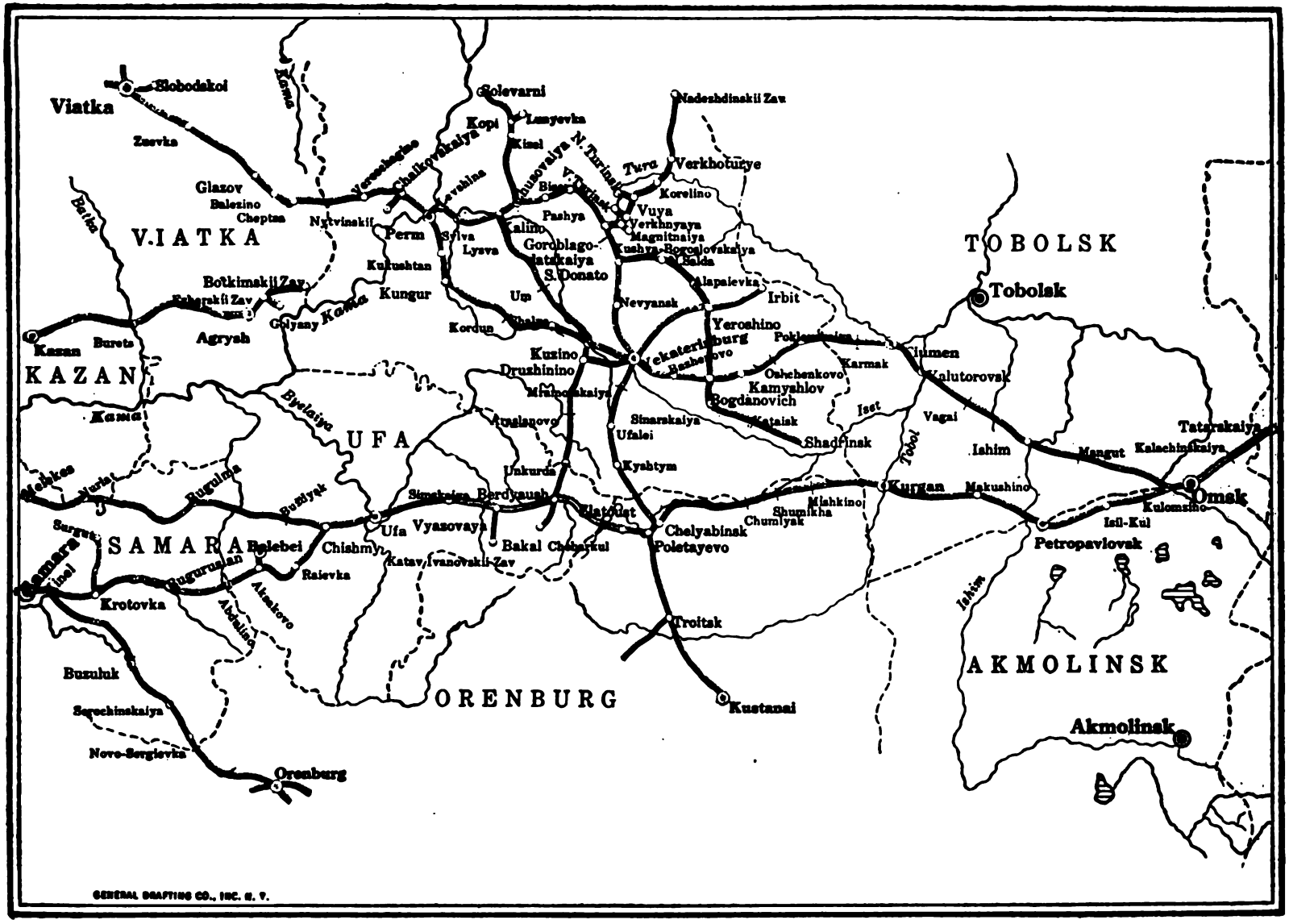
THE MURMAN COAST AND ARCHANGEL

An Allied expedition of British, French, and American troops is holding the Murman Coast and part of the railroad line south of it, chiefly to prevent its use as a naval and commercial outlet by Germany. Alexandrovsk is an open port the year round, due to the influence of the Gulf Stream. Archangel is accessible only in the summer. Next year, a *cal move of the* Allies would be to advance from Archangel south to Vologda and thence eastward by way of Viatka *e trans-Siberian Railroad* to meet the other expedition coming west from Siberia



THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILROAD

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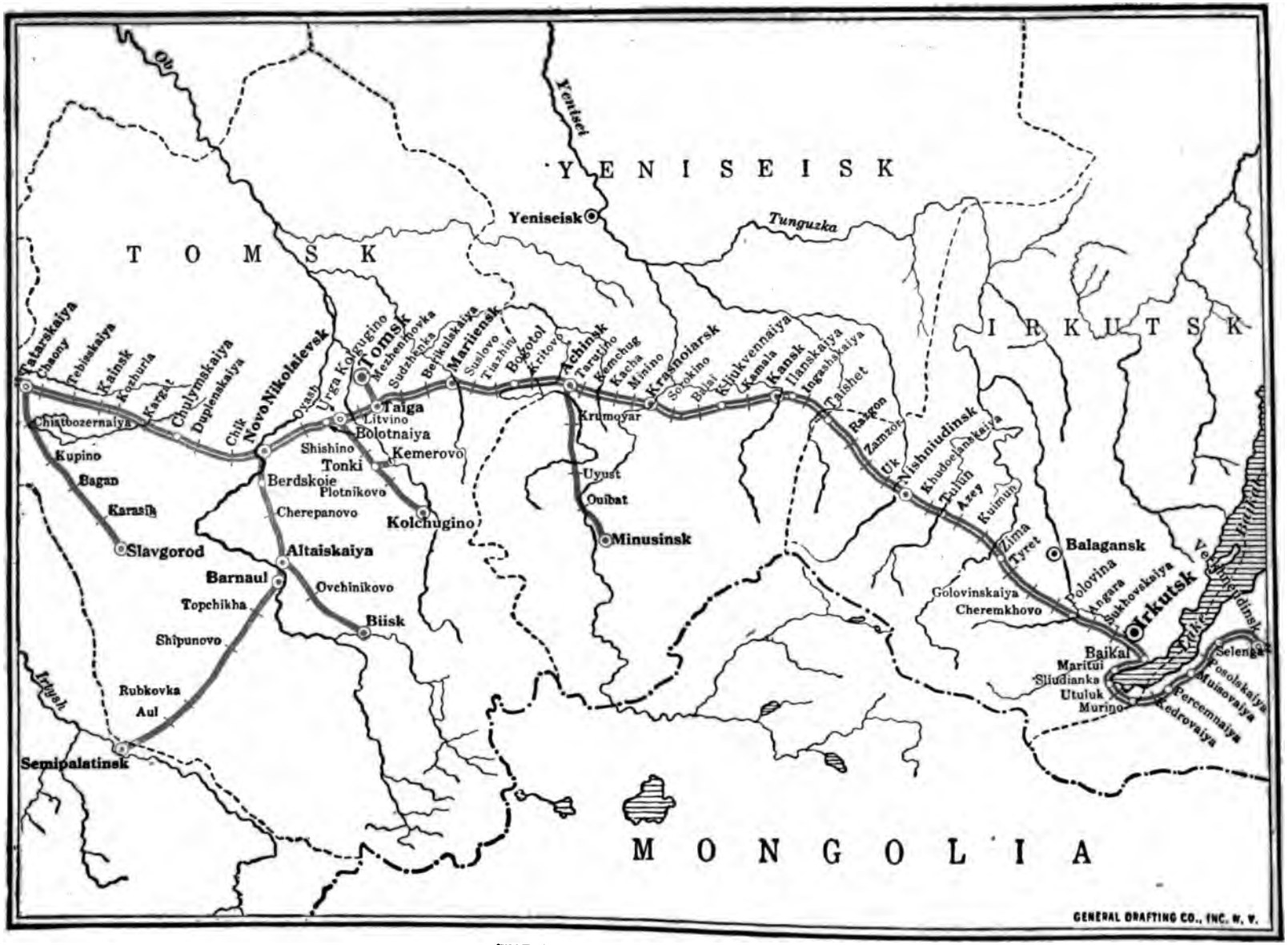
I. Viatka is on the main line to Petrograd. The line from Samara, on the Volga River in southwestern European Russia, to Irkutsk (see next page), is almost entirely in the control of the Czechoslovak army, which also recently occupied Yekaterinburg, the most important junction in the Ural Mountains. By this control the



THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILROAD

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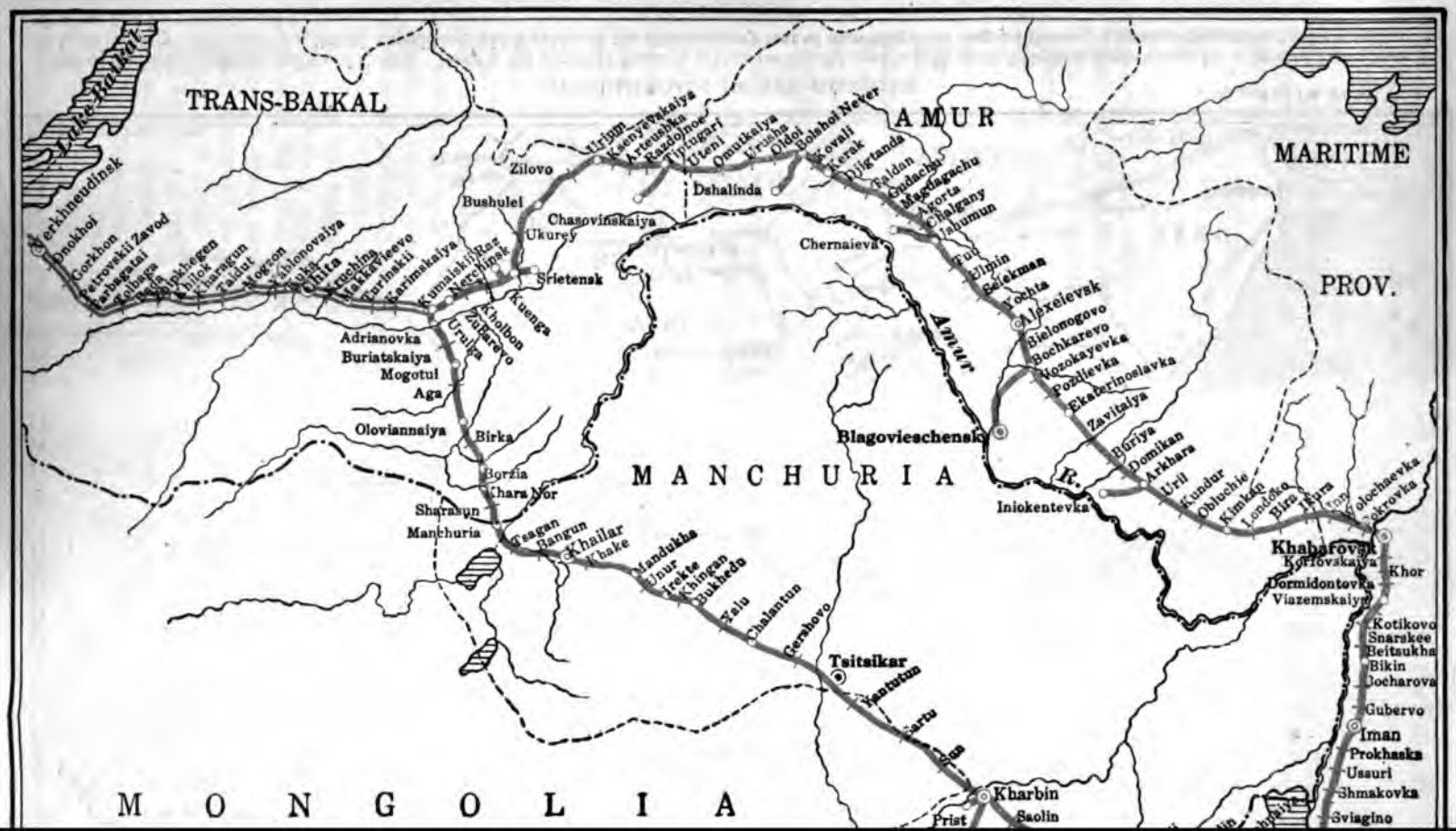
II. From Omsk (see preceding page) to Kumaiskii Raz (see next page) the main line is double-tracked, though throughout its length the sidings are so numerous that even the single-tracked sections can handle a heavy traffic. Militarily, the most dangerous section is the southern shore of Lake Baikal, where the mountains come so close to the water that many tunnels and bridges have to be maintained which could easily be destroyed by the enemy


TRANS-BAIKAL
AMUR
MARITIME
PROV.
MANCHURIA
MONGOLIA
Lake Baikal
Verkhneudinsk
Onokhoi
Gorkhon
Petrovskii Zavod
Karbagatai
Kolbaga
Khilok
Kharagun
Taidut
Mogzon
Nakhonovaiya
Chita
Kruchina
Makkavieevo
Turinskii
Karimskaiya
Kumaiskii
Raz.
Nerchinsk
Srietensk
Kuenga
Kholbon
Zukarevo
Urulga
Adrianovka
Buriatskaiya
Mogotui
Aga
Oloviannaiya
Birka
Borzia
Khara Nor
Sharasun
Manchuria
Gesagan
Bangun
Khailar
Khake
Manduhka
Dnur
Trekte
Khingan
Bukhedu
Zalu
Chalantun
Gerahovo
Tsitsikar
Yantutun
Sartu
Kharbin
Prist
Saolin
Zilovo
Bushulei
Chasovinskaiya
Ukurey
Urium
Kaenyevskaiya
Arteushka
Raodolnoe
Tiptugari
Uteni
Omutkaiya
Urusha
Oldoi
Bolshoi Neter
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Kerak
Dshalinda
Dilgtanda
Galdan
Gudachin
Magdagachu
Axorta
Chalgany
Tahumun
Chernaieva
Tuo
Ilimin
Selekman
Yochta
Alexeievsk
Bielonogovo
Bochkarevo
Nozokayevka
Pozdievka
Ekaterinoslavka
Zavitaiya
Blagovieschensk
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Iniokentevka
Buriya
Domikan
Arkhara
Uril
Kundur
Obluchie
Kimkan
Londoko
Birakan
Ippra
Volochaevka
Pokrovka
Khabarovsk
Korfovskaiya
Khor
Dormidontovka
Viazemskaiya
Kotikovo
Snarskee
Beitsukha
Bikin
Bocharova
Gubervo
Iman
Prokhaska
Ussuri
Shmakovka
Sviagino

THE RAILROADS OF THE CAUCASUS

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One of the richest mining regions of Russia. Baku is the centre of Russia's petroleum district, and is held against German exploitation by a force of Don Cossacks, who were recently reinforced by a British expedition, which achieved the extraordinary feat of marching from Bagdad through trackless mountains to the Caspian Sea and advancing by water to Baku

has drawn to itself sufficient Russian recruits to swell its numbers to about 300,000. This force is operating principally east of the Ural Mountains north of the Kirghiz Steppes, along the line of the railroad from Omsk to Moscow, holding generally a front along the Volga River. Here is a strong force with which we can immediately coöperate so that to reach it must be our first step.

We are limited in our choice of routes to two: Vladivostok and along the Siberian Railway and the Murman coast. To operate from Vladivostok has several advantages. Siberia has declared its independence of the Bolsheviki and would in all probability be friendly. It would take but little missionary work to convince the Siberians that we were not bent on a mission of conquest; that our only object was to rebuild Russia and turn her back to her rightful owners; that when we had, through the defeat of Germany, won independence and freedom, not for Russia alone, but for the rest of the world, we would leave Russia empty handed, without gain. If, as we advanced, we left order behind us where we found chaos, if we gave those with whom we came in contact a helping hand, a kind word and a fair deal, the news would travel by word of mouth and our advance would be like that of a snowball, gaining new forces and increased power as it went. Because of the scarcity of tonnage and the proximity of Japan, the Vladivostok force would have to be made up largely of Japanese troops. Japanese honor would rightfully demand in such a case that the combined armies be under the command of a Japanese general. It might seem that, because of the Russian distrust and dislike of Japan, this fact might prevent the success of the expedition from the outset. But this could be readily obviated and all possibility of conflict from this cause averted. A civil commission, whose function would be to improve economic conditions and assist in the formation of local governments, would be a necessary adjunct to the military force.

Vladivostok is already in the hands of the forces of the Allies so that the landing could be effected without hindrance. The way from the coast westward to the Urals is, however, very long. It is about 1,500 miles from Vladivostok to Lake Baikal and about 2,500 miles from Lake Baikal to Samara on the Volga River where the Czechoslovaks are concentrated. The route of course is the trans-Siberian Railroad, which on the first leg of the journey to Lake Baikal passes through a rugged, semi-mountainous country. On this stretch of road there are several bridges and tunnels which are vital spots on the road and would have to be seized and guarded to prevent their destruction. The latter half of the trip the railroad runs over a country as flat as our western prairie as far as the Ural Mountains so that there would be but little danger. The front which is to be reached, however, still remains 4,000 miles from the base so that the transportation problem involved is one of great magnitude. If it were a question of sending all the necessary troops over this line, the problem would be an impossible one. Fortunately, however, it is not. The presence of the Allied troops and the honesty of their intentions once made manifest are facts which would travel speedily far in advance of them so that it is certain there would always be a heavy screen of Russian recruits cleaning out the rottenness of the Bolshevist régime as they moved to join the Czechoslovak contingents.

The Murman Coast of the Kola peninsula is the second possible point of entry into Russia. It has the great advantage of containing an ice-free port—the city of Murmansk—which through the vagaries of the Gulf Stream is open all the year round. The people of this section of Russia are more than friendly; they have repudiated the Soviet government of the Bolsheviki; have declared their independence and have called on the Allies for assistance. We may be certain then that from this source there would be no opposition. The distances involved are very much less then in the case of Vladivostok. It is only 2,000 miles—about four days' travel—from Great Britain to Murmansk, and from Murmansk there is good railroad communication to the present Czechoslovak front. If the way can be cleared through the destruction of the Bolshevist power, a battle line could be established from the White Sea through Moscow which would long before 1921 force Germany to double the number of divisions she now has in Russia and so pave the way for defeat in the West.

As to which of these two routes offers the better chance of success it is futile to discuss. Siberia must be saved—Vladivostok must be an Allied base. The landing of forces on the Pacific Coast is, therefore, a necessity. Murmansk is nearer and the Czechoslovaks must be reached as quickly as possible. Therefore Northern Russia is a necessity. In other words, here is a case where the best results can be obtained by a division of forces—by a dual movement, converging on the Volga River.

Lenine has completely changed the entire face of the situation by declaring war on the Allies—thus simplifying the situation for us. We must now, whether we will or not, send strong forces into Russia and give battle to the Bolsheviki since they propose to give battle to us.

WHY PUT RUSSIAN RELIEF ON A TRADE BASIS?

Although in Great Need Russia Has Quantities of Supplies —Germany Unable to Reëstablish Russia's Commerce—The Allies Can Do So—The Results

BY

V. G. IDEN

I HAVE canvassed the sentiment of Washington on the Russian situation. Despatches from Russia to the State Department have, of late, been inadequate, but they have been sufficient to convince officials that Russian conditions are desperate. The Russian people are suffering privation, cities are becoming pest holes, transportation is demoralized, and yet Russia has lumber, grain, hides, mineral, and much else that the Allies need. Germany has failed commercially in Russia, but for reasons that do not apply to our venture. Therefore, a trade commission will be despatched promptly upon the heels of the Allied military force and there is great hope of its complete success.

The first step has been taken. It was to despatch a Red Cross boat with a cargo of emergency supplies. This cargo consisted chiefly of medicines. It also included foodstuffs. The idea is to check as soon as possible the starvation and diseases which are beginning to spread throughout the country.

"Starvation and famine throughout European Russia this fall and winter are sure things," one American expert just returned from Russia said. And it was because the Allied leaders are convinced of this, that Red Cross supplies constituted the first of the commercial shipments to Russia under the new arrangement.

Russians need almost everything. In White Russia, that vast area north of Ukraine and west of Siberia, there is not only a lack of the normal comforts but a scarcity of grain and foodstuffs. The people of Ukraine have a supply of certain foodstuffs and so have the people of Siberia, but all Russians are in great need of clothing, shoes, and agricultural implements. It is estimated that the Russians are in need of 10,000,000 pairs of shoes. They require agricultural implements of all kinds, binder twine, hardware, and farming supplies in general.

In the cities the lighting and heating plants are in very bad condition. The electrical equipment has been devasted and robbed. All of this must be replaced and it is highly desirable that it be *replaced as rapidly* as possible, before the coming winter, if the ingenuity of the Allies can accomplish it. Canned foodstuffs afford the best means of feeding the Russians this coming winter and the demand will be enormous.

Siberia is in need of new mining apparatus, but the mining industry there is controlled by foreign capital. It is not reasonable to expect that the United States will undertake to do anything about that for the present at least. Should Siberia be opened up upon the democratic basis planned, the mining interests will gradually start up again and, by restoring normal conditions of employment, aid in the restoration of commerce.

Russians not only need shoes, but they need cotton goods. They do produce flax, and linen making is a cottage industry. Cotton goods, however, it has been reported by some experts, would meet with a wide sale. It is a very distressing circumstance when 180,000,000 peoples are reduced to a primitive state, with pestilence and starvation in the cities. This suffering is most intense in European Russia, but is not unheard of in Siberia.

Conditions in Northern Russia are reported so bad that Germany does not see any advantage of proceeding farther within the country. Labor conditions throughout the whole of Russia are deplorable. Germany has been unable to muster sufficient labor in Southern Russia to reëstablish the metal industry there. Sugar is no longer a crop of national importance because the Russians have allowed most of the large estates to go to waste. Sugar culture in Russia was chiefly an industry of the large estates and owned by the state.

RUSSIANS HAVE GOODS TO TRADE

To restore transportation is the immediate necessity. Reports received by Washington officials show that in one village may be a plethora of beans and other foods, while only a hundred miles distant are people sitting on their doorsteps starving. Official communications also state that butter, which, during previous normal times was shipped into Norway and ultimately, e

ed to England, can find no means of transportation, and the Russians are using it to lubricate their farm machinery. Certainly the Germans would not permit that great wealth of fat to go to waste were the means available for bringing it to market.

Russians have sufficient commodities to afford a basis of exchange or barter for such essential supplies as they need of us. That the exchange would be of considerable benefit to the Russians has been clearly demonstrated. So great is that need that upon the success of the proposed commercial relief is based the hope of inculcating a lasting friendship between the United States and Russia, a friendship which will be stronger than ever before and one that will ultimately work to the benefit of democracy throughout the world.

The peasants refuse to sell their crops because they can get nothing but paper money and in that money they lack faith. They cannot purchase shoes or agricultural implements with it. This is a condition engendered by the sad experience of the country during the past year or so. The Russians will, however, gladly barter or exchange their crops for articles they need. At present such barter is almost impossible due to the lack of transportation and inability to negotiate with peoples who have the proper commodities to exchange.

WHY GERMANS FAIL IN RUSSIA

Russians realize now that the German intent is to exploit and not to assist. This attitude of the Hun may be due to a lack of compassion. It may be pure selfishness and it may be because the Central Powers are not in a position to aid Russia. The opportunity offered is an excellent one for the Allies. With the seizure of Archangel the new policy toward Russia was inaugurated early in August. In addition to Archangel the Allies must use the ports of Nikolaievsk and Vladivostok. These three gateways are to be utilized in sending relief and supplies to the Russian peoples.

Germany established a protectorate over Ukraine to insure the stability of the provisional government there which had promised to carry out certain peace treaty stipulations. One of these agreements was that Ukraine would provide Germany and Austria with 1,000,000 tons of grain by July first last. The Central Powers undoubtedly obtained grain supplies from Southern Russia in large quantities. That, however, did not impoverish the country because the last was a bumper crop and great quantities of grain had congested the Southern Russian ports and terminals as a result of the war blockade. It is proving but a temporary advantage for Germany. The crop in Southern Russia this year does not promise to be so abundant. The people in the cities are hungry. Transportation is bad, and labor conditions worse. Attempts have been made to overthrow the provisional government and unrest is prevalent.

Finland was of advantage to Germany because of the geographical location. Practically the only thing of value Germany has been able to get from Finland has been wood-pulp which the Hun cleverly utilizes in the manufacture of textiles. The tenure of Finland is precarious because Germany must feed the people there.

The Austrians and Germans, with whom some of the Russians are neighbors, do not have goods to exchange with these peasants. The Germans may have the advantage over the Allies in being in close proximity to the Russians but they have nothing to offer these peoples but book credits and the Russians are suspicious of such credits.

WHY U. S. CAN SUCCEED IN RUSSIA

This condition gives the United States and the Allies a distinct advantage. They can render the Russians that commercial aid which the Central Powers cannot. Furthermore the Russians to-day recognize as never before the good-will which the Americans have for them. America is the sole source of manufactured goods. It is merely a question of tonnage, of how many ships the Allies are able to put in trade with Russian ports, and what manufactured goods can first be shipped.

These are the two points of advantage the United States has over Germany in the Russian question: first, proper assurances have been given that Russian territory will ultimately be evacuated by the Allies, and, secondly, we are ready to exchange actual goods with the Russians instead of credits.

To accomplish this commercial rejuvenation will require much intelligent calculation. Some of the best brains of America will be called into consultation to work out adequate plans. Commercial experts in the employ of the Department of Commerce have recently visited Russia. Others are now going and still more will be sent. Their departures are covered with secrecy and their missions not made known until results have been attained. In addition to this the United States intends to send a commercial mission to study the situation and work out the final plans of Russian aid.

Selecting the personnel of the mission to go to Russia the Administration has demanded certain well defined qualifications. Not only must

the members of the mission be capable of undertaking their task, but it is desired that they be primarily interested in Russia. Their interest must be unselfish in the extreme, sufficiently unselfish to be willing to do business with the Russians upon a basis of no profit. Americans desiring to join in this great endeavor will be required to submit to a drastic control of prices and valuation. Control of valuation is especially insisted upon inasmuch as Russian trade must be upon the barter or exchange relation and the value of American goods sent there will be measured in terms of commodities the Russians have to exchange for them. It is also insisted that persons participating in this commercial undertaking shall submit to a control over the locality of trading and over the personnel of trading.

The immediate object will be to render Russia such assistance in a commercial way as the people there are in the immediate need of. Later it may be well to reëstablish a basis of trading generally between the peoples of Russia and the peoples of the United States. At first trading will be regulated and controlled. As conditions become more normal it will be possible to remove the more drastic features of this control.

In Washington are a number of experts in the employ of the Government who are Russians by birth. They have contributed no little knowledge to the Russian situation for our benefit. Through these patriotic officials the United States has been able to approach the Russian situation in a clear light. It is not desired to make public any names. It is not wished that any diplomatic secrets be divulged. Nevertheless, it would appear that the Allies have taken a stand in Russia at a crucial moment, and a stand which will reëcho the principles for which the war is being fought. The Russian people cannot but realize this.

THE RUSSIAN COÖPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS

The Russian coöperative societies or associations, an outgrowth of the socialistic sentiments of the people, seem to have been created for just such a crisis as this. The United States and the Allies will undoubtedly take advantage of these associations in view of the lack of banking facilities and the breakdown of credits. Middlemen will be eliminated and commissions and undue profits forbidden entirely.

These Russian coöperative associations came into existence after the first revolution. They are now about thirteen years old. It is estimated that 15,000,000 families directly are members of the coöperative associations, representing some 75,000,000 peoples. Indirectly these associations reach an even larger population. During 1917 the turnover of the societies must have been 1,500,000,000 rubles. The Moscow Noradny Bank is one of their central banking institutions. The directors of this bank are selected by the coöperatives and it is run to make no profit but to serve the associations.

A scheme to nationalize the foreign trade of Russia was initiated by the All-Russian Soviet Government during April last. It was proposed to create The People's Commissariat of Trade and Industry which should conduct all negotiations for the sale to foreigners of Russian goods or the purchase of supplies from foreigners. That plan will not interfere with the plans of the Allies. It is felt that the older coöperative associations will reach the Russian people more directly and it will be catering to the Russian sense of justice to deal directly with such associations.

There may develop instances where these coöperative associations have no goods to exchange with us for the supplies we expect to send in. In these cases the Allies must prepare to accept the credits of such associations. It has been suggested that the Allies might offer to float the bonds of the coöperatives if they require money, but the suggestion is not considered wise for the moment. Such an offer might be misinterpreted by the Russians as an attempt to give capitalism a hold on the coöperatives. On the other hand it has been recommended that we take the note of their bank, guaranteed by the coöperatives, in case they lack the tangible means of purchasing needed supplies.

A considerable proportion of this relief must be worked out upon the basis of a charity. It is not to be a charity entirely, however, because charity is a detestable word to the Russians. The work of rescue must be upon a basis which will be acceptable to them.

Although the commercial assistance which is to be carried to Russia is to be placed upon a seemingly business basis, it cannot be expected to return a money profit. To carry out this great programme of assistance will require a large investment. The ultimate return in dollars and cents will not be commensurate with what is put into it. The balance will be struck off to the credit of compassion, a compassion such as prompted the American people to rush to the aid of the Belgians and later to the aid of the French. The American people have never been lacking in that compassion and ample faith is placed in the members of Congress to make us feel certain that when the time comes to call for public appropriations to carry forward the work, those appropriations will not be made grudgingly.

OPENING THE GATES TO GERMANY

A revolutionary parade in Petrograd, when the Czar had been deposed. Kerensky was at the head of the revolutionary government, the old order was crumbling, and the mob spirit was gaining the momentum which gave Germany its opportunity

THE BOLSHEVIKI, WHO THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY BELIEVE

Nearly all the Leaders Jews from New York—How Smolny Institute, the Capitol of Russia, Is Conducted—The Economic Doctrines of the Bolsheviki

This article is compiled from the first-hand experiences of a New York business man, whose name is withheld for obvious reasons.—THE EDITORS

THERE are three questions that constitute the puzzle of the day. They are:

Who are the Bolsheviki leaders?

What do they believe—just what is their theory of government? Is it Socialism or Anarchism or what?

Just exactly how do they administer the government?

I have just returned from Russia. I was there when the Bolsheviki came into power. I attempted to do business in Petrograd, Moscow, and Kiev for a year. First and last I have met and had dealings with most of their leaders, hundreds of their underlings, and talked to every "workman and soldier" I could. Keeping scrupulously to facts within my own observation and experience, I will attempt to answer these questions plainly and directly.

Leon Trotsky is a Russian Jew. Grusenberg, who ought to know, says he represents a type that is the result of Czarism—a man perpetually exiled, to whom every nation is a railroad station—a nomad, with no home and no country. I know the man. Unlike the majority of half-crazy exiles that swarmed back to Russia last year, he is an able man. He is clever and sharp. In spite of the fact that he walks the streets of Petrograd made up to impersonate the exaggerated popular idea of an anarchist—with long hair and bushy face, string tie and slouch hat—he does not belong to the impoverished and distracted class that he represents. He comes of a wealthy family. His uncle, Jivotofsky, is a man of

means and power. He was an important purchasing agent for the Allies in Russia under the Empire. And far from suffering the fate ordained for the "bourgeois," when I last saw him was on an important mission for the Bolsheviki in Stockholm, selling Russian mines, materials, and boats to the German Government. I have been reliably informed by bankers in Sweden that Mrs. Trotsky has since joined him with cash running well into the millions.

That Trotsky comes of a strong mercantile strain, is very significant. It explains in a word why he is at the head of this movement. He has the training and business sense and acumen that is so conspicuously absent in the ranks of his organization. This total lack of any practical ability—without which even a pirate crew could not hold together overnight—explains why it is that the control of the Bolsheviki and all their high offices are in the hands of Jews, the prevailing element of whom are from New York. These men alone, of all the fanatics, dreamers, desperadoes, and theorists born of Russian oppression and international propaganda, have been sufficiently *in touch with* the commercial world and the discipline of practical affairs to be able to conduct the operation.

I have a great deal of respect for Nikolai Lenine. He impresses one as an honest and sincere dreamer. Any business man would know at a glance that he was constitutionally and preposterously unfit to undertake any affair among men. He has a theory. If it doesn't work, he is hopeless. Two statements of his, made in Petrograd while I was there, revealed him to me. They were both solemn statements, uttered with profound conviction.

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THE RUSSIAN ARMY BEFORE IT WENT TO PIECES
Under the combined effects of German propaganda and Bolshevism

One was: "All the education any statesman needs is the three R's (reading, writing, and arithmetic.)"

The other: "We make a Russian Revolution on German money. Then we will make a German Revolution on Russian money."

Insofar as the Bolsheviki, as represented by Lenine, are sincere, it is nonsense to reproach them with having sold out to Germany. They recognize neither Germany, nor France, nor any line on the map. To reproach them with putting ignorant men in control is a compliment. It is intentional—a part of the creed.

Volodarsky, "Tavorisch" (comrade), Minister of Publicity—in Bolsheviki-land there are no ranks, everyone is "comrade"—is a Philadelphia Jew. His first assistant also came from Pennsylvania, and had such training as he possesses on a Philadelphia newspaper.

Vritzsky is Minister of the Interior. He is another returned exile, a professional agitator. Although a Jew himself, he takes the greatest possible pleasure in persecuting the Jews. He denied them the right to celebrate the Passover last year—a thing the Czar never did. His rôle is that of the man baiter. One day he issued an order for every Romanoff in the kingdom to appear in Smolny. Of course they did. So did everyone else, to enjoy the show. He lined these gentlemen and ladies up and thundered out that they would have just eight hours to take to their allotted destinations. He provided the destinations. No possible argument could convince any one present at the scene that this man is anything at all but a beast. Rhinestone, who is in charge of the propaganda in foreign countries, was a druggist in the United States. His son-in-law still runs a pharmacy in Buffalo.

Kameneff, one time Minister of Interior, who was accredited Bolsheviki Ambassador to Paris while in jail in Finland, is Trotsky's brother-in-law. He is a heavy-built, tall, bearded, pleasant and intellectual Russian Jew from Poland. I had quite a talk with him. He is a fanatic upon international propaganda. The Interior, or nothing else on earth had any interest for him whatever. He had to agitate or die. He told me that the Red Revolution would spread all over the world, particularly in America. He was on his way to Sweden with a lot of money to carry the faith. As a matter of fact, he did raise a big commotion. He scattered diatribes and spoke to such purpose that they had to put a big guard around the Royal Palace. His conception of Bolshevikism was as plain as a broomhandle. It consisted simply in creating universal revolution. As soon as one had been pulled over, his idea was to leave the good work and go pull off another. The conduct of the countries in the mean time interested him not a little.

Furstenburg-Gonetzky is a power in Bolsheviki councils. During the Kerensky régime he discovered a new and lucrative business. It

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THE BREAK-UP OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY

The great Russian army going to pieces. English officers trying to stop the stampede

Translation furnished to Garden City Postoffice

THE GERMANS START FOR RUSSIA

The Germans on this troop train are bound "nach Petrograd;" they have pictured what they intend to do to the Czar, and the doggerel scribbled on the side expresses their high hopes

THE GERMANS ENTERING A RUSSIAN CITY

The Kaiser proclaimed that Germany's complete triumph in Russia was one of those great historical events in which we are able to see plainly the hand of "Gott"

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THE RUSSIANS LEAVING THEIR CITY

These refugees are retreating before the advance of the Kaiser's armies just as a century ago the Russians deserted Moscow and other cities when unable to stop Napoleon's advance

THE VICTORS AND THE VANQUISHED

German officers amid the wreckage of battle. The dead are Russians who have given their lives defending "Holy Russia" against the ruthless invaders

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DESTRUCTION

Russian peasants watching the burning of their homes by the Germans advancing toward Petrograd

PRISONERS

These Russians under German guard are being sent southward to supply labor for Germany. Much of Germany's farm work and heavy labor has been done by Russian prisoners. The Teutons hope to recruit an army of a million men in Poland and Russia by next July

LOOT

The German official photographer who made this picture labeled it "Requisitioning." If the peasants whose houses these soldiers have robbed, received any German money, it was worth no more than any other piece of paper

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GERMANS DRILLING THE FINNISH "WHITE GUARD"

These troops were recruited in Northern Finland where the Teutonic influence was strongest and where a swarm of propagandists had worked long and hard

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RUSSIAN GRAIN AT ODESSA

Russia produces more barley and rye then any other country, and more wheat and oats than any except the United States. She stands second in the production of potatoes and beet sugar. The Germans hoped to secure immense supplies from Russia, but were disappointed because Russians would not take money with which they can buy nothing, and Germany has not goods *to barter*

was in selling fake passports, credentials, permits, etc. He thrived upon this to the extent of 7,000,000 rubles. He constituted himself official bribe receiver for Russia. When caught at it Kerensky put him in jail and confiscated such of his stolen treasure as could be found. From his secret hoard, however, he supplied the Bolsheviki with 50,000 rubles for their campaign. The figure is exact and authentic. The consequence was that when they came into power he was not only released but his booty was returned to him.

A VISIT TO SMOLNY

While I was in Russia the Bolsheviki conducted all their administration from the old Smolny Academy. This was a fine old building, set back among gardens and flowering shrubs and manicured grounds upon the outskirts of Petrograd. It had been a private school for the children of royalty. It had been seized upon by the Bolsheviki at the fall of the Czar, and now within its learned walls contained every single atom of the working régime. If an Empire wished to make a treaty or a beggar wished to get a bread ticket, they both had to go to this identical building. If a man wanted protection or a woman wanted to put out her house afire, they had to do the same. I came because I wanted a passport from Zalkind, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Machine guns, cannon, and a tatterdemalion soldiery littered the approach. Inside I was allowed to pass by a genial little peasant damsel of seventeen, engrossed in a flirtation with some top boots. The sight I then saw was astonishing. Through corridors I passed, looking into open doors—the executive offices of a kingdom of 180,000,000 souls—at least so it was claimed. I may as well be plain. It was disgusting, it was so filthy. The men were sitting at desks, presumably conducting mighty matters of state. But in every room there were beds—none of them made up—piles of ammunition, the refuse of abandoned meals, and endless groups of soldiers sitting and eating and drinking, or lounging about or sound asleep. It looked like what it was—a barracks minus a kitchen police or a sanitary squad.

I made my way to Room 77, the Foreign Office. There was a great palaver going on. What was being said was not half so interesting as how it was being said. These officials conversed almost exclusively in English and German. They were not Russians. They were Jews. They did not talk Russian—they talked Bowery.

While waiting my turn with the secretary, in paraded an unmistakable character—an American Negro. Abandoning a
the functionary sprang
"Hello, Johnny, wha
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assuming command a
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"What Ministry do y
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a member of the Milit
mittee."
No wonder the secret
committee was the e
head of the Smolny g
perior to all ministers
the inviolate and ultim

A NEGRO CA

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Eastman. "Johnny" w
cellent South Carolina
bagger régime. He co
for Anarchy without an
the Bolsheviki have be
suit him, and he is now
Anarchists of Russia.
To return to the pe
régime:
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to Siam, and at that tim
of the Revolution, beca
of mine. He had also
of New York—a vo
When I first met up w
working on the *Daily*
hubbub in the Cirqu
crowd gathered there
Mooney trial in San Fra
He told me that in t
believer in the Industri
and he was working wi
they hold the same id
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"We've had enough
States Ambassadors a
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That was the gist of
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In this whole buildin
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Russia, like every ot

and able bankers, lawyers, jurists, philanthropists, socialists, students, and business men. There is not a single man of character that I met during my stay that had anything in common with the Bolsheviki. This includes most emphatically the Jews. For this régime, this outcast organization enlisted not a single one of the great numbers of educated and talented Jews in the Empire.

I emphasize this, because the question, "Who are the Bolsheviki" can only be answered by saying who are *not* Bolsheviki. An exact parallel would be obtained in the United States if Max Eastman were made President, Tannenbaum vice-President, and the Flynn "Girl" taking the rôle of the Kollantay "woman"—a cabinet minister. Not one single member of the present administration, and not one single reputable and able leader of either business or reform would be found in their administration. Pershing would not command our army. It would be commanded by an anarchist corporal. Krylenko, a corporal (proposchick) was at the time Commander-in Chief of the Red Guards.

THE ABLE BOLSHEVIST PROPAGANDISTS

But there are very capable men bearing Bolsheviki commissions. They are to be found in the field conducting their principal businesses—selling their tangible assets to Germany and conducting foreign propaganda. These two transactions entice all the talent, because they constitute all that makes the affair a going concern. From one they get all their money. On the other they spend it all.

Some people think I am making a startling statement when I say that the Bolsheviki leaders are selling everything they can to the Germans. But they make no secret of it at all, themselves. It is as open as daylight in Stockholm. Being a lucrative business, the agents there are of a great deal higher ability than can be found in Smolny. When I was in Stockholm the group consisted of:

Mitki Rubenstein, who was at the head of the Franco Bank of Petrograd.

Pollack and Gourevitch, the identical agents who originally arranged the conference between Max Warburg, the Kaiser's financial henchman, and Protopopoff, vice-President of the Duma, when these two attempted to cook up a surrender in November, 1916. They were there with Levenson and Olaf Aschberg, selling stock and mines and supplies of every description to the Germans. They were also receiving cash from them. The whole business went through Aschberg's bank, the Nya Banken, as the whole world now knows. I saw the original German orders including a telegram from a concern in Hamburg, a step in the negotiation for the taking over of one of Russia's largest steamship companies. I tell this as a sidelight I obtained upon Trotsky's personal associations. All of this, of course, is well known.

Dr. Rakowsky was another Bolshevik propagandist who was commissioned to go to Rumania and start a proletariat revolution. The Smolny government appropriated 5,000,000 rubles for this purpose. Rochel had previously been sent to the same place for the same purpose, but had been killed there.

Zalkind, with a capital limited by nothing but the supply of paper—(I was told by the director of the mint that 8,000,000 rubles of paper money were printed the first two months of the Bolsheviki rule)—went forth to Sweden, and was headed for France and England on the same errand.

The United States is not immune. I came over on the steamer with Tunarasev, of the Bolsheviki staff. This man is a Russian, and nobody's fool. He used to be a minister under the Czar, and a minion of the Germans. He framed the tariff giving the preferentials to Germany. Well, he is now working this revolutionary propaganda for the Bolsheviki. He is a leading Bolshevik.

As I said, he was on the way to the United States when I met him last April. He and Jonas Lied, backed by Trotsky and Lenine, got up what they called the Siberian Steamship Company. This was camouflage to gain an entrée here for their propaganda. To insure his reception Tunarasev came as Norwegian Consul. On board I asked him up and down if he had a personal interest in the Bolsheviki. He said he had.

Well, these that I have named are the leaders of the Bolsheviki.

THE BOLSHEVIST DOCTRINES

The people that tangle up the Bolsheviki doctrine of government and economics with the general liberal movement and tendency, manifest almost anywhere in the world nowadays, do so because they lack three or four definitions and distinctions that are elementary to any student of Socialism or social reform, or any responsible number of the labor party. There are three conceptions that have no more in common with each other than they have with the old shellback High Tariff Capitalism (so-called). They are:

Evolutionary Socialism
Revolutionary Socialism and
Syndicalism

When one says Socialism to-day, what is meant to all rational and practical thinkers, and also what is considered in the main violently radical by the electorate of this country is *state ownership* of industries—the gradual appropriation by the whole people through their government of the

surplus wealth created by labor in the concrete form of factories, railroads, etc. The very essence of the doctrine is that it shall be done gradually and by an orderly method. Moreover, as advocated by serious students of real affairs, it presupposes that the industries shall have been organized to the point where they can profitably be taken over, and more particularly that the people shall have been educated and trained to the point where they are soberly able to resume the responsibility. It has one more condition of vast importance—that when the time comes for the public to operate the industries, positions in those industries shall be allotted to men strictly in order of merit and ability.

The Revolutionary Socialists advocate the same governmental and economic order, but they want to bring it about overnight by an actual physical revolution of the old gunpowder kind.

The Syndicalist is another kind of fellow altogether. He wants all the industries to be seized out of hand, not by the Government, but by the individual workmen that happen to be working there. Seizure by individuals, by violence, if need be, and the elimination of all men of special training or ability (a necessary corollary of the complete ownership and control by the lowest grade of workman) is the pith of it.

In the light of these definitions, what do the Bolsheviki believe? Their statements are so many and so tangled and conflicting—ranging anywhere from Socialism to frank anarchy—that the answer has to be sought in their practices.

BOLSHEVISM IS PRACTICAL SYNDICALISM

They took over the banks, munition works, the railroads and some municipal plants for the Government. At any rate, the commissaries put in charge were supposed to represent the Government. This was done at the point of a bayonet. In these actions they might fairly be said to be making an effort to experiment in Revolutionary Socialism. But even the most radical Revolutionary Socialist would heatedly deny that they had given his proposition a fair chance. For they neglected the one final requirement—that the positions be scrupulously given to the ablest men. They were given without a single exception to the most ignorant and unskilled—office boys, peasants, soldiers. A large railroad system is now headed by a conductor.

But in innumerable other instances the stores, factories, and farms were handed directly over to the laborers or the neighboring peasants by direct order from Smolny. This also, of course, was accomplished by violence or threat of violence. That is *Syndicalism*. It is exactly the doctrines of the I. W. W. That is, it is what they have preached, and are now inclined to deny. It is I. W. W. or *worse*.

They have abolished all police, all courts, all firemen, all street cleaning.

This is a part of the doctrine of anarchy. It may be a necessary by-product of Syndicalism. It has no place in the programme of any Socialist or labor party.

All business, public and private, as well as regular governmental activities, are conducted by individuals with no previous training or experience. And it is a fact so well known—the universal experience—that it needs no elaboration, that every transaction, legitimate or otherwise, can only be consummated by personally bribing the official in charge.

This is not the part of any philosophy at all. It is reducing the discussion to an absurdity, and heaping ridicule upon the monumental life labors of Karl Marx, to mention them in the same category. There is no name to give their practices. Hence, when discussing them, no sincere advocate of the liberal movement, no leader of labor, no champion of Socialism would tolerate his creed being used in that connection. So let us trail an entirely new kind of society, and government and economy, easily grasped by anybody, however ignorant, that walks on two legs. And we will simply call it "*Bolshevism*."

And though Bolshevism is bad enough of itself, it is a crowning absurdity to attempt to apply it in a country like Russia, in which the industrial population is only eight per cent.

From what I have said above, the reader may perhaps gather the idea that the Bolshevist movement represents the opinion of the Jewish race in Russia. Nothing would be farther from the truth. Ninety-five per cent. of the Jews are bitterly opposed to the Bolsheviki and all their works. It so happens that the Jews are, on the average, the best educated and politically the most conscious group in Russia. Naturally a large percentage of the leaders of any political movement—in a Russia free to express itself—would be Jews. But the Jews of Bolshevism are a small group, and wholly misrepresentative of the great body of their racial brothers.

PHYSICAL MAP
OF
EURASIA
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 800 1200 1600
REFERENCE
HEIGHT OF LAND
Over 12000 feet
6000-12000 "
1200-3000 "
600-1200 "
0-600 "
Below Sea Level
Navigable Rivers
Hammond's Physical Map of Eurasia
Copyright 1918, by
C. S. Hammond & Co., N.Y.
Longitude East from Greenwich
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
SOUTH CHINA SEA
EAST CHINA SEA
JAPAN SEA
YELLOW SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Plateau of Tibet
Arabian Desert
Desert of Gobi
Gulf of Aden
Gulf of Tonkin
Gulf of Siam
LACCADIVE IS.
MALDIVE IS.
C. Comorin
CEYLON
ANDAMAN IS.
NICOBAR IS.
MALAY PENINSULA
PHILIPPINE IS.
Manila
JAPAN
TOKYO
OKHOTSK SEA
BERING SEA
ALEUTIAN IS.
BONIN IS.
LADRONE IS.
GUAM
CAROLINE IS.
PELEW IS.
SULU SEA
CELEBES SEA
JAVA
AUSTRALIA
EQUATOR
TROPIC OF CANCER
Tehran
Delhi
Ganges R.
Indus R.
Irtysh R.
Ob R.
Yenisei R.
Lena R.
Amur R.
Volga R.
Urals
Aral
Baikal
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THE ANABASIS OF THE CZECH

Captain Vladimir Hurban, Who Commanded the "Advance Train" of Many Thousands, in Its "Railroad March" Across a Contin Fighting the Enemy and "Hostile Friends," Gives the the First Complete Story of this Military Achiev ment that is Without a Parallel in History

BY

GEORGE MacADAM

THE beginning of March, 1918, found encamped near Kiev, Ukrainia, a large force of Czechoslovaks. There were about fifty thousand of them—organized as no army had ever before been organized—now beleaguered as no army had ever before been beleaguered.

Bolshevik Russia had begun its peace negotiations with Germany and Austria-Hungary, the negotiations that terminated in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Here was promise of a strange situation! The Czechoslovaks, a military force that would not make peace, encamped in the midst of a friendly nation that had concluded peace! Truly, a nice problem in international politics!

But now there came a mixed political and strategic problem of far greater seriousness. The Czechoslovaks at this time were encamped in Ukrainia, near Kiev, one army division on the right bank of the River Dneiper, another division on the left bank. Ukrainia was governed by the Ukrainian Bolsheviki. But the former Ukrainian government, which had fled before the Russian Bolsheviki, was returning under the protection of German armies. The Russian Bolsheviki were about to sign a treaty of peace. The Ukrainian Bolsheviki wanted to sign a treaty, too, but the Germans refused to recognize them.

In this dilemma, the Ukrainian Bolsheviki turned to the Czechoslovaks and asked them to help hold back the Germans. But the advancing army was made up not only of their enemy, the Germans, but also of their friends, the Ukrainians. For the Czechoslovaks to fight this army, meant that they would be fighting to prevent the Ukrainians from returning to their own country. This would be far more than a violation of their policy of strict neutrality.

Faced with the immediate prospect of battling this well-organized army of Germans and Ukrainians, the Bolshevik Red Guard turned tail and scuttled, fleei which it thought safety railroad.

Listen to Captain Hur

"A Bolshevik Red G can, steals everything h and sells all he can. ruble, a machine-gun fo gun for from five to ten and the local peasants b a 15 cm. howitzer for twe

But now, stricken wit not pause to barter an such of their munition away, abandoned everyt not an immediate use cars, automobiles, and Czechoslovaks examine idea of adding them to t it was found that the "R of all their thin tubing manufacture home-mad says Captain Hurban, h greater than his fluency the truth looked—the Trotzky's Russian Revol

Having no "extra pa had to abandon these t and airplanes, leaving th the Germans: retreat ha treat over the railroad n and thence across Russi the Pacific, across Ame Western Front. For Government had recog National Council in Pari as the government and t nation. The regiments condemned to stagnatio last to go into action, a great Foch. Professor the Council, had come to the Bolsheviki a "safe c slovak army across Ru

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by fifteen to twenty of our boys with two machine-guns, and sent to follow some Bolshevist 'army.' When our locomotive caught up with such an 'army,' they ordered the 'army' to leave the trains, which command was very promptly obeyed under the threat of two machine-guns. Then the rear locomotive took the train back, while the front one, manned by our boys with their machine-guns, went to catch another train. In such way, we had a sufficient number of locomotives and wagons in four days. When we were catching trains, the locomotives were run by our boys; after we got all the trains we needed, and started for Moscow, the locomotives were run partly by our people and partly by Russian railroad employees who always and everywhere sympathized with us."

FIGHTING FAST AND HARD

Meanwhile, the regiment sent to seize Bakhmach, was already encountering detachments of Ukrainians, the vanguard of the German army. "We let them go," says the Captain. "But if there were any German among them, he was shot. So it happened that armored cars with Ukrainian flags passed through our regiment. From one of them a German colonel looked out. In a minute he was dead." And the Captain adds: "Scenes like that were frequent."

The Czechoslovaks got to Bakhmach, and so did the Germans. The fighting was fast and hard. The enemy was driven back ten miles from the railroad, and the enemy commander asked a 48-hour truce so that he could gather his wounded and bury his dead. The task of the Czechoslovak commander was to gain time for the passage over the railroad of the troops from Kiev, so he accepted the truce.

But when the Commander-in-Chief of the German Eastern Armies, learned of this truce, he issued an order cancelling it. "The German commander at Bakhmach," says the Captain, "must have been a fairly decent man for a German, as he sent to us word that by Linsinger's order he would have to break the truce and would commence fighting again in two hours. So he did. And on that day we buried some 2,000 Germans. We lost about 600 men, mostly in wounded. We held Bakhmach; our trains passed through; and the Germans did not enter the town until six hours after our departure."

The Czechoslovak army had now entered the territory of Bolshevist Russia. Up to this time the relations between it and the Bolsheviki had been fairly good. After the battle of Bakhmach the Bolshevist "Supreme-Commander-in-Chief," Antonoff, issued an order to his "armies," in

which he commended the bravery of the Czechoslovaks, thanked them for their brotherly cooperation in a war on a common enemy, and wished them good luck for a long journey. Lenine had also issued an order to all Soviets that they were to assist the migrating army in its journey to the Esat.

GUNS AS "BROTHERS' GIFT"

But on reaching Moscow a change of attitude was discovered, it was only a slight change but it was unmistakable. Into Moscow a rumor had preceded the Czechoslovaks: they were coming to depose the Bolsheviki, and Moscow rejoiced. At this time every Czechoslovak soldier had from two to three rifles, every regiment from 200 to 300 machine-guns. To quiet Bolsheviki apprehension, the Czechoslovaks willingly gave them all arms that were not actually needed. In the official communications of the Bolshevist "Supreme Commander-in-Chief" these arms were referred to as the "brothers' gift to the Russian nation." Furthermore, the Czechoslovaks promised not to take any arms out of the country, but to leave all of them with the Bolsheviki at the first suitable opportunity.

It was under this small but portentous cloud of antagonism that the Czechoslovaks began their long journey over the rails eastward. But true to the proverb, this cloud, too, had its lining: in every place they arrived, they were met by committees, of all classes, who begged the Czechoslovaks to rid them of the Bolsheviki.

"Already," says Captain Hurban, "we saw only too well the real substance of Bolshevism. We knew how much was in Trotzky's high-sounding phrases. It was plain to us that the Soviet government was ready to ally itself with anybody only to stay in power, even if only formally. We saw clearly what the Soviets looked like: we knew the people who had the decisive say in them: and what is more, we saw how the Germans were getting the Soviets in their hands.

"We knew that the Moscow government was afraid of us. Incited against us by German agents, it did not trust us, and unable to attack us directly, it was trying to weaken us by disorganization of our forces.

"Hundreds of thousands of rubles and many propagandists were at work. The Moscow government had also another plan—it wanted to make us mercenaries. But we are not Letts!

"It was clear to us that without other help we ourselves were too small a force to free the great Russian nation from anarchy and the growing domination of the Germans. We could have deposed the local Soviets, or arrested the whole Soviet of National delegates without difficulty. We stood near Moscow
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and munitions of the Czechoslovaks, were the chief cause of Bolshevist complaint and after three days of negotiations, an agreement was reached. The Czechoslovak army was to turn over to the Bolshevist government all of its arms with the exception of ten rifles and one machine-gun to each 1,000 men. These were to be retained for protection against brigands, large gangs of which were operating in all parts of Russia and Siberia. And in return, the Bolshevist government was to aid, by every means in its power, the Czechoslovaks to get to Vladivostok in the shortest possible time.

On the 27th of March, the first Czechoslovak train surrendered its arms in Penza, and once more got under way for the East. With it went a duly authorized representative of the Bolshevist government, who was to remove, in the name of the government, all political difficulties that might arise on the journey.

Captain Hurban, with two other members of the National Council, left on this first train. And there began the real adventures of this strange, 4,000-mile journey.

A, THE NATION WITHOUT COUNTRY

ighting Army. No Territorial Sovereignty But Recog-
, and Italy as an Allied Nation. This Means the
Hungary. Czechoslovakia the Keystone in the
from West to East. Thomas G. Masaryk,
sonality in this Rebirth of Old Bohemia

BY

EORGE MACADAM

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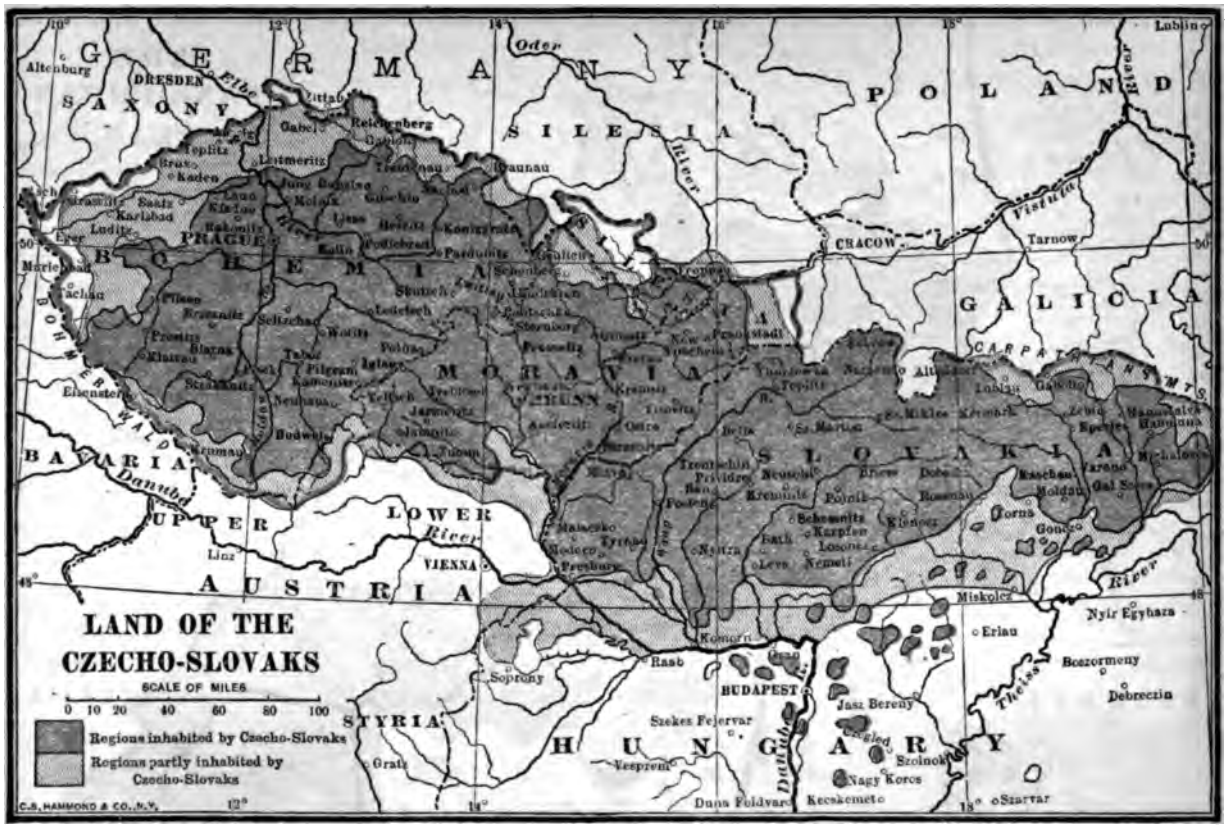
The Czechoslovaks were asked to stay "put," and an Allied army has been sent to complete the work they unconsciously began. Following this signal service, France, Italy, and then Great Britain recognized the Czechoslovaks as an Allied nation. Thereupon Austria-Hungary repudiated the recognition of this "'nation' which" (so ran the official statement) "exists only in the imagination of the Entente."

What is the actual basis of this nation which the Entente recognizes as existent and which the Central Powers say is imaginary? Who are the Czechoslovaks and what are they fighting for?

Czechoslovakia (if that be its name) is the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MORAVIA
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GALICIA
CRACOW
SLOVAKIA
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UPPER
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AUSTRIA
VIENNA
STYRIA
HUNGARY
BUDAPEST
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Dniester
Pruth
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Lublin
Miskolcz
Erlau
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Boszormeny
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Kecskemeto
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Graz
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THE PAN-GERMAN SCHEME —

Germany was confronted on the west by Powers as strong as herself (Great Britain and France) and on the east by a Power as strong (Russia). But to the north and south lay the Scandinavian countries, the loosely knit Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the weak and warring Balkan States. These weaklings could be reduced to subjection one by one. Hence arose Pan-Germanism, with its dream of a road to the Orient *via* Constantinople and Bagdad, with commercial exploitation along the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad

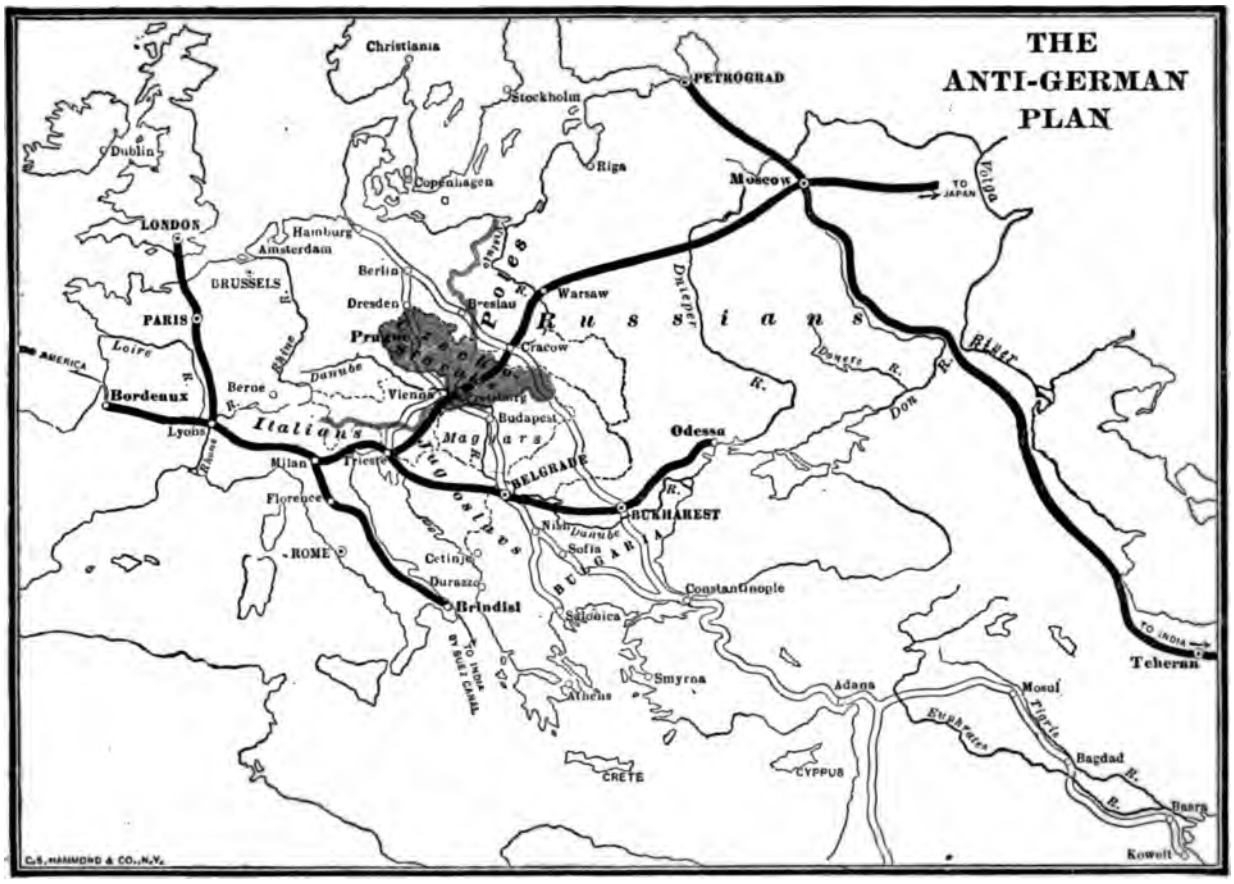
And to-day, just as centuries ago, their territory is a Slavic wedge jutting out from Slavic Poland, Ukrainia, and Rumania, into Teuton-Magyar Germany-Austria-Hungary.

But with the expansion of the Teuton-Magyar territorial policy, this Slavic wedge assumed a new importance, the retention of this long-conquered land became vital. It is the keystone in the Mittel-Europa bridge from the English Channel to the Persian Gulf. Let the Czechoslovaks become a free people and that great Pan-German structure collapses.

In their effort to stretch the Mittel-Europa bridge to its eastern abutment, the Persian Gulf, the Teuton-Magyar combination made that sudden endeavor of theirs, four years ago, to cut through Serbia. It was a blow at a little Slavic nation, at the Jugoslavs, racial brothers of the Czechoslovaks, brothers toward whom the latter feel a strong sentimental affinity for many of the Jugoslavs—in South Hungary, Slavonia, Croatia, Carniola, Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina—have shared the Teuton-Magyar oppression.

As subjects of Austria-Hungary it was the technical duty of the Czechoslovaks to join the colors and assist their oppressors in bringing a nation of brother Slavs under the same oppression. In spite of the tragic difficulties of their situation, in spite of the fact that their land is completely under the heel of their oppressors, in spite of spies, persecutions, executions, even massacres, the Czechoslovaks faced the situation with a courage worthy of their past.

The attitude of the reserves was openly shown from the first day of mobilization. There were, for instance, mass demonstrations in the outskirts of Pilsen, soldiers declaring that they would turn their guns on their officers and the Germans. Many arrests were made, and a number of death sentences pronounced as as the first days of August, 1914.



— AND THE ANTI-PAN-GERMAN PLAN

To counteract the Pan-German scheme, the erection of Czechoslovakia is a first step. It unites a racially homogeneous territory under one flag at the point south of Germany which cuts the Hun off from the weak neighbors he wishes to exploit. Then a railroad line from London and Bordeaux, through Italy to Odessa and Petrograd (much of it already built) would put the Allied British and French into commercial union with the Slavs of Russia, Czechoslovakia, and the Balkans, and strongly cement the ties between the peoples opposed to Germany's dream of world conquest

These executions failed to intimidate. About the middle of August Prague saw the beginning of a series of demonstrations. Russia, another Slavic nation having meanwhile come to the rescue of Serbia, the Czechoslovaks were now vowing that they would fight against neither Serb nor Russian. There were daily demonstrations throughout the Slavic districts of Austria-Hungary.

In September, the 8th Regiment of the Czech Landwehr, when ordered to entrain for the Russian front, refused to obey orders. Its members attacked the regiment's German officers, seriously wounding its commander. Then, singing national songs, they massed themselves in the railroad station. The German 75th Regiment was called, and after the spilling of much blood, succeeded in forcing the Czechs into the cars.

The 36th Regiment, recruited from the district of Mladá Boleslav, mutinied in barracks, and were massacred by German and Magyar regiments.

By order of the Austrian Minister of War, all Slavic soldiers were forbidden to carry their regimental colors and standards. All Slavic soldiers going to the station of Prague, for the front, were escorted by double the number of German and Magyar soldiers, marching on either side. No one was allowed to speak to them as they passed through the streets. Even "good-byes" were forbidden. Any violation of this rule of silence was sternly punished.

But now the Czechoslovaks hit upon a more effective method, not only of hindering their oppressors, but also of helping their oppressors' enemies. Taken to the front, they deserted—often as a regimental unit—to the other side, not to get out of the war but to get into the war as they wanted to be in it.

The spirit in which these Czechoslovak regiments "surrendered to the enemy" is indicated

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Since the beginning of the war, thousands o civilians—Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Jugoslavs, Ital ians—have been condemned to death. Th number has been stated in the Austrian Parlia ment as being more than 30,000. Many of th condemned were women.

Efforts are even made to persecute Czecho slovak patriots who have escaped to foreign land and are there working for the cause. Their home are raided, their families, relatives, and friend persecuted, their property confiscated.

The Czechoslovak newspapers have been eithe suppressed or muzzled. Almost all literary work which referred to Slav questions have bee confiscated. All portraits of the heroes of Czec history are prohibited. Many national and fol songs have been found seditious. Names o streets and public places suggestive of other Sla countries have been changed. Practically a Czech societies, clubs, literary circles, athleti associations, etc., have been suppressed. Th first of these to come under the ban, of cours were the *Sokols*.

FORMATION OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONA COUNCIL

One of the Czechoslovak leaders who succeede in escaping from Austria-Hungary, was Thoma G. Masaryk. He slipped across the border i December, 1914. His object, however, was no to escape from persecution at home (shortly there after he was condemned to death). He had two-fold mission: to gather the Czechosloval resources, both in money and in men, scattere over the world and organize them into a unifie striking force, and also to act as Ambassado Extraordinary to the peoples of America, Eng land, France, Italy, Russia, Japan, Norway Sweden, Holland, and Switzerland, pleading th cause of national independence for his country men.

Associations, committees, councils were formed and these were brought in touch with like organiz ations in other cities, other countries. Gradually there resolved itself out of the wide-spread move ment, an authoritative, directing force: in 191 the Czechoslovak National Council was formed It was, in effect, the Provisional Government of nation that thus far had its only existence i aspirations, volunteer associations, and thre armies on foreign soil. It established offices i Washington, Paris, London, Rome, Moscow Chicago, and Pittsburgh. The list of officer elected, throws an interesting sidelight on th character of the people: President, Prof. Thoma G. Masaryk, philosopher and scholar; Vice President, Dr. Milan Rostislav Stefanik, astrono mer, member of the French Academy; Genera

Secretary, Dr. Edward Benes, scholar and author.

Under the direction of this Council, there are three armies: one in France, another in Italy, and the third and largest in Russia and Siberia.

In 1916-17, there coöperated with the Rumanian army in its campaign in Dobrudja, a Slav legion which had been recruited from "prisoners." Upon the collapse of Rumania, the Slavs who survived the fighting, together with some thousands of new arrivals from the Austrian side, and a few hundred volunteers from Russia, were transported to the Western Front. These men were the basis of the Czechoslovak army in France, augmented by volunteers from the United States and France.

The "prisoners" who went over to the Serbians in 1914, fought side-by-side with them in that terrible retreat across the Albanian Mountains—out of 30,000 men, only 18,000 reached the sea. These are now fighting with the Italians. Their number is constantly being increased by brother "prisoners" crossing over from the Austrian lines. And this in spite of the terrorist policy of the Austrians! Instance: the capture by the Austrians of 300 Czechoslovaks in the Italian uniform, and the hanging of all 300!

CZECHOSLOVAKS IN RUSSIA

At the opening of the war in 1914, there had been formed in Russia volunteer detachments composed of Czechoslovaks living in Russia but subjects of Austria. The first large unit, numbering about a thousand men, called itself the "Hussite Sharpshooters' Brotherhood" and rendered valuable service to the Russians by reconnaissance work in the campaign in Galicia. This force got as far as Cracow in 1915.

Meanwhile, the Czechoslovak "prisoners" were coming across the lines, in squads, in companies, in regiments. Very grudgingly the government of the Czar permitted some of these men to join their countrymen fighting for the cause of Russia. During the year 1915 the "Hussite Sharpshooters' Brotherhood" grew into the "First Czechoslovak Regiment of John Huss." Then a second regiment was organized, taking the name of the great Hussite general, John Ziska. Then a third, known as the "Regiment of George Podebrad," the last king of Bohemia of Czech blood.

But the great majority of the Czechoslovak "prisoners" were scattered over Siberia in internment camps, some were sent to munition factories, some to farms. It was in vain that they sought to be allowed to join the fighting forces. Finally the Czar gave his promise—the Czechoslovaks were to be allowed to go to the front; and then German influence at the Court—responsible for so much of the disaster that overtook Russia—caused the promise to be broken.

This was a bitter disappointment to the Czechoslovaks for it had been to Russia, the one great Slav State, that they had looked for the strongest support in their aspirations for independence. Then came the Revolution, Kerensky, and apparently a free Russia! Here surely was hope for the Czechoslovaks. But the dreamers of internationalism had no tolerance for old national aspirations, even though they were those of an oppressed people, a people, moreover, who were racial kinsmen.

That smashing German blow through Galicia in the early summer of 1917, however, changed Kerensky's mind. He saw the great Russian army, his "free," self-governing army, melt away into nothingness. All that stemmed the onrush was the Czechoslovak brigade. From July 5th to July 15th, fighting a losing battle, that brigade threw back attack after attack of an enemy many, many times stronger. During those ten awful days and nights, there was no relief for the brigade for it was covering the retreat of a fleeing army.

At this time there was in Kiev depot enough Czechoslovaks to organize a second brigade. This army of volunteers grew rapidly into a division, then into an army corps. But it was too late. Russia had sunk into military impotence, disorganization, Bolshevist terrorism, stagnation.

No people has ever given stronger proof of their steadiness of character, their devotion to a cause, and their obedience to a leadership that has only the authority that comes from a mutual ideal, than has this army of Czechoslovaks in Russia. They have lived for months in the midst of violence, revolution, plundering, orgies, and yet they have remained a unit, loyal to their aspirations, obedient to the tenuous authority of a Council many thousands of miles away.

PLAN TO MOVE ARMY TO WESTERN FRONT

The Czechoslovak National Council had adopted a policy of absolute neutrality in Russia's internal affairs. When Russia ceased to fight the old Teuton-Magyar enemy, the Council decided that it would bring to the Western Front this fighting force numbering many thousands of men. For this purpose, Prof. Masaryk went to Russia. The negotiations took months. But finally the Bolshevist authorities agreed that they would allow the Czechoslovak troops free and unmolested passage from Southern Russia to Vladivostok. Prof. Masaryk went to Japan and arranged for the transportation of this army across the Pacific to the United States, whence they were

to journey to France. Having solved this big problem, Prof. Masaryk came to America.

A long and unexpected silence followed. Then came fragmentary, contradictory, disquieting news; the Czechoslovak soldiers, sometimes in Russia, sometimes in Siberia, had clashed with the Germans, with the Bolsheviki, with combinations of Germans and Bolsheviki. Then at last came the amazing truth from Vladivostok: part of the Czechoslovak army had fought its way six thousand miles across Siberia to the Pacific port; the remainder of the army was stretched out along sections of the trans-Siberian Railroad, holding it against Bolsheviki and Germans.

The knottiest problem of the moment for the Allied Governments was: how to save Siberia, and through Siberia, Russia, from the impending domination of the Germans? Here, ready-made, was the efficient edge of such wedge as they might decide to drive into that vast bulk of country.

The Czechoslovak National Council was asked to drop its plan of moving its army to the Western Front, to let its forces stay in Siberia. It would be inexact to say that all of the Czechoslovak soldiers have stayed, for some of them have moved—*backward!* Fighting Germans and Bolsheviki, they have forced their way back over the Ural Mountains, across Russia to Samara and the Volga. How much farther they have gone, what else they have accomplished, the news at the time this is written does not say. Nor does this news say what has been the fate of the under-armed, out-numbered Czechoslovak detachment near Irkutsk that, when last heard from, was dangerously hard pressed.

RECOGNITION BY THE ALLIED POWERS

The Allies saw that the Czechoslovaks not only asked help, but were able to give it. And thus France, Italy, and then Great Britain recognized as a nation this people who have not sovereignty over a square inch of territory.

"In consideration of its efforts to achieve independence, Great Britain regards the Czechoslovaks as an Allied nation and recognizes the unity of the three Czechoslovak armies as an allied and belligerent army waging regular warfare against Austria-Hungary and Germany.

"Great Britain also recognizes the right of the Czechoslovak National Council as the supreme organ of Czechoslovak national interests and as the present trustee of the future Czechoslovak Government to exercise supreme authority over this Allied and belligerent army."

This means that the end of the war will see the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, and the realization of the Czechoslovaks' old, old dream of national independence.

MASARYK—THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS

IT IS typical of the Czechoslovaks—a people whose average level of education is equal to that of the Dutch and the Swedes—typical of the traditions of their golden age of intellectualism in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and of its nineteenth century renaissance, that the guiding spirit of their national destinies in the present crisis, is a scholar, a professor of philosophy—Thomas Garrigue Masaryk—a leader of thought, now a leader of action.

A fellow-countryman has said of him: "Spiritually, he is the lineal descendant of John Huss and Comenius and the illustrious martyrs of truth who followed. He was the conscience of the Bohemian nation before the war, he is its soul now."

Born poor, in an oppressed province of an aristocracy-ridden monarchy, the story of his resolute facing of obstacles, of his rise to his present world-position, is the story in microcosm of the country that produced him.

He was born in 1850, in a cottage on one of the Imperial estates in the Slovak section of Moravia. *His father* had a position, a very minor one, on this pleasure-ground of the Emperor. Prominent among his earliest recollections are impressions of officials and aristocrats, and those recollections are not pleasant ones.

"As a boy," said Prof. Masaryk in the course of a talk that I had with him recently in Washington, "I didn't know much about autocracy in the abstract but I knew it in the concrete. I saw how the officials treated my father and our neighbors. It was bad. I was a little boy but I hated it—hated those big bugs.

"I remember one thing with particular vividness. Every year the Emperor had a hunt on this estate. He came with princes, entourage, and all the rest of it. When they started on the hunt, the fur overcoats and wraps were stored in my father's house and a guard placed over them. Our neighbors were very anxious to see these rich things. They looked through the doorway, peeked in the windows, got as near to them as the guard would allow. But I would never go near: I didn't like to see those things. I felt that there was something wrong—just wh

was not clear to me. Such a hatred as I had! And that hatred has lasted to to-day.

"Back in those days, I never dreamed of being a professor. What outlook can a village boy have? He sees around him nothing but peasants, the village schoolmaster, the village priest. That is his world. He knows of nothing else to choose. I made up my mind that I wanted to be a schoolmaster.

APPRENTICED TO A LOCKSMITH

"My parents sent me to the village school for two years. That was all they could afford. Then I had to earn my own living. I could have become helper to the village blacksmith; but I heard of a chance to become apprentice to a locksmith in Vienna. I was told that this was a higher grade of work than smithing, that I would be given a chance to draw and do fine mechanical work. So at fourteen I was sent to Vienna.

"But the locksmith put me at a machine. My whole day's work was just the repetition, the endless repetition, of one movement. It was mechanical, stupid. I couldn't stand it and I ran away—that is, I ran away from my apprenticeship and went home. This made my parents very unhappy: they were ashamed that a son of theirs should quit a task. I was ashamed, too.

"The village blacksmith again offered me the job of assistant, and I took it. Those were primitive times in a village smithy. There was no machinery; everything, even a nail, was handmade. It kept a man's head, as well as his hands, busy. It was good, solid work and I liked it.

"Every morning I had to fetch water to the shop. One day, when I was busy with this, one of my old teachers met me. He asked why I was using time at this sort of work and what had become of my ambition to be a teacher. When I told him that I had to earn my own living, he said that he would take me to his father who had a school in another village, and that there I could get tuition and board if I would help in the school. This offer was accepted by my parents.

"I was about fifteen when I gave up blacksmithing and again began study. My work in the school was to help the younger boys with their lessons. Included among my duties as junior teacher was that of playing the organ in church, also of singing at burials. Now these songs were in Latin. I didn't like that: I must understand what I am singing. I spoke to the priest. 'It's a fact,' said he, 'you don't pronounce it well.' 'But how can I pronounce it if I don't understand it?' And so the priest gave me a Latin grammar.

"In this book I found Greek and mention of philosophers. Those were more things that had to be mastered. And t
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PROFESSOR IN THE UN

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condemned him to death. Not content with this, they have a second time condemned him to the same penalty.

His daughter, Alice, was imprisoned. But she had been a settlement worker in this country during the time that her father delivered a series of lectures at the University of Chicago. The women's organizations of America, began a crusade for her deliverance; and the Austrian Government, not wishing to incur the enmity of Washington, released her. She is now with her mother and a brother still in jeopardy in Austria. The daughter Olga is with her father in this country.

He has travelled thousands and thousands of miles, organizing, unifying the Czechoslavic sentiment of the world. This effort finally matured in the formation of the Czechoslovak National Council which, after months of striving, months of useful work to the cause of the Allies, has at last been recognized by three of the belligerents as the "supreme authority" of another belligerent, Czechoslovakia.

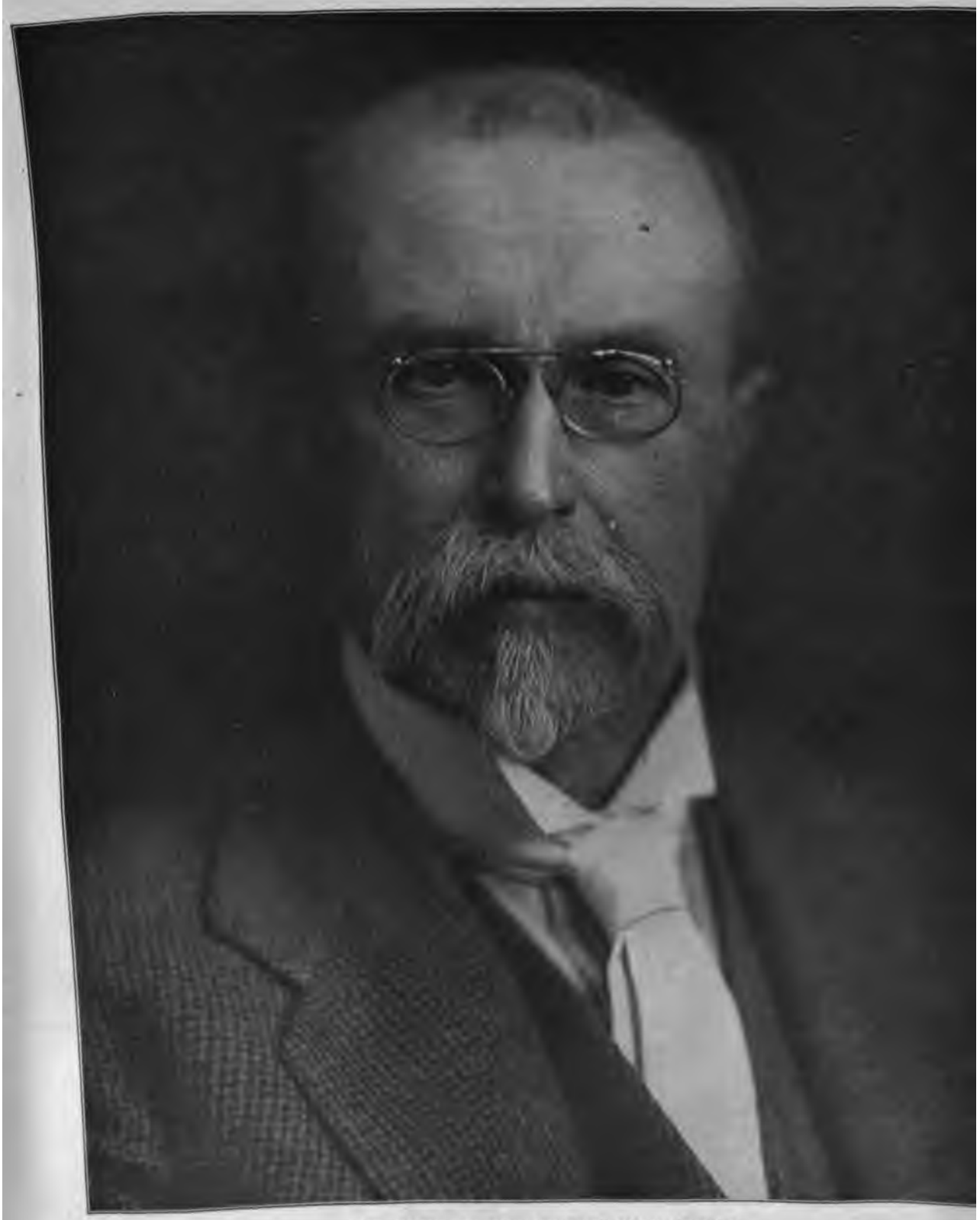
"The demand of the Czechoslovaks for independence," said Prof. Masaryk, "is not a sudden thing. It is not something which has been evolved out of nothing. It is the natural, the inevitable product of years of injustice, of oppression. Bohemia has always been in turmoil. Its present action is only the logical continuance of that turmoil. And Bohemian independence is the only logical termination of those years of strife and effort. Independence is the only thing that will bring peace to Bohemia and a lasting peace to the world.

GERMANY'S NEED OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

"Here is a thing that can not be brought home too forcibly to the peoples of the Allied nations: while Austria-Hungary exists, Germany is victorious, and a victorious Germany means only a lull in world conflict. The only way to insure a lasting peace is to dismember Austria-Hungary. Once that artificial monarchy is separated into its natural parts, an end is put to Germany's imperialistic dream of Mittel-Europa and world domination.

"Let us remember how the war started. Austria attempted to seize Serbia; almost immediately Germany threw off her mask and showed herself the master-spirit in the war, with Austria-Hungary her vassal; soon joined by Bulgaria and Turkey, her other two vassals. With the conquest of Serbia, the Mittel-Europa bridge was completed. If Germany can maintain it intact after the war, she can march across it to conquest in Asia and Africa.

"Austria-Hungary is the great central span in



THE MOSES OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK EXODUS

Professor Thomas Masaryk, President of Czechoslovakia, a nation whose capital is in Washington, D. C., its army in Siber
its civilians in Hungary, and its territory undefined

the Mittel-Europa bridge. Thus the whole structure depends upon the existence of a state which has no natural strength. Austria-Hungary is not a country; it is not a nation. It is merely a geographical expression. Austria-Hungary is a dynasty, an army, a navy, and a bureaucracy. This artificial organism rules over half a score of nationalities, most of which have only one desire —independence.

"The Pan-Germans entered upon the present conflict with the intention of crushing the Slavs. It is the final expression of their traditional designs in the east.

"In the west, Germany has long been in conflict with the French, and the controversy is still unsettled. The point at issue is, however, of a far different order from that in the east. In the former case, Germany disputes the possession of a small strip of territory west of the Rhine. In the latter case, she regards the territory of every nation as a possible field for colonization.

"An ethnographic map of Europe shows the *real significance* of the German *Drang nach Osten* On this map Europe is divided into three sections: a Western, an Eastern, and a Central. The Central Section consists of a peculiar zone of small nations, extending from the North Cape to Cape Matapan. Side by side we here find the Laplanders, Swedes, Norwegians and Danes, Finns, Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians, Poles, Lusatians, Czechs and Slovaks, Magyars, Serbo-Croats and Slovenes, Rumanians, Bulgars, Albanians, Turks, and Greeks. The largest of these nations are the Poles; next to them come the Czechs and Slovaks, Serbo-Croats, Rumanians, and Magyars; the others are smaller. If the Little Russians (Ruthenes, Ukrainians) were considered a separate nation, as distinct from the Great Russians, they would be the largest nation in this zone.

"To the west of this central zone we find the bigger nations—the Germans, French, English, Italian, and Spanish. And to the east of it, the biggest nation of all—the Russians.

"Faced on the west by a big nation, Germany could not expand in that direction. Faced on

THE FLAG OF THE SECOND CZECHOSLOVAK REGIMENT IN RUSSIA
Early in the war many Czechoslovak regiments in the Austro-Hungarian army deserted to the Russians as a unit to fight their Teutonic and Magyar oppressors

© Harris & Ewing

CZECHOSLOVAK PRIVATE, LIEUTENANT, AND CAPTAIN
The captain is Vladimir Hurban, who fought with the Czechoslovak army on its march from Kiev to Vladivostok

the east by another big nation, Germany could not expand to Russia. The recent sudden collapse of organized government in Russia, has raised German hopes of a possibility of growth toward the Urals and the Pacific. But Russia will find herself. The door will be closed on German hopes in that direction.

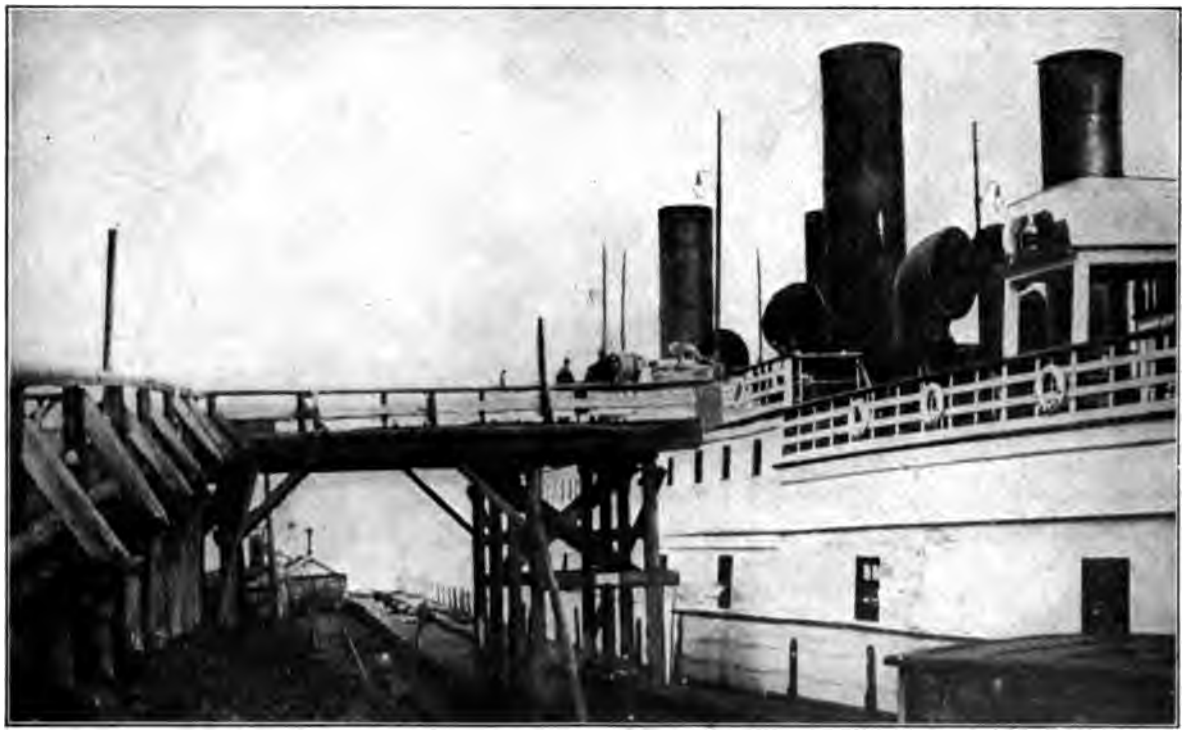
"Germany's one opportunity for expansion has been and still is southeastward. This is the significance of the Central Zone of nations for the German *Drang nach Osten*. Thus far the small nations have not been able to offer an effective resistance, either economically or by force of arms. Nor is it difficult to understand why the Germans have found allies among the small nations. The fear of a strong nation and the hope of reward for services rendered brought the Magyars, the Bulgars, and the Turks to the side of Germany. The territories defended or occupied by the Central Powers, extending from Riga via Warsaw, Budapest, and Belgrade to Salonika-Kavala-Constantinople, represent, in fact, the greater part of the Central Zone of small nations.

MR. CHARLES PERGLER
American Commissioner of the Czechoslovak National Council

"But many of the nations of the Central Zone have resisted and still resist German, Austrian, Magyar, and Turkish expansion. Many of these

LOADING GRAIN ON VOLGA RIVER BOATS

The Volga is the Mississippi River of European Russia, a country in which waterborne traffic far exceeds traffic by rail. Its control by the Czechoslovaks at Samara is, therefore, a strategic necessity in the war against German control of Russia



POSSIBLY THE MOST IMPORTANT BOAT AFLOAT

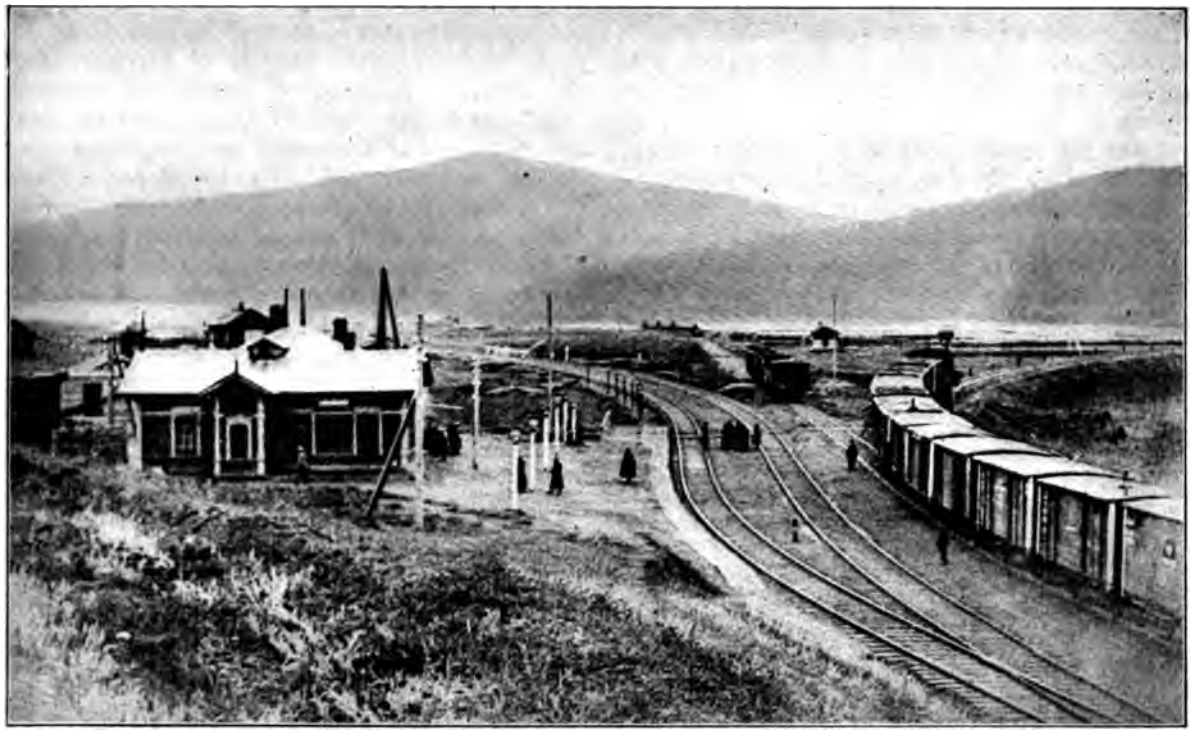
Until recent years, trans-Siberian trains were ferried across Lake Baikal when it was not frozen over. More recently the railroad has been built around the southern end of the lake, but there are many tunnels on this shore line and these on August 21st were reported dynamited. Probably the ferry must now be used by all trains across Baikal

A CITY IN SIBERIA

Tomsk, like Irkutsk, Tobolsk, Omsk, and several other Siberian cities, corresponds to the boom towns of Oklahoma, with thriving businesses, modern stores, electric lights, and trolley cars

AN ASBESTOS MINE IN THE URAL MOUNTAINS

Other mineral products of the Urals are platinum, uranium, coal, and iron. In 1914, there were nineteen coal mines in operation in which 6,517 men were employed. This is also one of the chief centres for iron and steel. The iron is easy to secure, but not distinguished in quality. The Urals produce annually about 721,000 tons of pig iron and 771,000 tons of steel



A TRANS-SIBERIAN TRAIN

The famous trans-Siberian road, which was completed in 1902, extends from Petrograd to Vladivostok and is 4073 miles long. It is the only artery of commerce across Siberia, and all settlement and land development radiate from it

A PLATINUM MINE IN THE URALS

One of the prime purposes of the Allied expedition is to enable the Czechoslovaks to continue to prevent the export of metals from the Urals to Germany This region produces most of the platinum of the world—one of the indispensable metals in warfare, used for the electrical equipment of all gasolene motors and in the production of explosives

nations have their political aspirations. Some of the smaller among them would be content with national autonomy within a bigger state. This applies especially to the small nations of Russia.

"But the subject nations of Austria-Hungary and of Prussia, the Czechoslovaks, the Jugoslavs, and the Poles, demand their independence. These three nations have for a long time been making efforts to achieve freedom and unity. They are the biggest nations of the Central Zone. All three were free and independent in the past; all three possess a remarkable history; all three have done much toward the development of European civilization. The general level of education of the Jugoslavs and the Poles is rising rapidly in spite of unfavorable conditions, while the Czechs yield in no respect to the Germans as regards general education. And lastly, all three nations would be economically self-sufficient.

"The reëstablishment of these three nations as independent political entities, would mean the erection of permanent barriers between the Germans and the Magyars and the Turks. The Pan-German route to the East would be twice cut.

"But in the crushing of Prussian militarism, the reëstablishment of these three nations would mean more than the erection of barriers. For the Poles to be reunited, Posen and Prussian Silesia must be liberated from Prussian rule, and Galicia and Bukowina from Austrian rule. Poland and Czechoslovakia (or Bohemia) are the only two nations to be reëstablished. Serbia, Rumania, and Italy will be enlarged, the Jugoslavs, the Rumanians, and the Italians, now numbered among the oppressed nations of Austria-Hungary, being restored to their racial kin. This means that the boundaries of Germany and particularly of Austria-Hungary will be contracted. Hereafter, the Germans, the Austro-Germans, and the Magyars must rely upon their own peoples.

CZECHOSLOVAK SOLDIERS HOLDING A TRENCH IN RUSSIA

"Thus far I have spoken only of how the self-interests of the Allies will be furthered by the independence of the Poles, the Czechoslovaks, and the Jugoslavs. But if this war is to have any spiritual significance, if it is really a war of democracy against military monarchism, then it cannot be brought to a close with the oppressed nations still in bondage. This side of the question, however, is too plain for words."

THE GERMAN GAS ATTACK

How the Shells Are Used—The Kinds of Gases Employed—Their Effects—The Defenses We Employ Against Them

BY

MAJOR S. J. M. AULD

(Of the British Military Mission)

DURING the last two years, and particularly during the last year, the use of gas shell by the enemy has so increased in importance and extent, as to indicate that the Germans regard this weapon as one of the most effective in their possession. At the present time practically all their gas attacks are carried out by means of shell. For the time being the "cloud" or "wave" gas attack appears to be in the background. It has been estimated that more than one fourth and possibly something like a third of *all* the shell of all calibres fired by the Germans are filled with poisonous gases. Often an intensive bombardment, lasting for hours and in which anything up to 50,000 or 100,000 shell are employed, is composed to the extent of 60 per cent., or even wholly of gas shell. Many months before the recent German "Push" a French officer estimated that on one corps alone the Germans had fired more than a million gas shell in under thirty days.

However, even these vast numbers of gas shell are not sufficient to keep the air poisoned all the time along the whole front. But when the gas does come, it comes in such quantities that there is no mistaking it. This is because, in the words of the official German instructions to their artillery on the use of gas shell, "concentration of gas shell, as regards time and area, namely, the production of the densest cloud on the target sector, is essential to good results. Single shots are valueless."

All calibres of guns, howitzers, and trench mortars are used by the Boche to fire gas shell. This gives him every variation in range from a few hundred yards up to miles, and with the largest shell, allows of more than fifty pounds of gas to be forced into the atmosphere from each round fired. And the gases used are so potent that they are effective when diluted with many thousand times their volume of air.

The great advantage of the gas shell is that it combines the accuracy of fire of the ordinary shell with a much wider killing range and is much more lasting. In other words, if skilfully employed, the gas, to a limited extent, becomes continuous in the atmosphere, both as regards time and space. It consequently has greater opportunity for putting men out of action than high explosive or shrapnel, which have no persistence, and the effects of which may be very much localized. Owing to the ability of gas to move around corners the gas shell can take on targets which are denied to the high explosive or shrapnel.

To take only one example: Against a gun which is well placed and dug in, it is necessary that a "direct hit" be registered on it with high explosive shell, if it is to be silenced or destroyed. Not so, however, with the gas shell. If well placed with regard to the direction of the wind, the gas from the gas shell will envelop the whole battery position, probably put some of the gunners out of action and will compel the remainder to wear their gas masks. This reduces their fighting efficiency very considerably.

As now constructed, gas shell are almost exactly similar to the high explosive shell of the same size, except that the space occupied by the explosive is taken up by the chemical filling. They are generally constructed so that they will burst on percussion.

At various times more than twenty different poisonous compounds have been used by the Germans in their shell or hand grenades, but many of the fillings are now obsolete. The original fillings were lacrymators or tear-producers like xylyl bromide or brom-ethylmethylketone, but these have now practically disappeared as has bromacetone, another powerful tear producer which was used in shell and hand grenades. The very small amount of lacrymator now in use consists of a material called phenylcarbylamine chloride, which probably shows that the extensive use of bromine compounds by the Germans has begun to tell on their bromine supplies, big as they were in the Stassfurt deposits before the war.

At present the Germans use only three kinds of shell, though it is true that certain variations exist in each class. The shell of each type are distinctively marked with different colored crosses from which the gases themselves are consequently named. The three kinds are the Green Cross, the Yellow Cross, and the Blue

Cross. The Green Cross gas is the chief killing gas. Chemically speaking, it is trichlormethylchloroformate. It is a most powerful asphyxiant and is the same kind of poison as the celebrated *phosgen* which is used in the cloud attacks and is also filled into trench mortar bombs. Like phosgen it has a "delayed" action and a man slightly gassed with it may think he is all right and then be taken ill and possibly succumb several hours later, especially if he has done any fatiguing work in between. A little of the Green Cross gas goes a long way, but it is not very persistent and will disappear from a gassed neighborhood fairly soon after the bombardment has ceased unless the weather is very cold.

There are two variations of the Green Cross shell, called by the Germans Green Cross 1 and Green Cross 2. The former is the usual poisonous shell of to-day and contains the trichlormethylchloroformate mixed with a proportion of chloropicrin, a material which in itself is very poisonous and lacrymatory and which in smaller doses is apt to cause severe sickness—hence its nickname of "vomiting gas." The Green Cross 2 has the same basis but is mixed with a proportion of phosgen and the "sneezing gas" of the Blue Cross shell.

MUSTARD GAS

The Yellow Cross gas is the celebrated "mustard gas." It is the gas, *par excellence*, for persisting. It will hang about even in the open for hours and possibly for days and if it once gets into a dugout, the latter is very difficult to ventilate even with the aid of fires. Mustard gas is not primarily a "killing" gas though it will do that as well, if breathed for a long time. Its chief value lies in the fact that, though it can be detected by its mustard or garlic-like smell and by the irritation it causes to the eyes, nose, and throat, it is not sufficiently objectionable at first to cause any alarm. The effects come on later—possibly hours later—and develop in intensity until the man affected becomes a definite, if not permanent, casualty. The parts chiefly affected are the eyes and throat. The eyes suffer excruciating pain, swell up and discharge and, in fact, become temporarily blind. The *throat* and lungs get inflamed and corroded and bronchitis and possibly pneumonia are l to be developed.

"SNEEZE" SHELL

Or German "Blue Cross" gas shell. The heavy black portion shows the solid sneeze material embedded in the fused T. N. T.

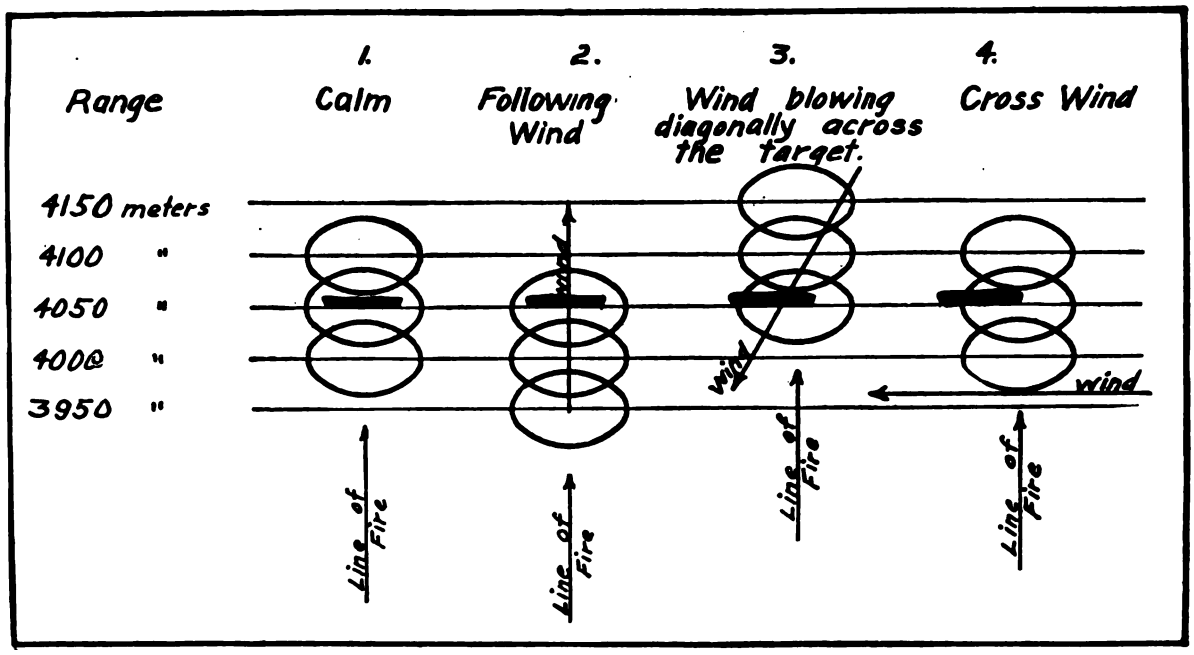
The mustard gas also burns the skin, espe if actual drops of liquid come in contact it, and popular attention has been fixed mo this aspect of the mustard gas than on other. As a matter of fact, however, the burning is the least important po ous property and in itself is respon for very few casualties. The effects are on the eyes and the re tory passages.

As mustard gas will produc effects in very low concentration as it is so very persistent, one readily understand that it is a we of very great military value even casualties it causes are not so seve those of the asphyxiant gases lik Green Cross.

The third member of the tri the Blue Cross Shell, is quite diff from the other two. For one the active component is a solid an another the shell itself is a hig plosive shell of almost full violence solid poison being embedded in fused T. N. T. enclosed in a glass tle or in some cases actually mixe with a special explosive. When shell bursts the solid chemical is mized and distributed into the at phere in the form of tiny par which even in very small conce tions cause intense sneezing an also very irritant to the eyes and l Chemically speaking the substan diphenylchlorarsine, but it is gene known simply as "sneezing gas." parently the enemy hoped by dis ing its presence with the high expl to attain a surprise effect and to men gassed before they realized gas shell were about.

It will have been realized that German gas shells are not really shells in the sense that they contai under pressure. Two of the "Co Crosses" are liquids—the most vol component of which is less vol than water—and the third is a s

Only after the explosion has par lated the poison and given it every portunity to vaporize can any ap ciable concentration of gas be present in the In the case of the solid "sneezing gas" the particles probably remain more like a smoke are hardly gasified at all.



GAS SHELL TACTICS

German artillery instructions showing way to place gas shell in any wind movement—either horizontally or vertically. Heavy black lines denote targets, the circles show position of shell burst

To obtain their maximum effect the gas shell are dropped just to windward of the target so that the gas is driven over the position by the action of the prevailing wind currents. For this purpose it is essential that the behavior of the wind be thoroughly studied, not only at the battery position, but also as to its likely behavior at the target end. Gas bombardments on small targets are, therefore, conducted in consultation with the local officers of the Gas and the Meteorological Services. For longer bombardments local variations in wind direction due to contour or other features are not so important.

The method of placing the gas with reference to the target for different wind directions is shown in the accompanying diagram copied from the German instructions on the subject, and is self-explanatory.

With regard to the mustard gas the German Staff insists that full use be made of its slight smell and its non-immediate effects. To hide its presence as far as possible until it is too late, it is frequently fired (at any rate at first) in conjunction with high explosive. From two to four Yellow Cross shell are fired to one explosive shell.

Owing to its great lasting power the Boche makes the mustard gas his chief neutralizing agent. By firing it on our batteries, our gathering and halting places, on our reserve lines, and so on, he compels our men to wear their masks—it may be for many hours on end—not necessarily during the fighting, but before they go up to the line—with the idea of causing them losses, paralyzing their activity, and wearing them out so that they will not arrive at the fighting with the freshness and vigor necessary to meet or to make an assault.

Where an infantry advance is to be made the Germans generally choose targets—particularly our artillery—owing to the possible danger of gassing their own troops, but this is not always possible and in certain cases they have used simultaneously with their gas shell, shell filled with red and purple dyes, in themselves harmless, and intended to indicate contaminated shell holes to the advancing infantry so that the gassed areas can be avoided.

As a rule, however, the front line troops and other close-in targets are chiefly treated with Green Cross shell, frequently mixed up with Blue Cross or sneezing gas so as to prevent adjustment or cause displacement of the respirators. Blue Cross shell are seldom used alone. This "non-persistent" gas bombardment of the front line generally ceases at least one hour before the assault, but the "persistent" gas bombardment may continue throughout the operation.

After a Green Cross bombardment evil smelling but harmless gases may be used so as to induce our fellows to continue wearing their masks although the advancing enemy will know that he can do without them and so on. But these are minor points in a much bigger game, the extent and importance of which are steadily increasing.

A Turco-German Attempt to Make Targets of 3,000 English and French in Constantinople—Bulgaria on the Auction Block

BY
HENRY MORGENTHAU
(Formerly American Ambassador to Turkey)

SIXTH ARTICLE

ON THE second of May, 1915, Enver sent his aide to the American Embassy, bringing a message which he requested me to transmit to the French and British governments. About a week before the Allies had made their landing on the Gallipoli peninsula. They had evidently concluded that a naval attack by itself could not destroy the defenses and open the road to Constantinople, and they had now adopted the alternative plan of despatching large bodies of troops, to be supported by the guns of their warships. Already many thousands of Australians and New Zealanders had entrenched themselves at the tip of the peninsula, and the excitement that prevailed in Constantinople was almost as great as that which had been caused by the appearance of the fleet two months before.

Enver now informed me that the Allied ships were bombarding in reckless fashion, and ignoring the well-established international rule that such bombardments should be directed only against fortified places; British and French shells, he said, were falling everywhere, destroying unprotected Moslem villages and killing hundreds of innocent non-combatants. Enver asked me to inform the Allied governments that such activities must immediately cease. He had decided to collect all the British and French citizens who were then living in Constantinople, take them down to the Gallipoli peninsula and scatter them in Moslem villages and towns. The Allied fleets would then be throwing their projectiles not only against peaceful and unprotected Moslems, but against their own countrymen. It was Enver's idea that this threat, communicated by the American Ambassador to the British and French governments, would soon put an end to "atrocities" of this kind. I was given a few days' respite to get the information to London and Paris.

At that time about 3,000 British and French citizens were living in Constantinople. The great majority belonged to the class known as Levantines; nearly all had been born in Turkey and in many cases their families had been domiciled in that country for two or more generations. The retention of their European citizenship is almost their only contact with the nation from which

they have sprung. Not uncommonly we meet in the larger cities of Turkey men and women who are English by race and nationality, but who speak no English, French being the usual language of the Levantine. The great majority have never set foot in England, or any other European country; they have only one home, and that is Turkey. The fact that the Levantine usually retains citizenship in the nation of his origin was now apparently making him a fitting object for Turkish vengeance. Besides these Levantines, a large number of English and French were then living in Constantinople, as teachers in the schools, as missionaries, and as important business men and merchants. The Ottoman Government now proposed to assemble all these residents, both those who were immediately and those who were remotely connected with Great Britain and France, and to place them in exposed positions on the Gallipoli peninsula as targets for the Allied fleet.

Naturally my first question when I received the startling information was whether the warships were really bombarding defenseless towns. If they were murdering non-combatant men, women, and children in this reckless fashion, such an act of reprisal as Enver now proposed would probably have had some justification. It seemed to me incredible, however, that the English and French could commit such barbarities. I had already received many complaints of this kind from Turkish officials which, on investigation, had turned out to be untrue. Only a little while before Dr. Meyer, the first assistant to Suleyman Nouman, the Chief of the Medical Staff, had notified me that the British fleet had bombarded a Turkish hospital and killed 1,000 invalids. When I looked into the matter, I found that the building had been but slightly damaged, and only one man killed. I now naturally suspected that this latest tale of Allied barbarity rested on a similarly flimsy foundation. I soon discovered, indeed, that this was the case. The Allied fleet was not bombarding Moslem villages at all. A number of British warships had been stationed in the Gulf of Saros, an indentation of the Aegean Sea, on the western side of the peninsula, and from this vantage point they were throwing shells into the city of Gallipoli. All the "bombarding" of towns in which they were now engaging was limited to this one city. In doing this the British Navy was not violating the rules of civilized warfare, for Gallipoli had long since been evacuated of its civilian population, and the Turks had established military headquarters in several of the houses, which had properly become the object of the Allied attack. I certainly knew of no rule of warfare which prohibited an attack upon a military headquarters! As to the stories of murdered civilians, men, women, and children, these proved to be gross exaggerations; as almost the entire civilian population had long since left, any casualties resulting from the bombardment must have been confined to the armed forces of the Empire.

I now discussed the situation for some time with Mr. Ernest Weyl, who was generally recognized as the leading French citizen in Constantinople, and with Mr. Hoffman Philip, the Counseiller of the Embassy, and then decided that I would go immediately to the Sublime Porte and protest to Enver.

The Council of Ministers was sitting at the time, but Enver came out. His mood was more demonstrative than usual. As he described the attack of the British fleet, he became extremely angry; it was not the imperturbable Enver with whom I had become so familiar.

"These cowardly English!" he exclaimed. "They tried for a long time to get through the Dardanelles, and we were too much for them! And see what kind of a revenge they are taking. Their ships sneak up into the outer bay, where our guns cannot reach them, and shoot over the hills at our little villages, killing harmless old men, women, and children, and bombarding our hospitals. Do you think we are going to let them do that? And what can we do? Our guns don't reach over the hills, so that we cannot meet them in battle. If we could, we would drive them off, just as we did at the Straits a month ago. We have no fleet to send to England to bombard their unfortified towns as they are bombarding ours. So we have decided to move all the English and French we can find to Gallipoli. Let them kill their own people as well as ours."

I told him that, granted that the circumstances were as he had stated them, he had grounds for indignation. But I called his attention to the fact that he was wrong; that he was accusing the Allies of crimes which they were not committing.

"This is about the most barbarous thing that you have ever contemplated," I said. "The British have a perfect right to attack a military headquarters like Gallipoli."

But my argument did not move Enver. I became convinced that he had not decided on this step as a reprisal, to protect his own countrymen, but that he and his associates were really looking for revenge. The fact that the Australians and New Zealanders had successfully effected a landing had aroused their most barbarous instincts. Enver referred to this landing in our talk; though he professed to regard it lightly, and said that he would soon push the French and English into the sea, I saw that it was causing

him much concern. The Turk, as I have said before, is psychologically primitive; to answer the British landing at Gallipoli by murdering hundreds of helpless British who were in his power would strike him as perfectly logical. As a result of this talk I gained only a few concessions. Enver agreed to postpone the deportation until Thursday—it was then Sunday, to exclude women and children from the order and to take none of the British and French who were then connected with American institutions.

"All the rest will have to go," was his final word. "Moreover," he added, "we don't purpose to have the English ships fire at the transports we are sending to the Dardanelles. In the future we shall put a few Englishmen and Frenchmen on every ship we send down there as a protection to our own soldiers."

DISTRACTED ALIENS AT THE AMERICAN EMBASSY

When I returned to our Embassy I found that the news of the proposed deportation had been published. The amazement and despair that immediately resulted were unparalleled, even in that city of constant sensations. Europeans, by living for many years in the Levant, seem to acquire its emotions, particularly its susceptibility to fear and horror, greatly accentuated by their deprivation of the protection of their Embassies. A stream of frenzied people now began to pour into the Embassy. From their tears and cries one would have thought that they were immediately to be taken out and shot, and that there was any possibility of being saved seemed hardly to occur to them. Yet all the time they insisted that I should get individual exemptions. One could not go because he had a dependent family; another had a sick child; another was ill himself. My ante-room was full of frantic mothers, asking me to secure exemption for their sons, and of wives, who sought special treatment for their husbands. They made all kinds of impossible suggestions: I should resign my ambassadorship as a protest; I should even threaten Turkey with war by the United States! They constantly besieged my wife, who spent hours listening to their stories and comforting them. In all this exciting mass there were many who faced the situation with more courage.

The day after my talk with Enver, Bedri, the Prefect of Police, began to arrest some of the victims.

The next morning one of my callers made what would ordinarily have seemed to be an obvious suggestion. This visitor was a German. He told me that Germany would suffer greatly in [illegible]tation if the Turks carried out this plan; [illegible]*ld would not* possibly be convinced that Germans had not devised the whole scheme. He said that I should call upon the German and Austrian Ambassadors; he was sure that they would support me in my pleas for decent treatment. As I had made appeals to Wangenheim several times before in behalf of foreigners, without success, I had hardly thought it worth while to ask his coöperation in this instance. Moreover, the plan of using non-combatants as a protective screen in warfare was such a familiar German device that I was not at all sure that the German Staff had not instigated the Turks. I decided, however, to adopt the advice of my German visitor and seek Wangenheim's assistance. I must admit that I did this as a forlorn hope, but at least I thought it only fair to Wangenheim to give him a chance to help.

WANGENHEIM THINKS THE ACT A "PROPER ONE"

I called upon him in the evening at ten o'clock and stayed with him until eleven. I spent the larger part of this hour in a fruitless attempt to interest him in the plight of these non-combatants. Wangenheim said point blank that he would not assist me. "It is perfectly proper," he maintained "for the Turks to establish a concentration camp at Gallipoli. It is also proper for them to put non-combatant English and French on their transports and thus insure them against attack." As I made repeated attempts to argue the matter, Wangenheim would deftly shift the conversation to other topics. According to my record of this talk, written out at the time, the German Ambassador discussed almost every subject except the one upon which I had called.

"This act of the Turks will greatly injure Germany"—I would begin.

"Do you know that the English soldiers at Gaba Tepe are without food and drink?" he would reply. "They made an attack to capture a well and were repulsed. The English have taken their ships away so as to prevent their soldiers from retreating——"

"But about this Gallipoli business," I interrupted. "Germans themselves here in Constantinople have said that Germany should stop it——"

"The Allies landed 45,000 men on the peninsula," Wangenheim answered, "and of these 10,000 were killed. In a few days we shall attack the rest and destroy them."

When I attempted to approach the subject from another angle, this master diplomatist would begin discussing Rumania and the possibility of obtaining ammunition by way of that country.

"Your Secretary Bryan," he said, "has just issued a statement showing that it would be un

tral for the United States to refuse to sell nunition to the Allies. So we have used this e argument with the Rumanians; if it is un- tral not to sell ammunition, it is certainly eutral to refuse to transport it!"

he humorous aspects of this argument ap- led to Wangenheim, but I reminded him that as there to discuss the lives of between 2,000 3,000 non-combatants. As I touched upon subject again, Wangenheim replied that the ted States would not be acceptable to Ger- ıy as a peacemaker now, because we were so ndly to the Entente. He insisted on giving all the details of recent German successes :he Carpathians and the latest news on the ian situation.

We would rather fight Italy than have her our ally," he said.

.t another time all this would have greatly ertained me, but not then. It was quite arent that Wangenheim would not discuss proposed deportation, further than to say t the Turks were justified. His statement t it was planned to establish a "concentration ıp" at Gallipoli unfolded his whole attitude. to this time the Turks had not established centration camps for enemy aliens anywhere. ad earnestly advised them not to establish ı camps, thus far with success. On the other d, the Germans were protesting that Turkey "too lenient" and urging the establishment ıuch camps in the interior. Wangenheim's of the words "concentration camps in Galli- " showed that the German view was at last vailing and that I was losing my battle for foreigners. An internment camp is a dis- sing place under the most favorable circum- ıces, but who, except a German or a Turk, r conceived of establishing one right in the l of battle? Let us suppose that the English the French should assemble all their enemy ns, march them to the front, and place them ı camp in No Man's Land, directly in the fire ıoth armies. That was precisely the kind of a ıncentration camp" which the Turks and mans now intended to establish for the resi- t aliens of Constantinople—for my talk with ngenheim left no doubt in my mind that the mans were parties to the plot. They feared t the land attack on the Dardanelles would ceed, just as they had feared that the naval ıck would succeed, and they were prepared use any weapon, even the lives of several usand non-combatants, in their efforts to ke it a failure.

ly talk with Wangenheim produced no ılts, so far as enlisting his support was con- ıed, but it stiffened my determination to defeat this enterprise. I now c vicini, the Austrian Ambassad declared that the proposed "inhuman."

"I will take up the matter Vizier," he said, "and see if I ca

"But you know that is perf answered. "The Grand Vizier he is only a figurehead. Only c this; that is Enver."

Pallavicini had far finer se tenderer conscience than War had no doubt that he was entir desire to prevent this crime. diplomat of the old Austrian in his eyes was so important a quette. As the representative propriety demanded that he sh his negotiations with the Grand also at that time Minister of For never discussed state matters Enver—indeed, he had only relations with these men, the real And now the saving of 3,000 Pallavicini's eyes, any reason wh regard the traditional routin intercourse.

"I must go strictly accordin matter," he said. And, in the heart, he did speak to Saïd H this example Wangenheim also sp Vizier. In Wangenheim's cas protest was merely intended for

"You may fool some people, man Ambassador, "but you kn to the Grand Vizier in this mat quential as shouting in the air."

BULGARIAN MINISTER INTERF VICTIMS

However, there was one mem matic corps who worked wholeh of the threatened foreigners. Koloucheff, the Bulgarian Minist heard of this latest Turco-Ger immediately came to me with of He did not propose to waste his to the Grand Vizier, but annou of going immediately to the so Enver himself. Koloucheff w important man at that part Bulgaria was then neutral and angling for her support.

Meanwhile Bedri and his m arresting all the doomed Eng The deportation was arran Thursday morning. On We ment reached the hysteri

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willing to wait, for I knew what the two men were discussing. Presently M. Koloucheff came out; his face was tense and anxious, clearly revealing the ordeal through which he had just passed.

"It is perfectly hopeless," he said to me. "Nothing will move Enver: he is absolutely determined that this thing shall go through. I cannot wish you good luck, for you will have none."

ENVER POLITE, BUT UNYIELDING

The meeting which followed between Enver and myself was the most momentous I had had up to that time. We discussed the fate of the foreigners for nearly an hour. I found Enver in one of his most polite but most unyielding moods. He told me before I began that it was useless to talk—that the matter was a closed issue. But I insisted on telling him what a splendid impression Turkey's treatment of her enemies had made on the outside world. "Your record in this matter is better than that of any other belligerent country," I said. "You have not put them into concentration camps, you have let them stay here and continue their ordinary business, just as before. You have done this in spite of strong pressure to act otherwise. Why do you destroy all the good effect this has produced by now making such a fatal mistake as you propose?"

But Enver insisted that the Allied fleets were bombarding unfortified towns, killing women, children, and wounded men.

"We have warned them through you that they must not do this," he said, "but they don't stop."

This statement, of course, was not true, but I could not persuade Enver that he was wrong. He expressed great appreciation for all that I had done, and regretted for my sake that he could not accept my advice. I told him that the foreigners had suggested that I threaten to give up the care of British and French interests.

"Nothing would suit us better," he quickly replied. "The only difficulty we have with you is when you come around and bother us with English and French affairs."

I asked him if I had ever given him any advice that had led them into trouble. He graciously replied that they had never yet made a mistake by following my suggestions.

"Very well, take my advice in this case too," I replied. "You will find later that you have made no mistake by doing so. I tell you that it is my positive opinion that your cabinet is committing a terrible error by taking this step."

"But I have given orders to this effect," Enver answered. "I cannot countermand them. If I

did, my whole influence with the army would go. Once having given an order I never change it. My own wife asked me to have her servants exempted from military service and I refused. The Grand Vizier asked exemption for his secretary, and I refused him, because I had given orders. I never revoke orders and I shall not do it in this case. If you can show me some way in which this order can be carried out and your protégés still saved, I shall be glad to listen."

"HOW MANY WILL YOU LET ME SEND?"

I had already discovered one of the most conspicuous traits in the Turkish character; its tendency to compromise and to bargain. Enver's request for a suggestion now gave me an opportunity to play on this characteristic.

"All right," I said. "I think I can. I should think you could still carry out your orders without sending *all* the French and English residents down. If you would send only a few, you would still win your point. You could still maintain discipline in the army and these few would be as strong a deterrent to the Allied fleet as sending all."

It seemed to me that Enver almost eagerly seized upon this suggestion as a way out of his dilemma.

"How many will you let me send?" he asked quickly. The moment he put this question I knew that I had carried my point.

"I would suggest that you take twenty English and twenty French—forty in all."

"Let me have fifty," he said.

"All right—we won't haggle over ten," I answered. "But you must make another concession. Let me pick out the fifty who are to go."

This agreement had relieved the tension and now the gracious side of Enver's nature began to show itself again.

"No, Mr. Ambassador," he replied. "You have prevented me from making a mistake this afternoon; now let me prevent you from making one. If you select the fifty men who are to go, you will simply make fifty enemies. I think too much of you to let you do that. I will prove to you that I am your real friend. Can't you make some other suggestion?"

"Why not take the youngest? They can stand the fatigue best."

"That is fair," answered Enver. He said that Bedri, who was in the building at that moment, would select the "victims." This caused me some uneasiness; I knew that Enver's modification of his order would displease Bedri, whose hatred of the foreigners had shown itself on many occasions, and that the head of the police would do his best to find some way of evading it. So I asked Enver to send for Bedri and give him his new orders in my presence. Bedri came in, and, as I had suspected, he did not like the new arrangement at all. As soon as he heard that he was to take only fifty and the youngest he threw up his hands and began to walk up and down the room.

"No, no, this will never do!" he said. "I don't want the youngest, I must have the notables!"

But Enver stuck to the arrangement and gave Bedri orders to take only the youngest men. It was quite apparent that Bedri needed humoring, so I asked him to ride with me to the American Embassy, where we would have tea and arrange all the details. This invitation had an instantaneous effect which the American mind will have difficulty in comprehending. An American would regard it as nothing wonderful to be seen publicly riding with an Ambassador—or to take tea at an Embassy. But this is a distinction which never comes to a minor functionary, such as a Prefect of Police, in the Turkish capital. Possibly I lowered the dignity of my office in extending this invitation to Bedri; Pallavicini would probably have thought so, but it certainly paid, for it made Bedri more pliable than he would otherwise have been.

BEDRI BEGS FOR "THREE NOTABLES"

When we reached the Embassy, we found the crowds still there, awaiting the results of my intercession. When I told the besiegers that only fifty had to go and these the youngest, they seemed momentarily stupefied. They could not understand it at first; they believed that I might obtain some modification of the order, but nothing like this. Then, as the truth dawned upon them, I found myself in the centre of a crowd that had apparently gone momentarily insane, this time not from grief, but from joy. Women, the tears streaming down their faces, insisted on throwing themselves on their knees, seizing both my hands and covering them with kisses. Mature men, despite my violent protestations, persisted in hugging me and kissing me on both cheeks. For several minutes I struggled with this crowd, embarrassed by its demonstrations of gratitude, but finally I succeeded in breaking away and secreting myself and Bedri in an inner room.

"Can't I have a few notables?" he asked.

"I'll give you just one," I replied.

"Can't I have three?" he asked again.

"You can have all who are under fifty," I answered.

But that did not satisfy him, as there was not a solitary person of distinction under that age limit. Bedri really had his eye on Messieurs Weyl,

Rey, and Dr. Frew. But I had one "notable" up my sleeve whom I was willing to concede. Dr. Wigram, an Anglican clergyman, one of the most prominent men in the foreign colony, had pleaded with me, asking that he might be permitted to go with the hostages and furnish them such consolation as religion could give them. I knew that nothing would delight Dr. Wigram more than to be thrown as a sop to Bedri's passion for "notables."

"Dr. Wigram is the only notable you can have," I said to Bedri. So he accepted him as the best that he could do in that line.

Mr. Hoffman Philip, the Counseiller of the American Embassy—now American Minister to Colombia—had already expressed a desire to accompany the hostages, so that he might minister to their comfort. This manifestation of a fine humanitarian spirit was nothing new in Mr. Philip. Although not in good health, Mr. Philip had returned to Constantinople after Turkey had entered the war, in order that he might assist me in the work of caring for the refugees. Through all that arduous period he constantly displayed that sympathy for the unfortunate, the sick and the poor, which is innate in his character. Though it was somewhat irregular for a representative of the Embassy to engage in such a hazardous enterprise as this one, Mr. Philip pleaded so earnestly that finally I reluctantly gave my consent. I also obtained permission for Mr. Arthur Ruhl and Mr. Henry West Suydam, of the Brooklyn *Eagle*, to accompany the party.

At the end Bedri had to have his little joke. Though the fifty were informed that the boat for Gallipoli would leave the next morning at six o'clock, Bedri, with his police, visited their houses at midnight, and routed them all out of bed. The crowd that assembled at the dock the next morning looked somewhat weather-beaten and worse for wear. Bedri was there, superintending the whole proceeding, and when he came up to me, he good-naturedly reproached me again for letting him have only one "notable." In the main he behaved very decently, though he could not refrain from telling the hostages that the British airplanes were dropping bombs on Gallipoli! Of the twenty-five "Englishmen" assembled there were only two who had been born in England, and of the twenty-five "Frenchmen" only two who had been born in France! They carried satchels containing food and other essentials, their assembled relatives had additional bundles, and Mrs. Morgenthau sent several large cases of food to the ship. The parting of these young men with their families was affecting, but they all stood bravely.

I returned to the Embassy, somewhat wearied by the excitement of the last few days and in no particularly gracious humor for the honor which now awaited me. For I had been there only a few minutes when His Excellency, the German Ambassador, was announced. Wangenheim discussed commonplaces for a few minutes and then approached the real object of his call. He asked me to telegraph to Washington that he had been "helpful" in getting the number of the Gallipoli hostages reduced to fifty! In view of the actual happenings this request was so preposterous that I almost laughed in his face. I had known that, in going through the form of speaking to the Grand Vizier, Wangenheim had been manufacturing an alibi for future use, but I had not expected him to fall back upon it so soon.

"Well," said Wangenheim, "at least telegraph your Government that I didn't 'hetz' the Turks in this matter."

The German verb "hetzen" means about the same as the English "sic," in the sense of inciting a dog. I was in no mood to give Wangenheim a clean bill of health, and told him so. In fact, I specifically reported to Washington that he had refused to help me. A day or two afterward Wangenheim called me on the telephone and began to talk in an excited and angry tone. His Government had wired him about my telegram to Washington. I told him that if he desired credit for assistance in matters of this kind, he should really exert himself and do something.

The hostages had an uncomfortable time at Gallipoli; they were put into two wooden houses, with no beds and no food except that which they had brought themselves. The days and nights were made wretched by the abundant vermin that is a commonplace in Turkey. Had Mr. Philip not gone with them, they would have suffered seriously. After the unfortunates had been there for a few days I began work with Enver again to get them back. Sir Edward Grey, then British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, had requested our State Department to send me a message with the request that I present it to Enver and his fellow ministers; its purport was that the British Government would hold them personally responsible for any injury to the hostages. I presented this message to Enver on May 9th. I had seen Enver in many moods but the unbridled rage which Sir Edward's admonition now caused was something entirely new. As I read the telegram his face became livid, and he absolutely lost control of himself. The European polish which Enver had sedulously acquired dropped like a mask; I now saw him for what he really was—a savage, blood-thirsty Turk.

"They will not come back!" he shouted. "I shall let them stay there until they rot!"

"I would like to see those English touch me!" he continued. I saw that the method which I had adopted with Enver, that of persuasion, was the only possible way of handling him. I tried to soothe the Minister now, and, after a while, he quieted down.

"But don't ever threaten me again!" he said.

After spending a week at Gallipoli, the party returned. The Turks had moved their military headquarters from Gallipoli and the English fleet, therefore, ceased to bombard it. All came back in good condition and were welcomed home with great enthusiasm.

II

The Gallipoli deportation gives some idea of my difficulties in attempting to fulfil my duty as the representative of Allied interests in the Ottoman Empire. Yet, despite these occasional outbursts of hatred, in the main the Turkish officials themselves behaved very well. They had promised me at the beginning that they would treat their alien enemies decently, and would permit them either to remain in Turkey, and follow their accustomed occupations, or to leave the Empire. They apparently believed that the world would judge them, after the war was over, not by the way they treated their own subject peoples but by the way they treated the subjects of the enemy powers. The result was that a Frenchman, an Englishman, or an Italian enjoyed far greater security in Turkey than an Armenian, a Greek, or a Jew. Yet against this disposition to be decent a persistent malevolent force was constantly manifesting itself. In a letter to the State Department, I described the influence that was working against foreigners in Turkey. The German Ambassador, I wrote in substance, keeps pressing on the Turks the advisability both of repressive measures and of detaining as hostages the subjects of the belligerent powers. I have had to encounter the persistent opposition of my German colleague in endeavoring to obtain permission for the departure of the subjects of the nationalities under our protection.

Now and then the Turkish officials would retaliate upon one of their enemy aliens, usually in reprisal for some injury, or fancied injury, inflicted on their own subjects in enemy countries. Such acts gave rise to many exciting episodes, some tragical, some farcical, all illuminating in the light they shed upon Turkish character and upon Teutonic methods.

One afternoon I was sitting with Talaat, discussing routine matters, when his telephone rang. "*Pour vous*," said the Minister, handing me the receiver.

It was one of my secretaries. He told me that Bedri had arrested Sir Edwin Pears, had thrown him into prison and had seized all his papers. Sir Edwin was one of the best known British residents of Constantinople. For forty years he had practiced law in the Ottoman capital; he had also written much for the press during that period, and had published several books which had given him fame as an authority on Oriental history and politics. He was about eighty years old and of venerable and distinguished appearance. When the war started I had exacted a special promise from Talaat and Bedri that, in no event should Sir Edwin Pears and Prof. van Millingen, of Robert College be disturbed. This telephone message which I now received—curiously enough, in Talaat's presence—seemed to indicate that this promise had been broken.

I now turned to Talaat and spoke in a manner that made no attempt to conceal my displeasure.

"Is this all your promises are worth?" I asked. "Can't you find anything better to do than to molest such a respectable old man as Sir Edwin Pears? What has he ever done to you?"

"Come, come, don't get excited," rejoined Talaat. "He's only been in prison for a few hours, and I will see that he is released."

TALAAT "UNDER ARREST"

He tried to get Bedri on the wire, but failed. By this time I knew Bedri well enough to understand his method of operation. When Bedri really wished to be reached on the telephone, he was the most accessible man in the world; when his presence at the other end of the wire might prove embarrassing, the most painstaking search could not reveal his whereabouts. As Bedri had given me his solemn promise that Sir Edwin should not be disturbed, this was an occasion when the Prefect of Police preferred to keep himself inaccessible.

"I shall stay in this room until you get Bedri," I now told Talaat. The big Turk took the situation good-humoredly. We waited a considerable period, but Bedri succeeded in avoiding an encounter. Finally I called up one of my secretaries and told him to go out and hunt for the missing Prefect.

"Tell Bedri," I said, "that I have Talaat under arrest in his own office and that I shall not let him leave it until he has been able to instruct Bedri to release Sir Edwin Pears."

Talaat was greatly enjoying the comedy of the situation; he knew Bedri's ways even better than I did and he was much interested in seeing whether I should succeed in finding him. But in a few

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Maltese, 70 years old. The ruling powers had a grudge against him, for he was the proprietor of the *Levant Herald*, a paper which had published articles criticizing the Union and Progress Committee. On the very night of the Pears episode, Bedri went to Dr. Mizzi's house at eleven o'clock, routed the old gentleman out of bed, arrested him, and placed him on a train for Angora, in Asia Minor. As a terrible epidemic of typhus was raging at Angora, this was not a desirable place of residence for a man of Dr. Mizzi's years. The next morning, when I heard of it for the first time, Dr. Mizzi was well on the way to his place of exile.

"This time I got ahead of you!" said Bedri, with a triumphant laugh. He was as good-natured about it and as pleased as a boy. At last he had "put one over" on the American Ambassador, who had been unguardedly asleep in his bed when this old man had been railroaded to a fever camp in Asia Minor.

But Bedri's success was not so complete, after all. At my request Talaat had Dr. Mizzi sent to Konia, instead of to Angora. There one of the American missionaries, Dr. Dodd, had a splendid hospital; I arranged that Dr. Mizzi could have a nice room in this building, and here he lived for several months, with congenial associates, good food, a healthy atmosphere, all the books he wanted, and one thing without which he would have been utterly miserable—a piano. So I still thought that the honors between Bedri and myself were a little better than even.

"SPECIAL TREATMENT" FOR SUBMARINE OFFICERS

When the English authorities arrested the Turkish Consul and his staff at Saloniki, the Turks promptly imprisoned nine leading members of the French colony. It took me nearly three weeks to have them released. Early in January, 1916, word was received that the English were maltreating Turkish war prisoners in Egypt. Soon afterward I received letters from two Australians, Commander Stoker and Lieutenant Fitzgerald, telling me that they had been confined for eleven days in a miserable, damp dungeon at the War Office, with no companions except a monstrous swarm of vermin. These two naval officers had come to Constantinople on submarines which had made the daring trip from England, dived under the mines in the Dardanelles and arrived in the Marmora, where for several weeks they terrorized and dominated this inland sea, practically putting an end to all shipping. The particular submarine on which my correspondents arrived, the *E 15*, had been caught in the Dardanelles, and its crew and officers had been sent to the Turkish military

prison at Afium Kara Hissar in Asia Minor. When news of the alleged maltreatment of Turkish prisoners in Egypt was received, lots were drawn among these prisoners to see which two should be taken to Constantinople and imprisoned in reprisal. Stoker and Fitzgerald drew the unlucky numbers, and had been lying in this terrible underground cell for eleven days. I immediately took the matter up with Enver and suggested that a neutral doctor and officer examine the Turks in Egypt and report on the truth of the stories. We promptly received word that the report was false, and that, as a matter of fact, the Turkish prisoners in English hands were receiving excellent treatment.

About this time I called on Monsignor Dolci, the Apostolic Delegate in Turkey. He happened to refer to a Lieutenant Fitzgerald, who, he said, was then a prisoner of war at Afium Kara Hissar.

"I am much interested in him," said Monsignor Dolci, "because he is engaged to the daughter of the British Minister to the Vatican. I spoke to Enver about him and he promised that he would receive special treatment."

"What is his first name?" I asked.

"Jeffrey."

"He's receiving 'special treatment' indeed," I answered. "Do you know that he is in a dungeon in Constantinople this very moment?"

Naturally M. Dolci was much disturbed but I reassured him, saying that his protégé would be released in a few days.

"You see how shamefully you treated these young men," I now said to Enver, "you should do something to make amends."

"All right, what would you suggest?"

Stoker and Fitzgerald were prisoners of war, and, according to the usual rule, would have been sent back to the prison camp after being released from their dungeon. I now proposed that Enver should give them a vacation of eight days in Constantinople. He entered into the spirit of the occasion and the men were released. They certainly presented a sorry sight; they had spent twenty-five days in the dungeon, with no chance to bathe or to shave, with no change of linen or any of the decencies of life. But Mr. Philip took charge, furnished them the necessaries, and in a brief period we had before us two young and handsome British naval officers. Their eight days' freedom turned out to be a triumphal procession, notwithstanding that they were always accompanied by an English-speaking Turkish officer. Monsignor Dolci and the American Embassy entertained them at dinner and they had a pleasant visit at the Girls' College. When the time came to return to their prison camp, the young men declared that they would be glad to spend another month in dungeons, if they could have a corresponding period of freedom in the city when liberated.

In spite of all that has happened I shall always have a kindly feeling toward Enver for his treatment of Fitzgerald. I told the Minister of War about the Lieutenant's engagement.

"Don't you think he's been punished enough?" I asked. "Why don't you let the boy go home and marry his sweetheart?"

The proposition immediatelv appealed to Enver's sentimental side.

"I'll do it," he replied, "if he will give me his word of honor not to fight against Turkey any more."

Fitzgerald naturally gave this promise, and so his comparatively brief stay in the dungeon had the result of freeing him from imprisonment and restoring him to happiness. As poor Stoker had formed no romantic attachments that would have justified a similar plea in his case, he had to go back to the prison in Asia Minor. He did this, however, in a genuinely sporting spirit that was worthy of the best traditions of the British Navy.

III

The failure of the Allied fleet at the Dardanelles did not definitely settle the fate of Constantinople. Naturally the Turks and the Germans felt immensely relieved when the fleet sailed away. But they were by no means entirely easy in their mind. The most direct road to the ancient capital still remained available to their enemies.

In early September, 1915, one of the most influential Germans in the city gave me a detailed explanation of the prevailing military situation. He summed up the whole matter in the single phrase:

"We cannot hold the Dardanelles without the military support of Bulgaria."

This meant, of course, that, unless Bulgaria adopted the cause of Turkey and the Central Empires, the Gallipoli expedition would succeed, Constantinople would fall, the Turkish Empire would collapse, Russia would be recreated as an economic and military power, and the war, in a comparatively brief period, would terminate in a victory for the Entente. Not improbably the real neutrality of Bulgaria would have had the same result. It is thus perhaps not too much to say that, in September and October of 1915, the Bulgarian Government held the duration of the war in its hands.

This fact is of such preëminent importance that I can hardly emphasize it too strongly. I suggest that my readers take down the map of a

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tending from Nish to Belgrade to the Teutonic powers. Thus the Bulgarian alliance would make Constantinople a suburb of Berlin, place all the resources of the Krupps at the disposal of the Turkish army, make inevitable the failure of the Allied attack on Gallipoli, and lay the foundation of that Oriental Empire which had been for thirty years the mainspring of German policy.

It is thus apparent what my German friend meant, when, in early September he said that, "without Bulgaria we cannot hold the Dardanelles." Everybody sees this so clearly now that there is a prevalent belief that Germany had arranged this Bulgarian alliance before the outbreak of the war. On this point I have no information. That the Bulgarian king and the Kaiser may have arranged this coöperation in advance is not unlikely. But we must not make the mistake of believing that this settled the matter for the experiences of the last few years shows us that treaties are not always lived up to. Whether there was an understanding or not, I know that the Turkish officials and the Germans by no means regarded it as settled that Bulgaria would take their side. In their talks with me they constantly showed the utmost apprehension over the outcome; and at one time the fear was general that Bulgaria would take the side of the Entente.

COLLEGE GIRLS AS PAWNS IN DIPLOMACY

I had my first personal contact with the Bulgarian negotiations in the latter part of May, when I was informed that M. Koloucheff, the Bulgarian Minister, had notified Robert College that the Bulgarian students could not remain in Constantinople until the end of the college year, but would have to return home by June 5th. The College for Women had also received word that all the Bulgarian girls must return at the same time. Both these American institutions had many Bulgarian students, in most cases splendid representatives of their country; it is through these colleges, indeed, that the distant United States and Bulgaria had established such friendly relations. But they had never had such an experience before.

Everybody was discussing the meaning of this move. It seemed quite apparent. The chief topic of conversation at that time was Bulgaria. Would she enter the war? If so, on which side would she cast her fortunes? One day it was reported that she would join the Entente; the next day that she had decided to ally herself with the Central Powers. The prevailing belief was that she was actively bargaining with both sides and looking

for the highest terms. Should Bulgaria go with the Entente, however, it would be undesirable to have any Bulgarian subjects marooned in Turkey. As the boys and girls in the American colleges usually came from important Bulgarian families—one of them was the daughter of General Ivanoff, who led the Bulgarian armies in the Balkan Wars—the Bulgarian Government might naturally have a particular interest in their safety.

The conclusion reached by most people was that Bulgaria had decided to take the side of the Entente. The news rapidly spread throughout Constantinople. The Turks were particularly impressed. Dr. Patrick, President of Constantinople College, arranged a special hurried commencement for her Bulgarian students which I attended. It was a sad occasion, more like a funeral than the festivity that usually took place. I found the Bulgarian girls almost in a hysterical state; they all believed that war was coming immediately, and that they were being bundled home merely to prevent them from falling into the clutches of the Turks. My sympathies were so aroused that we brought them down to the American Embassy, where we all spent a delightful evening. After dinner the girls dried their eyes and entertained us by singing many of their beautiful Bulgarian songs and what had started as a mournful day thus had a happy ending. Next morning the girls all left for Bulgaria.

A few weeks afterward the Bulgarian Minister told me that the Government had summoned the students home merely for political effect. There was no immediate likelihood of war, he said. But Bulgaria wished Germany and Turkey to understand that there was still a chance that she might join the Entente. Bulgaria, as all of us suspected, was apparently on the auction block. The one fixed fact in the Bulgarian position was the determination to have Macedonia. Everything, said Kolouchеff, depended upon that. His conversations reflected the general Bulgarian view that Bulgaria had fairly won this territory in the first Balkan War, that the Powers had unjustly permitted her to be deprived of it, that it was Bulgarian by race, language, and tradition, and that there could be no permanent peace in the Balkans until it was returned to its rightful possessors. But Bulgaria insisted on more than a promise, to be redeemed after the war was over; she demanded immediate occupation. Once Macedonia were turned over to Bulgaria, she would join her forces to those of the Entente. There were two great prizes in the game then being played in the Balkans, one was Macedonia, which Bulgaria must have, and the other Constantinople, which Russia was determined to get. Bulgaria was entirely wi ling that Russia should have Constantinople if she herself could obtain Macedonia.

I was given to understand that the Bulgarian General Staff had plans all completed for the capture of Constantinople, and that they had shown these plans to the Entente. Their programme called for a Bulgarian army of 300,000 men advancing upon Constantinople twenty-three days from the time the signal to start should be given—but promises of Macedonia would not suffice; they must have possession.

Bulgaria recognized the difficulties of the Allied position. She did not believe that Serbia and Greece would voluntarily surrender Macedonia, nor did she believe that the Allies would dare to take this country away from them by force. In that event, she thought that there was a danger that Serbia might make a separate peace with the Central Powers. On the other hand, Bulgaria would object if Serbia received Bosnia and Herzegovina as compensation for the loss of Macedonia—she felt that an enlarged Serbia would be a constant menace to her, and hence a future menace to peace in the Balkans. Thus the situation was extremely difficult and complicated.

One of the best informed men in Turkey was Paul Weitz, the correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. Weitz was more than a journalist; he had spent thirty years in Constantinople and had the most intimate personal knowledge of Turkish affairs, and he was the confidant and adviser of the German Embassy. His duties there were really semi-diplomatic. Weitz had really been one of the most successful agencies in the German penetration of Turkey; it was common talk that he knew every important man in the Turkish Empire, the best way to approach him, and his price. I had several talks with Weitz about Bulgaria during those critical August and early September days. He said many times that it was not at all certain that she would join her forces with Germany. Yet on September 7th Weitz came to me with important news. The situation had changed over night. Baron Neurath, the Counseiller of the German Embassy at Constantinople, had gone to Sofia, and, as a result of his visit, an agreement had been signed that would make Bulgaria Germany's ally.

HOW GERMANY WON OVER BULGARIA

Germany, said Weitz, had won over Bulgaria by doing something which the Entente had not been able and willing to do. It had secured her the immediate possession of a piece of coveted territory. Serbia had refused to give Bulgaria

immediate possession of Macedonia; Turkey, on the other hand, had now surrendered a piece of the Ottoman Empire. The amount of land in question, it is true, was apparently insignificant, yet it had great strategic advantages and represented a genuine sacrifice by Turkey. The Maritza River, a few miles north of Enos, bends, to the east, to the north, and then to the west again, creating a block of territory, with an area of nearly 1,000 square miles, including the important cities of Demotica, Kara-Agatch, and half of Adrianople. What makes this land particularly important is that it contains about fifty miles of the railroad which runs from Dedeagatch to Sofia. All this railroad, that is, except this fifty miles, is laid in Bulgarian territory, this short strip, extending through Turkey, cuts Bulgaria's communications with the Mediterranean. Naturally Bulgaria yearned for this strip of land; and Turkey now handed it over to her. This cession cleared up the whole Balkan situation and it made Bulgaria an ally of Turkey and the Central Powers. Besides the railroad, Bulgaria obtained that part of Adrianople which lay west of the Maritza River. In addition, of course, Bulgaria was to receive Macedonia, as soon as that province could be occupied by Bulgaria and her allies.

I vividly remember the exultation of Weitz when this agreement was signed.

"It's all settled," he told me. "Bulgaria has decided to join us. It was all arranged last night at Sofia."

The Turks also were greatly relieved. For the first time they saw the way out of their troubles. The Bulgarian arrangement, Enver told me, had taken a tremendous weight off their minds.

"We Turks are entitled to the credit," he said, "of bringing Bulgaria in on the side of the Central Powers. She would never have come to our assistance if we hadn't given her that slice of land. By surrendering it immediately and not waiting till the end of the war, we showed our good faith. It was very hard for us to do it, of course, especially to give up part of the city of Adrianople, but it was worth the price. We really surrendered this territory in exchange for Constantinople, for, if Bulgaria had not come in on our side, we would have lost this city. Just think how enormously we have improved our position. We have had to keep more than 200,000 men at the Bulgarian frontier, to protect us against any possible attack from that quarter. We can now transfer all these troops to the Gallipoli peninsula, and thus make it absolutely impossible that the Allies' expedition can succeed. We are also greatly hampered at the Dardanelles by the lack of ammunition. But Bulgaria, Austria, and Germany are to make a joint attack on Serbia and will completely control that country in a few weeks. So we shall have a direct railroad line from Constantinople into Austria and Germany and can get all the war supplies which we need. With Bulgaria on our side no attack can be made on Constantinople from the north—we have created an impregnable bulwark against Russia. I do not deny that the situation has caused us great anxiety. We were afraid that Greece and Bulgaria would join hands, and that would also bring in Rumania. Then Turkey would have been lost; they would have had us between a pair of pincers. But now we have only one task before us, that is to drive the English and French at the Dardanelles into the sea. With all the soldiers and all the ammunition which we need, we shall do this in a very short time. We gave up that piece of land because we saw that that was the way to win the war."

The outcome justified Enver's prophecies in almost every detail. Three months after Bulgaria accepted the Teutonic bribe, the Entente admitted defeat and withdrew its forces from the Dardanelles and with this withdrawal, Russia, which was the greatest potential source of strength to the Allied cause and the country which, properly organized and supplied, might have brought the Allies a speedy triumph, disappeared as a vital factor in the war. When the British and French withdrew from Gallipoli they turned adrift this huge hulk of a country to flounder to anarchy, dissolution, and ruin.

The Germans celebrated this great triumph in a way that was characteristically Teutonic. In their minds, January 17, 1916, stands out as one of the great dates in the war. There was great rejoicing in Constantinople for the first Balkan express—or, as the Germans called it the Balkanzug—was due to arrive that afternoon! The railroad station was decorated with flags and flowers, and the whole German and Austrian population of Constantinople, including the Embassy staffs, assembled to welcome the incoming train. As it finally rolled into the station, thousands of "hochs" went up from as many raucous throats.

Since that January 17, 1916, the Balkanzug has run regularly from Berlin to Constantinople. The Germans believe that it is as permanent a feature of the new Germanic Empire as the line from Berlin to Hamburg.

Ambassador Morgenthau's Story will be continued in the November World's Work

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THE ECONOMIC POSSIBILITIES OF RUSSIA

Rich in Every Natural Resource and in Human Labor, but Backward in the Use of Machinery—A Splendid Future Inevitable

BY

CLYDE DAVIS

IN STUDYING the economic condition of Russia to-day, an American is likely to find himself comparing that country with the old Southern Confederacy. The Confederacy was an agricultural section rich in ores, timber, coal, and other natural resources. Its people were productive farmers and brave fighters, but they had never learned to use machinery. Factories were few and transportation was inadequate. The North blockaded their ports so that they were unable to market cotton and tobacco or to buy manufactured articles from foreign factories. The military collapse of the Confederacy followed as surely as Russia's collapse followed the closing of the Dardanelles and of the Baltic which stopped most of her trade with other nations. Since the American Civil War the Southern people have learned to use machinery; factories and refineries have been built, mines opened, iron and steel mills established, and much greater use has been made of machinery in agriculture. When the Russians learn to use machinery—as they had begun to do before the world war—the wealth and power of Russia may indeed become something prodigious.

Russia's natural resources, both in Europe and in Asia, are enormous and are almost untouched. Alone she could supply the world's needs in cereals (rice and corn excepted) if her fertile lands were cultivated. Her territorial extent is three times that of the United States, and probably no like area in the world has such latent agricultural possibilities. She has the largest white population of any country; her total population equals that of the entire continent of Africa, yet its density is but about one fourteenth that of Germany. She stands first among nations in timber resources. Professor Loutogine estimates Russia's coal at between 70 and 75 billion tons in Europe and 175 billion tons in Asia. There are immense deposits of iron; while copper, gold, lead, quicksilver, and other metals exist in great quantities. In the Sayansk range are veins of graphite seven feet in thickness. Russia stands first

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THE PRAIRIE SCHOONER UNDER WAY

The Siberian pioneer going in to possess the land, travels away from the railroad just as our American forefathers did

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THE CABIN ON THE HOMESTEAD

The fertile lands of Siberia are to-day being dotted over with small, crude dwellings such as were to be seen in Dakota, Oklahoma, and other parts of our Great West two generations ago

"RUSSIA'S GREATEST NEED TO-DAY IS FOR FARM MACHINERY"
Most Russian farmers are making their crops to-day with tools similar to those used in the United States in 1830

THE GREATEST ORGANIZATION IN RUSSIA
A local headquarters of the Russian coöperative societies. The organizations, although of recent growth, are so strong that even the Bolsheviki feared to molest them. Through them the peasants sell farm products, obtain credit, and secure machinery. The Allied Commission is to work through these folk societies

and climate are no better adapted to wheat ıre than are those of Russia. If all Russia's ıt lands were utilized and a yield of but nteen bushels per acre produced, the crop ld exceed the world's present annual supply. ıt in the largest freight cars, it would make a ı which would reach more than one and a half :s around the earth. Eighty-six per cent. of

By courtesy of International Harvester Company of America

PIONEER MACHINERY FROM THE UNITED STATES

y-six per cent of the Russians are farmers, but the advent of machinery may, before many decades, make half the population city dwellers as it has done in the United States

sia's population are country dwellers, and : ten-bushel yield of wheat may be taken fair sample of the farming they do with their e implements. Such tools and general meth- of cultivation were used in the United States ındred years ago. Then it took more than /-four hours of man labor to produce an acre 'heat, while to-day with the best machinery, possible to produce it with less than three 's of man labor. The average amount of r necessary for producing most of our import- crops has been reduced four fifths since 1850. n 1880 to 1890 the average number of acres male worker increased from 23.3 to 31—an ease of 34 per cent.—and the value of agricultural products per person from $286.82 to $454.37 or 58.4 per cent. In such facts as these one finds the reasons why to-day but 40 per cent. of the people of the United States depend upon agriculture for a livelihood while a century ago, we, like the Russians, were a nation of farmers. It is plain that if the Russian peasant learns to use farm machinery such as American farmers now use, one of two things must result: either about 30 per cent. (i. e. 46 millions) of the Russian farmers must move to town and develop industries, or Russia must increase her foreign trade so that her greatly increased surplus of grain can be exported.

Manufacturing may develop slowly in Russia during the years following the war, because of the peculiar economic world condition created by the war. Since 1914 the manufacturing capacity of most belligerent and neutral nations has been enormously extended. At the end of the war manufacturers must look for markets for their products. Russia will surely be furnished all the improved tools and machines she can use in

exchange for her raw materials and supplies. With all manufactured articles coming in from other nations and strenuous competition keeping prices reasonable, Russia's rapidly increasing rural population will doubtless turn its surplus energy first to the winning of their Great East, Siberia.

The United States will need markets badly after the war. Our factory equipment has more than doubled since 1914. We are now, as Mr. Schwab puts it, "literally filling the sea with our ships." At least two million men now in uniform will be looking for a chance to do useful toil when peace comes. We shall be ready for foreign trade, and where can we find greater opportunities than in rich Russia which comprises a sixth of the terrestrial area of the globe? Russia is accustomed to having her international trade carried on principally by foreigners, because the famous Muscovite merchant usually centers his attention on the immense interior trading. The first considerable foreign trade was controlled by the English, but when the Hanseatic League started its trading centres at the principal Baltic ports—which are the natural outlet of European Russia's wealth—German middlemen gradually became predominant. Germany alone has fully studied Russia. Before the war she furnished half of Russia's imports. She has the advantage of proximity, but to-day, because of war pressure, she is unable to take advantage of her opportunities and exploit Russian possibilities.

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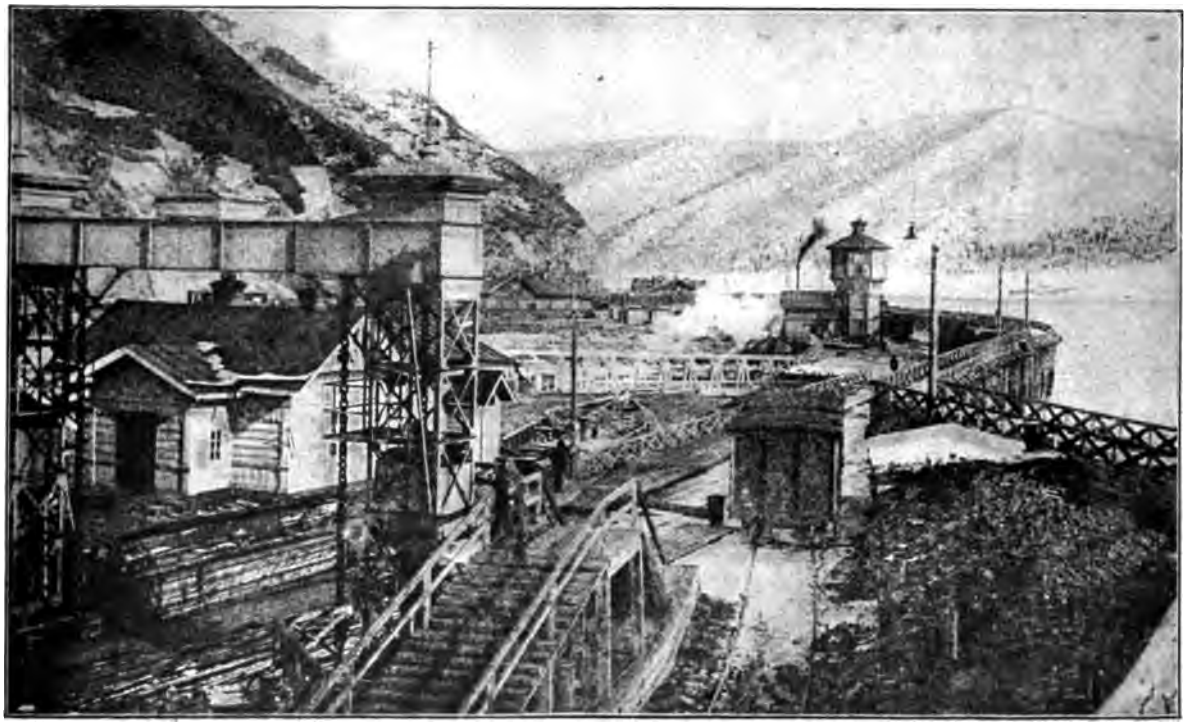
THE YENISEI, THE MISSISSIPPI OF SIBERIA

Three thousand two hundred and thirty miles of water, draining a rich basin larger than that of the Nile and nearly as large as that drained by the Mississippi-Missouri system. Those who dwell along this river have grain, live stock, hides, etc., which they will not sell for money but which they will gladly barter for American tools and clothing

To-day is America's day of opportunity in Russia. German trade with Russia has been for German benefit only. Russia has been bled by high prices for German goods and low prices for Russian supplies. If we do not muddle matters in Russia, but by old-fashioned fair dealing and by supplying the peasant the tools and equipment he needs win Russia's confidence and friendship, her economic possibilities may be of the greatest importance to us in the years that are just ahead of us.

A SECTION OF THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILROAD

The administration of Russia's railroads has been utterly disorganized recently. John F. Stevens, former engineer of the Panama Canal, and now chairman of the American Railway Advisory Commission to Russia is at Harbin with 200 railroad engineers to help with trans-Siberian traffic



THE BOAT LANDING ON LAKE BAIKAL

This lake is about one and a half times as large as Lake Erie

A CHARACTERISTIC SIBERIAN TOWN

In recent years hundreds of country towns have sprung up in Siberia, because of immigration from European Russia

LIFE IN RUSSIA UNDER THE BOLSHEVIKI

Personal Experiences of an American—Trying to Do Business with Concerns in Which the Office Boy Had Usurped the President's Job—Graft in the Government—Violence in the Streets—German Agents Buying Russia's Supplies

This article is compiled from the first-hand experiences of a New York business man, whose name is withheld for obvious reasons.—THE EDITORS

THE downfall of the Czar was the signal for my departure for Russia. So in April, 1917, I set sail. I had the best possible connections in Petrograd and Moscow, and set out with high hopes of doing our Allied cause considerable service.

I had become firmly established in the capital by the time the Bolsheviki swamped the government. Perhaps my personal encounters with the tidal wave will help picture the general experience.

Shortly after Trotzky and Lenine were established I went as usual to a bank. One of the directors met me at the door. His face wore the whimsical and amazed expression of one that has seen the impossible. He was not exactly serious. He spoke in the tone of voice one might absorb from a long session at a burlesque show.

"The bank" said he "is out of our hands. The Bolsheviki have named a commissary."

"Who?"

"Remember that insignificant little cuss with a dirty collar you noticed one day? We had him at a menial job at 150 rubles a month. Well, he is the whole works."

The office boy had taken over the business. Literally. The Bank's staff did not say anything. They put on their hats—every man in the shop—and left. They did not take a cent; nor a paper. The office boy shut the front door, and proceeded with an entirely new kind of finance, that only a really free people can indulge in. My money is there yet—if it is anywhere. I never drew a cent directly. By the time I became entirely strapped I had learned how to proceed under this new freedom. So I went to a friend. This friend was "solid" with the régime. He supplied them with the one absolutely essential commodity. That was paper upon which they printed their money. Principles or no principles, they did not propose to interfere with his industry. So he was permitted to draw all the money he wanted to keep his output going. He cashed my check.

Of course the bank became *ipso facto* insolvent. The new manager, inaugurated his administration by destroying the records showing who owed the bank— a small matter of 200,000,000 rubles. A good deal of this was for cotton in transit from Turkestan. Who got the cotton I do not know; but the depositors will never get the money. It would be a marvel if any of it is left by this time. For everybody got into the scramble to get it. One didn't have to be a Bolshevik. A customer of mine, whom I will call Peter Pavlov, was stuck with several million on deposit. He took the affair philosophically. He told me he would get it all right. He put on his hat and went to headquarters—called on the first assistant commissary of the Government Bank. He went straight to the point, and was given the official authority to withdraw 1,000,000 rubles for a personal cash bribe of 80,000 rubles. I soon learned that the circumstance that he actually had money in the bank was not essential to this transaction. A close friend of mine, representative of a large English firm in Russia, told me shortly afterward that one of his Russian employees, an ignorant peasant, had been put in charge of the International Bank. Not knowing who else to trust, apparently, he brought a typical commissary proposition to the Englishman. It was that he would credit him with a million rubles at the bank, and then authorize their withdrawal, if the Englishman would give him 300,000 of them. This really robbed no one in that topsy-turvy country, for the books having all been destroyed, the depositors no longer had any claims.

WORKMEN HELPING THEMSELVES TO EVERYTHING

The effects of the Revolution were even more immediate in my hotel. I was staying at the Astoria in Petrograd when my waiter came in with my breakfast one morning. He broke the traditions of his trade and made me a speech. He said the millenium had arrived, and everyone was to be happy, and as evidence announced that the employees in meeting assembled had decided to take over the hotel. They conscripted the manager to help operate. But if a guest is any judge of operation, the experiment was not a succe

The tea arrived thereafter with no sugar or milk, with no bread or butter. Breakfast consisted of tea—nothing more. My clothes commenced to disappear. Inquiries, I found, were not in order. The restaurant was closed next. And then when even the chambermaid confided in me that the place was going to the devil, I came to the same conclusion and moved into an apartment.

Precisely the same thing happened at the Hotel d'Europe. But the employees themselves became so disgusted when everybody left, that they returned it to its owners.

It was the same with all my friends. One of them owned an automobile agency and repair shop. He came in with a sad story that at the same time made us all roar with laughter. His men got an order from Smolny, the Bolshevist headquarters, so they arrived in his office in a body. They politely announced that they now owned the plant, hereditaments and appurtenances. And they added that he might leave without delay. However, he stayed long enough to hear them arrange the schedule of the day's work. This consisted of six hours' labor, with tea three times during that arduous spell.

The stories were all the same. A close friend of mine lost his cotton-mill. And the great Pontiloff munition plants went into the hands of the receivers, so to speak. However, when I left these were still running. Being the backbone of the emancipation, the responsible managers were brought back to conduct them.

Another of our customers owned a large factory. The workmen petitioned Smolny to let them run it, and immediately discharged the proprietor, the engineers, the salesmen, purchasing agents, foremen, and everyone else except the labor. I watched this performance with a good deal of interest. A concrete instance is worth fifty books of theory. Well, the first week everything seemed to struggle along. Then the trouble began. Creditors refused to pay the new operators. The materials gave out in the plant, and it was pathetic to hear them asking where and from whom to get more. The machinery broke down, and there wasn't a new part or a necessary tool to be found in the place. We got all this first hand, because the workmen sent a committee around in a trustful, childlike way to say that the money had all given out, and to request the owner to return with the engineer. It was simply preposterous. The owner and the managers refused to have anything to do with it, and the plant stands now as useless and idle as a Chinese puzzle in the hands of a newborn baby.

Shortly after I had moved into my new quarters near the American Embassy, I witnessed a typical scene of the new régime. Right across the way were the Tschernigoo—the great cellars of a famous wine merchant. I was attracted to the window by the rumble of voices and tread of many feet upon the street which every follower of Belasco knows heralds the entrance of the mob. It proved to be a band of soldiers, who made for the vaults yelling with delight, and discharging their firearms, apparently for pure joy. In five minutes the place ran wine, and the enfranchised populace were gloriously drunk. The neighbors telephoned Smolny. Smolny sent a contingent of sailors, presumably to stop the orgy. The sailors joined the celebration, which regaled the town until far into the night. At midnight they shifted the scene of the Saturnalia to the Winter Palace, and sacked it complete. Next morning champagne magnums bearing the Imperial seal and the date 1789 were to be had for five rubles. One of the secretaries of the American Embassy bought one as a memento. I was personally offered an original Gainsborough for 5,000 rubles.

THE POLICE ABOLISHED

This amusing "government" had no police at all. From their point of view, as understood by the populace, police were superfluous because ordinary crime could no longer exist. It was no crime for a man to go and take what he might require. I will say this for them: The result of the doctrine combined with the extraordinary good temper and genial disposition of the peasants largely eliminated violence. Personally, I only saw three murderous and bloody scenes while I was there—and two of these were directed by the Red Guard of the government themselves. The first will remain a horrible picture on my brain forever.

The day that the Constituent Assembly was convened, an opera bouffe parade organized by the House Committees started for the Tauride Palace singing patriotic songs, carrying banners and slogans. They were men and women and even children. It was a harmless affair like a Temperance route in Poughkeepsie. They passed under my window making for the Sergevskaja when a band of the grimy soldiery with their red tabs, after the fashion of English staff officers, charged into the crowd before my eyes. It was a vicious and cruel and unprovoked attack. They were shouting and arguing. Pretty soon to my horror they opened fire into the press. There was nothing to do but watch. When the crowd disappeared screaming down the street, they left two pathetic and terrible figures on the sidewalk—a man and a woman, dead and bloody.

The other incident was as cold and bloodthirsty

a performance as the masters of melodramas laid in "Darkest Russia" ever invented. I was at Viborg, in Finland at the time, walking down the street across the way from the water front. In a little station house opposite there arose a frightful racket. And out of it came a dozen or more of Trotzky's familiar Red Guards dragging two disheveled figures. They rushed them to the brink, and heaved them into the sea. They were two Russian officers.

A DAYLIGHT ROBBERY

The third occasion of personal concussion was when I happened upon one of the scenes of robbery which had become the commonplaces of conversation. I was on my way to visit the leather merchant, Strass, on the Fontauka. Turning a corner I saw a mob before his residence. A woman whom I recognized as one of his servants came running by me as if possessed, screaming at the top of her lungs. Urged by curiosity I jammed my way into the excitement and found the neighbors sitting upon a tough customer. It appears he was one of two who had taken the redistribution of wealth into their own hands, and had attempted to rob my friend's house after gaining an entry by the obnoxious method of ringing the front door bell. The girl at the door had yelled bloody murder, and the neighborhood, being out of sympathy with the procedure, had laid rough hands on the one they caught.

They tied him hard and fast; and then the concrete question arose what to do with him. There being no police, they couldn't be called. The prevailing inclination was to throw him in the canal. Mrs. Strass objected to this so strenuously that the only other possible alternative was adopted—to take him to the seat of government at Smolny. So to Smolny they went with him—just as though the only place a man could carry a burglar in the United States was to the White House.

I was curious to see just how this would work out. Query—what becomes of such brigands as are captured by the populace in a policeless Utopia? So up we went. There was no court to try him in. The courts and judges had all been abolished. They took him and without any preliminaries threw him in jail. That was simple. The sequel was as simple. In a few days the jail was full. So they declared a general amnesty and turned all the prisoners loose, to make room for more. Although this let out our friend, doubtless on the whole justice was not defeated, since not a soul so released had even had a hearing of any kind.

Strass had bad luck with the robbery business. Shortly after this he hired a carriage to drive through the débris—there were no street cleaners in the reborn city—to Vassilio Ostrov, on the outskirts. Before he got there the driver denied his calling by snatching off his great beard—which as usual was false—and producing a gun. He requested and obtained the permanent loan of my friend's overcoat and 2,000 rubles.

Fortunately I never lost anything in this game. It was the universal custom of soldiers to demand the great coats of any one foolish enough to brave the zero weather so encased. And I was accosted by the military on similar errands. But strange to relate, when sternly told I was an American, they let me alone. This was usual. Why, I never found out.

Neither was my flat invaded—for a very good reason. When I had anything valuable there I always sent out and hired me a guard. A stranded regiment of Poles still hung together in the capital—apparently impervious to the lure of loot or to the call of freedom. Their commander would rent them out in squads or companies for protection of property or persons. And nobody ever dreamed of interfering with them. They were the last remaining relict of the horrid but efficient days of discipline. The American and Danish Embassies both had a number of these Poles on watch—which may explain why they were inviolate.

FORAGING FOR FOOD

The routine of living underwent transformation. Regular supplies of anything, of course, no longer existed. We got along by coöperative enterprise. We Americans organized. We pooled all the food we had. And then, like Sherman on the March, we organized foraging parties. Elias Wilner, of New York, proved a genius in this business. He would hire soldiers to fare forth after flour. He would snoop into the country and reach home unscathed with eggs. And at that, the Embassy supply was all that kept us from want.

To go into a shop and buy food was almost impossible. If the shop was open, and had any food, there would be a line of these patient, foolish people half a mile long waiting to get in. My man actually stood in line thirty-six hours waiting to buy some kerosene. Kerosene was a necessity, for the electric lights were not on half the time.

All regular channels of business, of course, went away with the seizure of the banks and the factories. But though they had no place in the prospectus, the traders of the world began to reap a harvest under the rose. There were embargoes on most materials and supplies—and an

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est part of it all to an American, bred in the mechanical age, were the journeys by railroad. Never before had I seen a railroad train that went by moods and whims, without sense of time or responsibility. My conception of a through express as something inevitable received a rude shock when I decided to take the trip to Moscow. That train, more than any individual—more than Trotzky or Lenine, will forever remain for me the living memory and personification of the spirit and inner meaning of the word Bolshevik. At the ticket office no notice was given that it was a mad train, operated by lunatics, running with no schedule, through a careless world. So I bought a ticket giving me exclusive possession of a coupé built to hold two people. Also I was told when the train left. The Commentaries of Caesar would have been as pertinent upon either proposition. The train left when the moon was in the quarter, or when the spirit moved it. And the coupé had just fifteen alleged soldiers in it when the whistle blew. The time card called for a 38-hour trip. How many days it took I have no idea. It was a pilgrimage. We ran along awhile and then we would stop. After an hour or two we would saunter out and find the engineer sitting on the bank waiting for the engine to fix itself. After a while we would reach a town. The top boots—Red Guards—with a foreman—officers were long since abolished—would come through the train and take a census. And then everyone piled out. I piled out, too, to see what it was about. It proved to be a kind of championship joint debate and amateur war. There was another train there on a side track. I gathered it had been spending the week-end. It was ready to go. So were we. Obviously, under these circumstances, the crews and the passengers had to settle the question of priority. To be sure there was a placid little fellow in a cage, miscalled a despatcher. When these two bodies of soldiers (most of the passengers were soldiers. You see, soldiers rode free, and hence felt morally bound to ride)—when these two bodies of soldiers got into conflict this foxy little chap attempted to assume the rôle of disinterested spectator. It didn't work—the gang became exasperated, and finally covered him with a line of guns. I felt proud of them. They gave him a few minutes to get our train out first. How they had the heart then to leave him to the mercy of the defeated train I don't understand.

So we meandered across country in a pleasant casual kind of bumping race, sometimes ahead, sometimes behind our rivals, but always awake, and always properly searched. That we got there at all is a marvelous thing, for which I will forever be grateful to the God of Chance.

UNIQUE MAPS OF RUSSIA AND SIBERIA

Why I Have for Eighteen Years Spent Much Time and Money Gathering Data for These Maps—America's Present Opportunity in Russia

BY

R. C. MARTENS

R. Martens and Company is one of the world's great commercial organizations. Its special field is trade with Russia and Siberia. During the last eighteen years Mr. Martens has—at great expense—secured and cleverly expressed on maps and charts probably the greatest mass of useful information that is available in the world to-day regarding both European and Asiatic Russia. Practically all the economic maps used in this issue of the WORLD'S WORK *are copied from maps furnished by the Martens company.*—THE EDITORS.

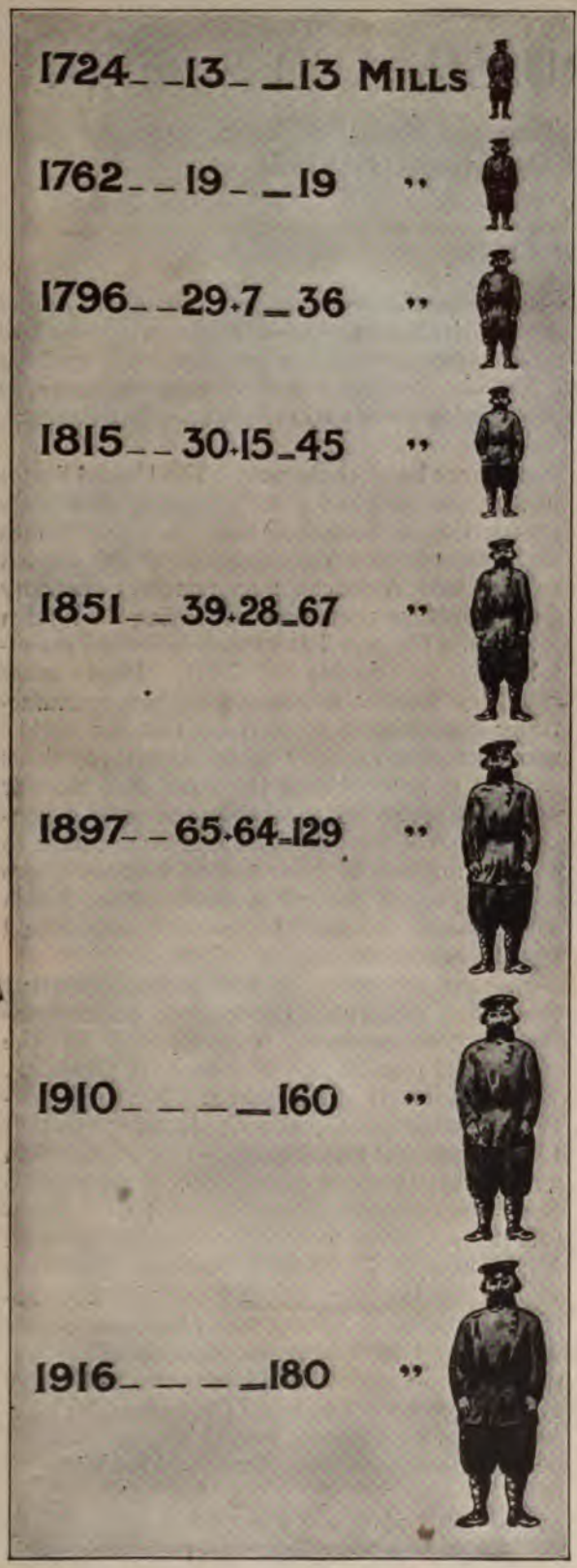
I DECIDED about twenty years ago that a system must be evolved whereby Russia could, so to speak, be brought to other nations and her enormous potentialities shown. I started by building exhibitions in various centres of Great Britain, to show Russian peasant life and industries, but as time went on I gradually prepared maps and charts giving soil conditions, cultivation and crops, mineral, timber, etc., with a result that we now have more than a hundred maps showing Russian conditions. In this work I have been greatly aided by data furnished by the Russian coöperative societies, the Zemstvos, university professors, geological societies, etc., and by certain government reports. I also maintained for several years a special bureau in Petrograd for this work, and sent various engineers and specialists to Russia to study conditions. In 1916 I spent six months making a very extensive tour through Russia with about a dozen engineers, each a specialist in some particular line, visiting mines, forests, and, in fact, studying conditions generally, after having made an eight months' tour of America with them. Half of these men were left in Russia to continue these studies and for making reports. It is a part of their work to determine what sort of tools, machines, and supplies will best suit the needs of each part of Russia.

To give expression to the whole subject volumes would have to be written. After having given my close attention and spent any amount of money for eighteen years to secure such knowledge of Russia, I now wish to give it to the Allies and their friends. Germany has fully studied Russia, but the Allies now need to know her as she is and not as they surmise her to be. If the world cannot go to study Russia, then Russia must be brought to the world—hence my maps and charts.

I have begun to realize that the longer the war goes on the greater will Russia's commercial importance be after the war. The United States in 1913 and 1914 had already begun to show overproduction in manufacturing. German houses with offices in New York took care of this surplus so well that American manufacturers generally did not realize they were depending on foreign markets. The war has caused American manufacturing to double at least. Most other countries have also expanded their manufacturing capacities with the result that the world's manufacturing capacity is at least three times as great as it was before the war. And the war will have destroyed probably ten million consumers. Will the industrial nations not have to look for markets for their surplus in lands where there is greatest natural wealth? If so, Russia will assuredly be the greatest commercial [illegible] in the world at the close of this war.

Now in this connection I want to emphasize that the country which has hitherto given special attention to the enormous resources and all the commercial possibilities of Russia is Germany. The question is often asked: "Is the population in Russia pro-German?" In regard to that I would say that they can be neither pro-German nor pro-Ally, because 85 per cent. of the population cannot appreciate the point. That is a picture as yet unknown to the Russian peasant. All he says is: "I know a 'Niemetz' (German) who before the war supplied me with the material I needed to till my soil, and I am at war with him. I have been told that the Allies will supply me. I have waited three years and I have neither seen them nor heard from them. Therefore, unless I have peace with Germany I will not be able to till my soil." That is all the vision he had.

The Court party and the government officials, the bankers and industrial magnates, have been assisted very closely by Germany for many years, if not generations, and, naturally, they were rather inclined to be in favor of her.



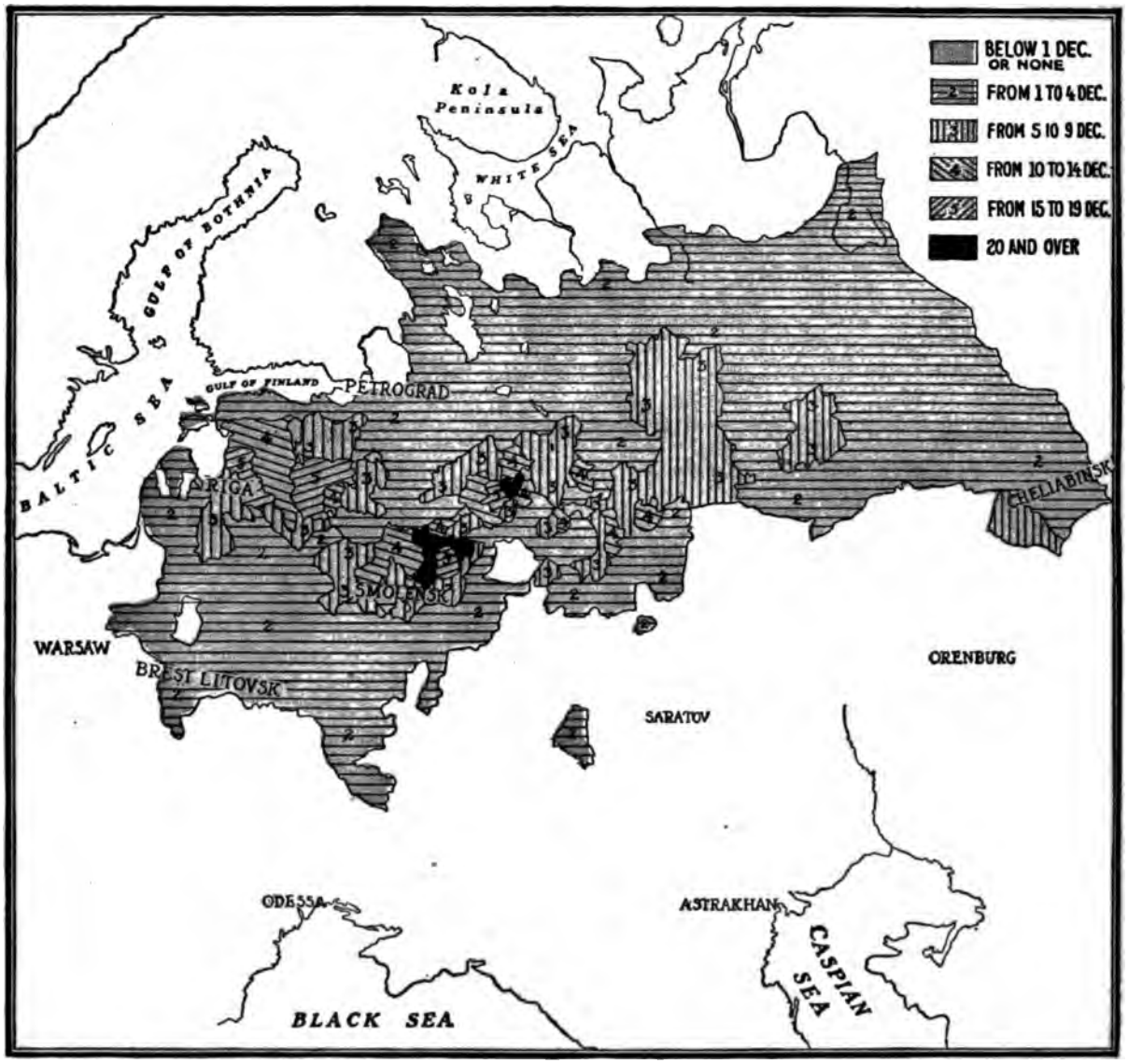
HOW RUSSIA'S POPULATION HAS GROWN
Since 1850 the average increase per year in European Russia has been 1.6 per cent.

if not entirely pro-German. That was accentuated during the Russo-Japanese War, when Germany cleverly took advantage of the isolation of Russia to help her in finance, industry, and business. That is why at that period a disastrous commercial agreement was made with Germany, out of which she has made billions of money, to the cost of Russia and her Allies. Thanks to that Russo-Japanese period Germany penetrated into Russia while England and other countries cut her off. The result of the war was Germany's predominance over the trading of Russia. If the present *status quo* were to remain, i. e., Germany holding the Baltic ports—the gateway to Russia's wealth from the middle and the north—and part of Siberia; Turkey with possession of the Dardanelles, thereby holding Russia's southern wealth; where, from an economic point of view, would the Allies be after the war? Could Germany and her Allies not extract, by heavy import and export duties (by reason of holding the only gateways) a huge indemnity which would be paid by the Allies, and, furthermore, what would be Germany's position for the future manufacturing power of the world by having these resources at her disposal, for which the Allies would have to pay what Germany wished to charge by reason of holding, I repeat, the gateway to Russia? Russia is the Allies' "recuperating station." The educated classes in Russia, constituting a few million, are with you and fear to become an economic colony of Germany. But if you wait too long they may have to submit, as, otherwise, they might be dead to-morrow. They have been looking to the Allies and hoping for a long time, but the Allies were slow to come. The time is not yet past, they are still waiting and willing to associate. They are theorists and not practical men, thanks to the downtrodden generations of the past and the lack of freedom of speech. Therefore, come forward and help us by sending the right men and economic help to reconstruct herself from the foundation, distribute them in various centres and you will find more support than you ever dreamed of, because Russia is waiting. To-day, after the experiences of Bolshevism, after the empty promises, the intoxication of the moment having been slept off, they are the better for the lesson they have had and dearly paid for. It has shaken Russia more than anything that could have happened. But be ready before it is too late; before they are despondent and would rather belong to the devil than nobody, for, after all, life is sweet. I think Russia has shown during the past few years, a great deal of heroism, because she has not only fought in this w
has cost her millions of lives, but

fought for freedom and self-respect which had been denied her for generations. Do not forget that.

Her struggle has been a bitter one. In the past, in the home circle, unless you belonged to the privileged classes, if eight people were present and the police were not notified, you were likely to be raided as it was considered that you might be holding a revolutionary meeting. How would you feel? What would be your thoughts? What would your development have been under such conditions? Would you not also have been theorists?

The opportunity is waiting.



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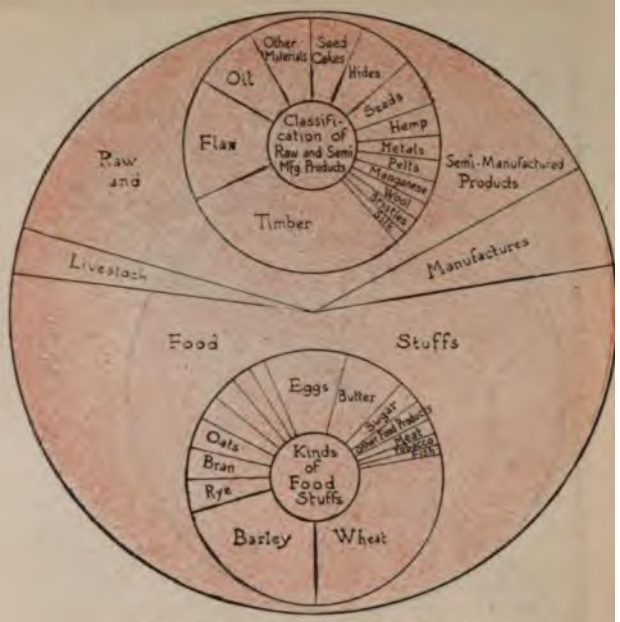
A REASON FOR GERMAN INVASION AFTER BREST-LITOVSK

Flax is needed in making bandages and other war essentials. Russia produces considerably more than all the rest of Europe. The world could not understand why Germany sent armies into Russia immediately after her treaty of peace with the Bolsheviki. Those troops seized flax lands. A recent English report complains of a shortage of flax products for war uses among the Allies. Flax for fibre, is cultivated principally in the northern and central sections, while the seed area is in the black land belt farther south. The area devoted to flax is fully 3½ million acres. The total fibre yield is 8.1 million tons annually and the seed crop 4.5 million tons. The chart shows the number of square decatines devoted to flax in each hundred square decatines of area

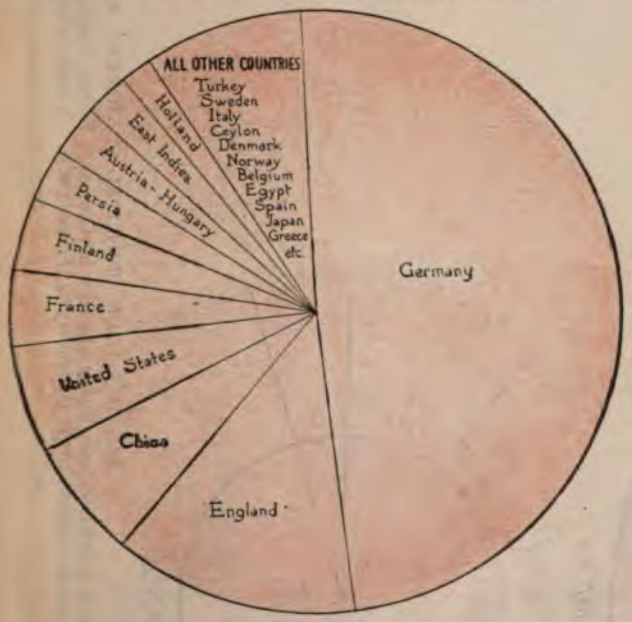
WHERE RUSSIA SENT HER EXPORTS IN 1913

Cereals constituted about three eighths of the trade with Germany, half of that with France, and nearly three fourths of the Holland trade. Less than one fourth of exports to England were cereals. England's largest item was timber. The proportions are all based on the money values of the goods sold



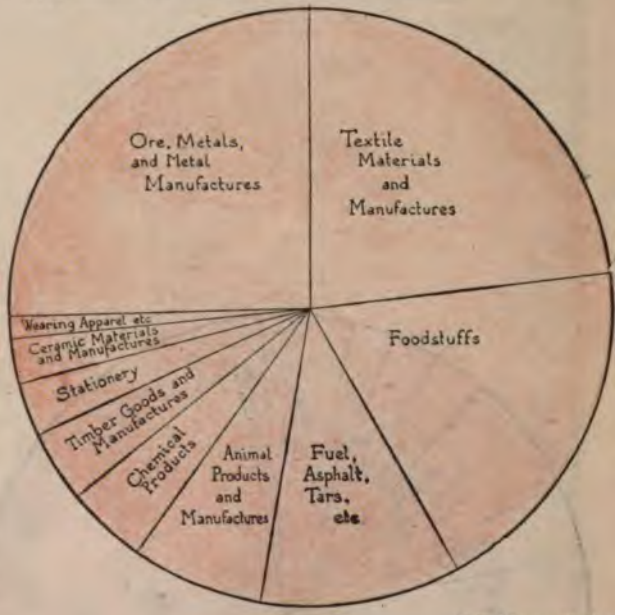
WHAT RUSSIA EXPORTED IN 1913

The large circle shows the relative values of the four principal groups of products; the two smaller circles the commodities which made up the "Raw and Semi-manufactured Products" and the "Foodstuffs." The total value of Russia's exports was 1,520 million rubles or about 760 million dollars



WHERE RUSSIA'S IMPORTS CAME FROM IN 1913

The proportion furnished by each of the countries having considerable trade with Russia. The diagram is based on the money value of the goods. Germany has forced Russia to pay high for manufactured articles, drugs, etc., but has bought Russian raw materials at low prices. By the seizure of the Baltic ports and Constant nople the Germans hope to control Russian commerce absolutely, and thus make up their financial war losses. Germany has increased her Russian trade rapidly in recent years,—especially since the Russo-Japanese War. This struggle gave Germany a chance to gain great advantages in Russian commerce. She was not slow to grasp the opportunity and she held these advantages until 1914



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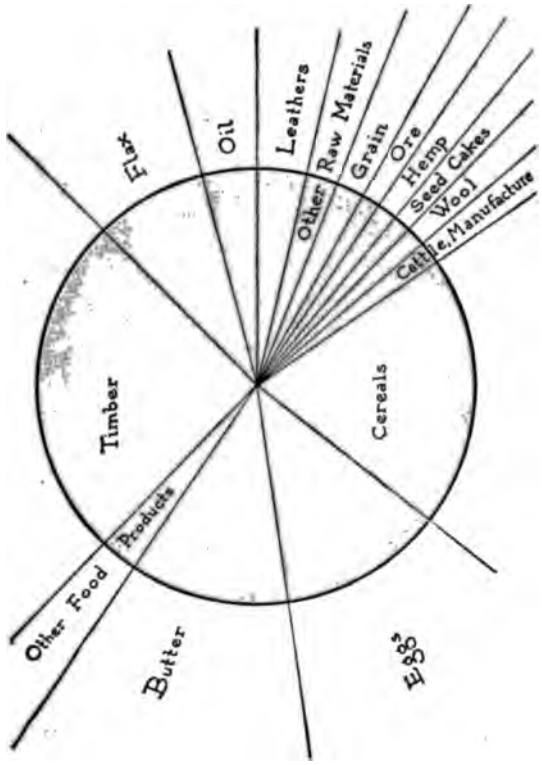
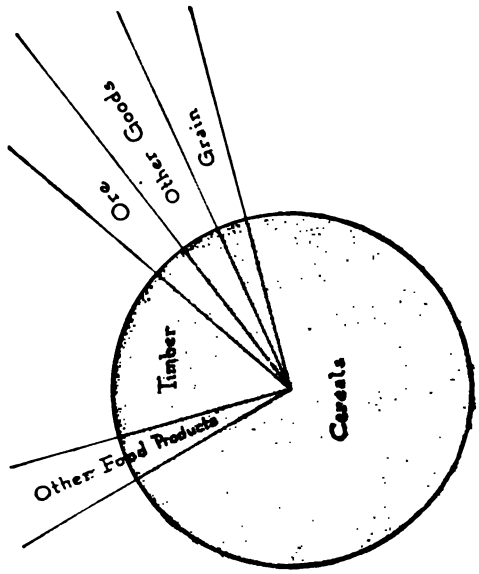
WHAT RUSSIA'S IMPORTS WERE IN 1913

"Ore, Metals," etc., machinery, wire, vehicles, tin, lead, etc.
"Textiles," etc., raw cotton, wool, silk, thread, lace, etc.
"Foodstuffs," etc., tea, fruits, fish, cereals, rice, coffee, etc.
"Fuel," etc., coal, rubber, coke, gums, white resin, etc.
"Animal products," etc., leather, pelts, tallow and fats, fertilizers, wax, etc.
"Chemical" etc., drugs, dyestuffs, tanning material, cosmetics,
"Timber," etc., seeds, plants, joinery, etc.
"Stationery," etc., books, pictures, rags, wood-pulp, etc.
"Ceramic," etc., building materials, pottery, precious s
luloid, glass, etc.
"Wearing Apparel," haberdashery, buttons, hats, e



ENGLAND



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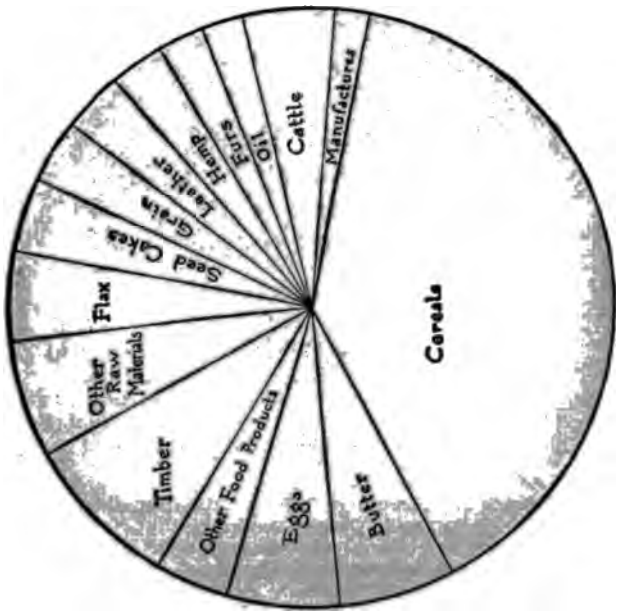

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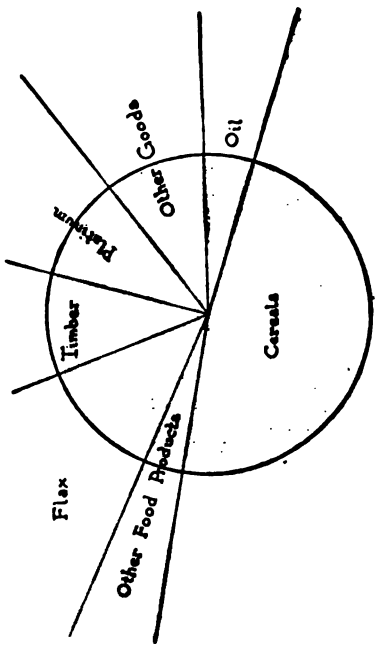

FRANCE

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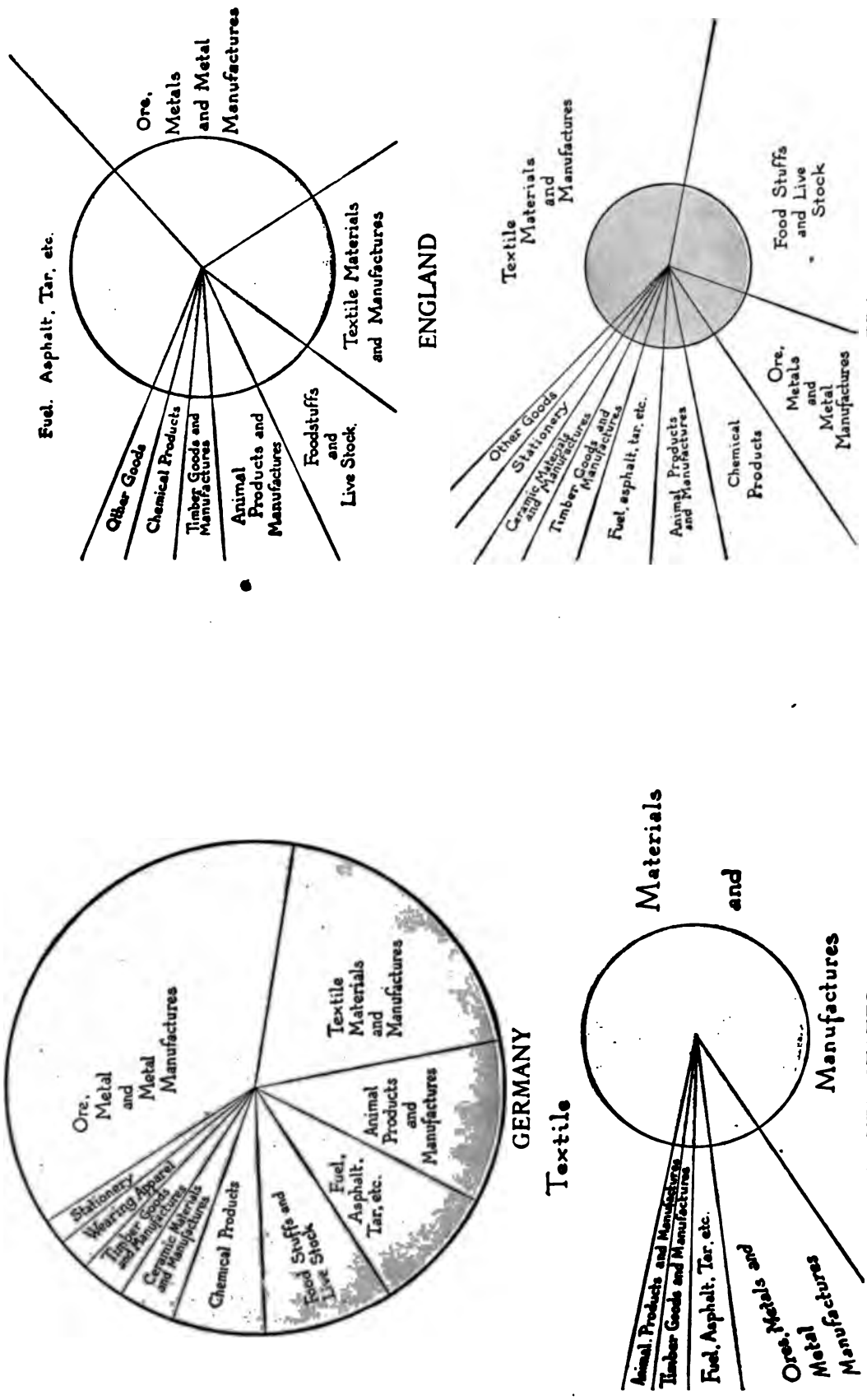
RUSSIA'S FOUR PRINCIPAL CUSTOMERS AND WHAT EACH ONE BUYS

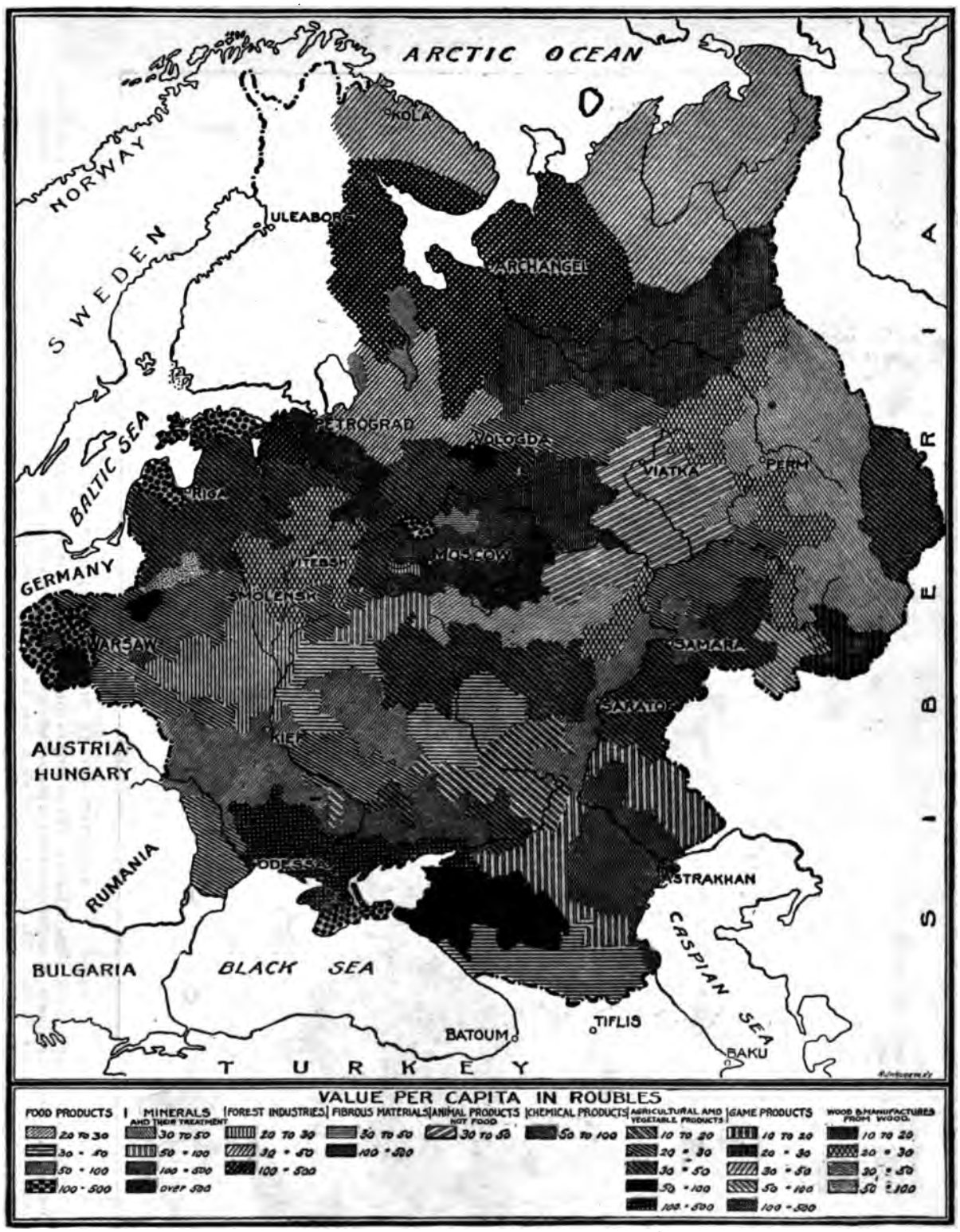
The relative value of the goods purchased from Russia annually by Germany, France, England, and Holland is represented by the sizes of the above circles. The figures in million of rubles are: Germany 453.6; England 267.8; Holland 177.4; France 100.9. A ruble is worth about fifty cents. "Cereals" embraces wheat, barley, rye, oats, maize, peas, wheat flour, bran, etc.



FOUR OF RUSSIA'S CHIEF SOURCES OF SUPPLIES AND WHAT SHE RECEIVED FROM EACH IN 1913

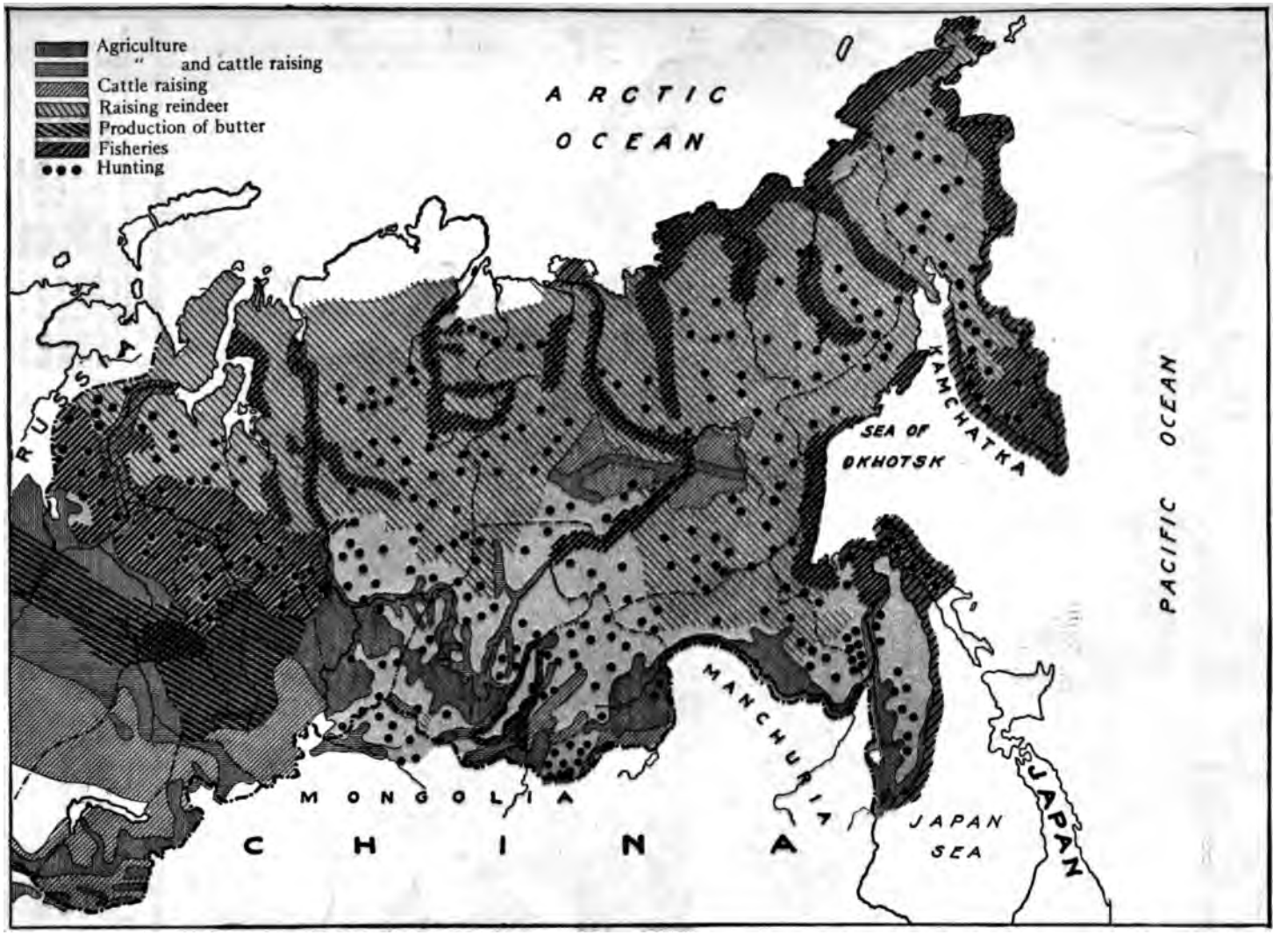
The relative value of the goods sent to Russia by Germany, England, France, and the United States is represented by the sizes of these circles. China is another important source of supply. China sends to Russia annually foodstuffs, livestock, textile materials, etc., the total value of which almost exactly equals the value of Russia's imports from the United States. About one fourth of the money Russia pays out for "foodstuffs" goes for tea, more than half of which comes from China

VOLUME OF IMPORTS (ABOVE) AND EXPORTS (BELOW) BY FRONTIERS



CAN RUSSIA SUPPLY HER OWN NEEDS? © R. Martens & Co.

The map shows the various industrial districts and also districts where certain trades are carried on. Lumber is the great resource of the northern sections. Moscow is the centre of the textile industry. The sugar refining is in the southwest. Agriculture flourishes on the black soil belt of the South. Around Petrograd and Moscow were industrial sections which, like the manufacturing section around Warsaw, depended for much of their food on the agricultural sections farther south. Just now railroad disorganization causes starvation in the north



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HOW THE PEOPLE NOW IN SIBERIA ARE EMPLOYED

Siberia has a population of about 8,800,000. From 1897 to 1911 the increase was about 150 per cent. The greater part of this increase was by immigration from Great Russia. Statistics show that the peasant who goes to Siberia makes much better financial progress. Eighty six and one half per cent. of Siberia's population is Russian. The native tribes, of which there are about 31, constitute $10\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. of the population. There are also a few Mongolian immigrants

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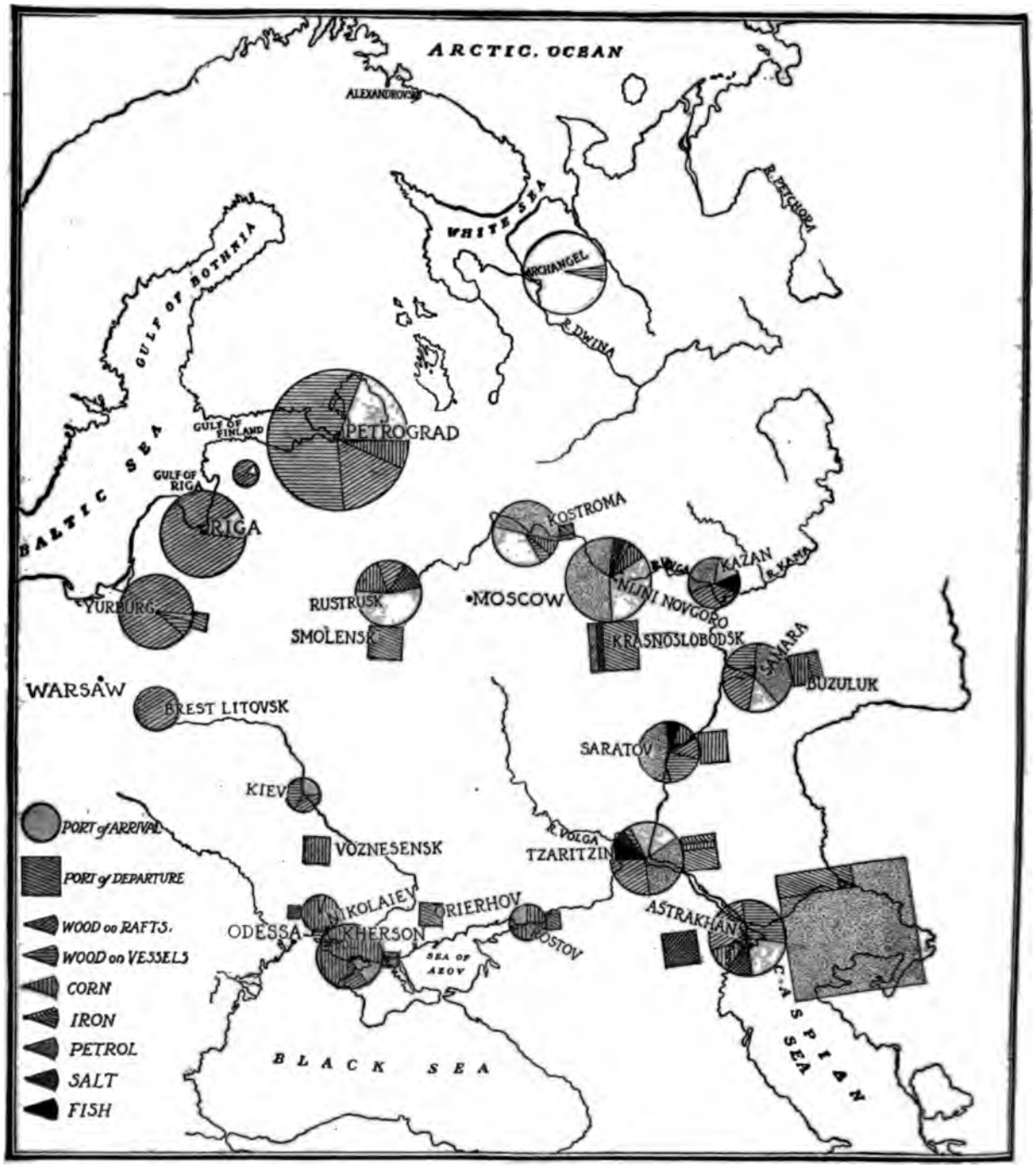
THE VEGETATION OF ASIATIC RUSSIA

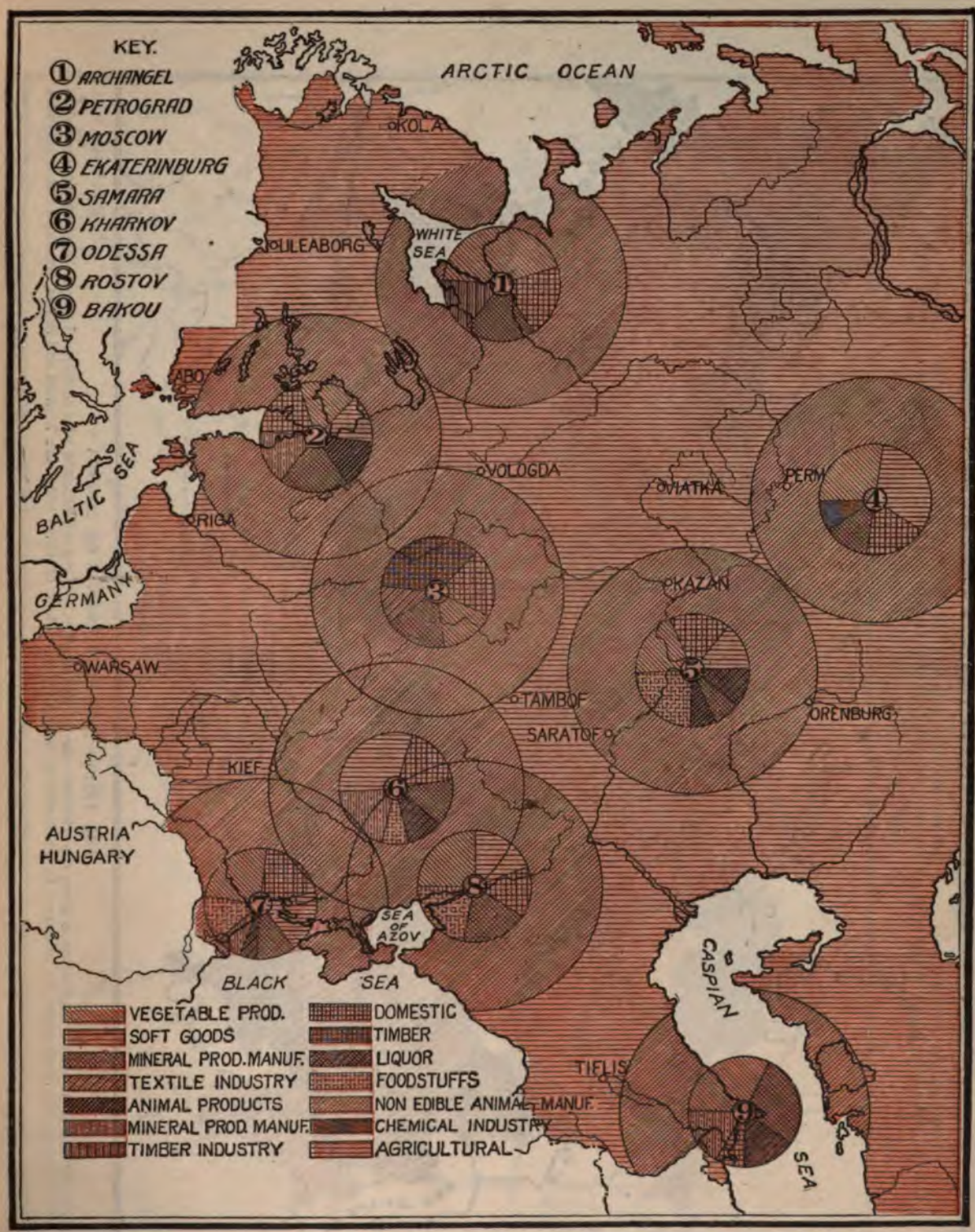
Cedar, larch, fir, oak, ash, pine, and walnut are some of the more important forest trees. In the Caucasus 16 per cent. of the forest area is oak, 8 per cent. pine, and 6.6 per cent. fir, and there are also many beech trees. The total forest area of Asiatic Russia is 384,030,000 acres while that of European Russia is 464,611,000. The forests of the United States cover 550,000,000 acres



RUSSIA'S RIVER PORTS—OLD CITIES

© R. Martens & Co.

Russia has the longest river and canal waterway in the world. It is possible to go from Petrograd to Turkestan by water. The total navigable waterways of Russia are 102,600 miles of which 49,625 are in Europe. Notice the importance of Riga and environs now held by Germans. The principal classes of materials handled by the chief river ports, the relative importance of each port, and also of each material are indicated on this chart. "Port of arrival" signifies goods received from foreign sources and "port of departure" indicates goods shipped away



SOME OF RUSSIA'S PRINCIPAL TRADE CENTRES

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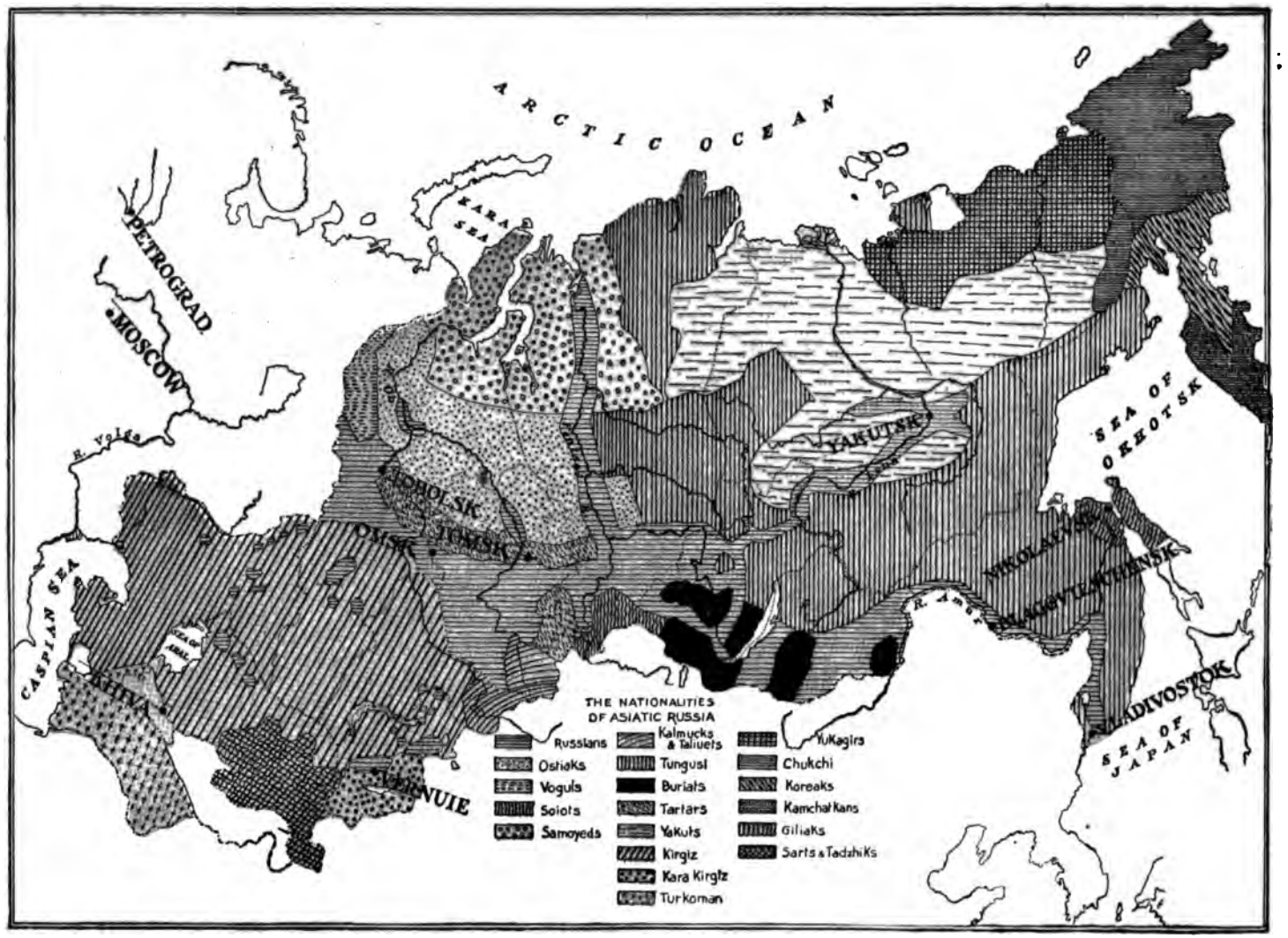
These nine cities are the leading distributing centres of European Russia. They are the points on which the Allies could best base trade with Russia proper. The requirements of the surrounding area of each is indicated. The outer circles comprehend the territory within twelve hours journey of each centre. From these nine points all parts of European Russia commercially important can be reached quite easily



THE TRIBES AND SETTLEMENTS OF SIBERIA

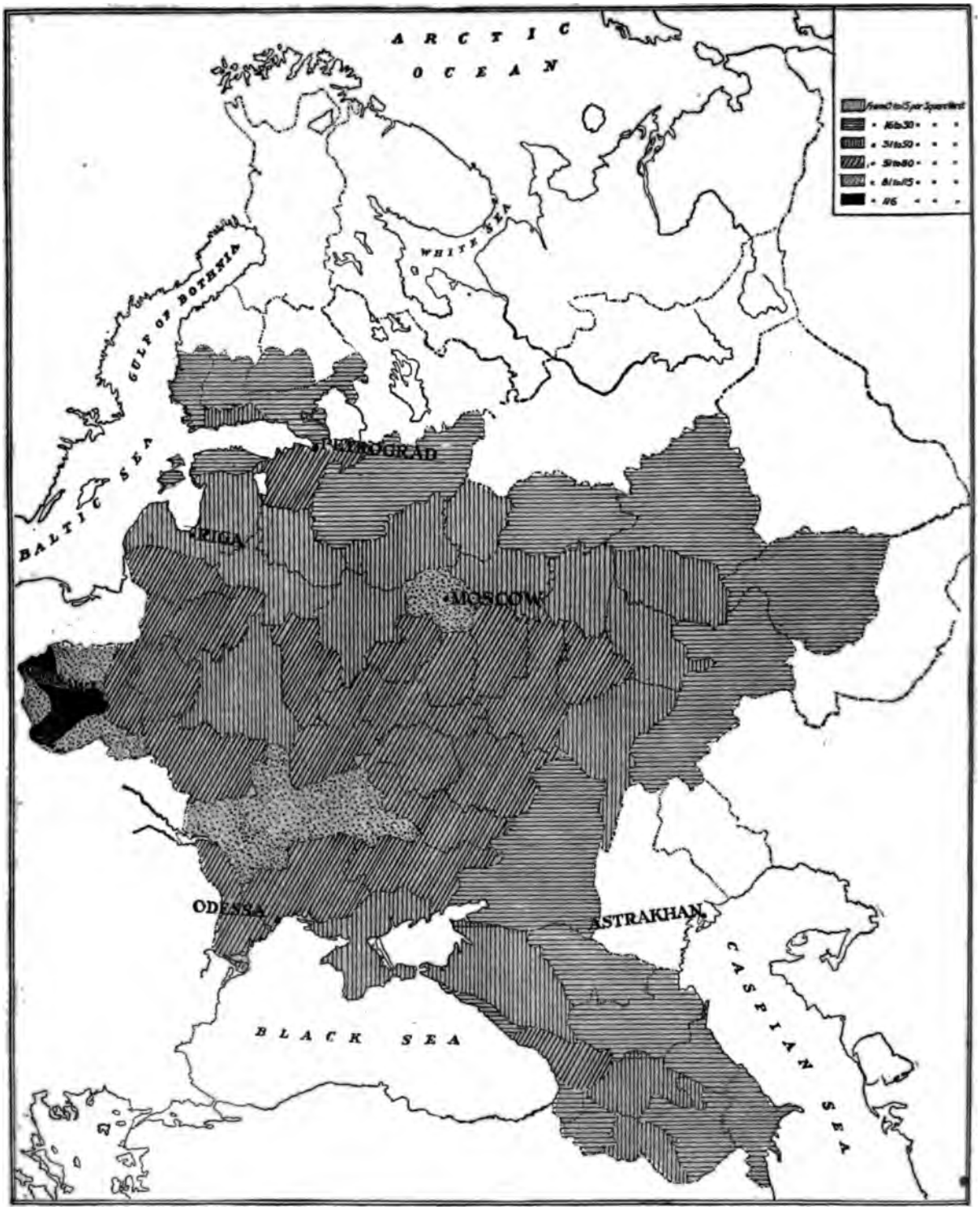
© R. Martens & Co.

The important part of the population is along the southern edge of the country. They are Russians who correspond to our Western pioneers while the tribes farther north might be compared to the American Indian tribes. Most of these tribes are hunters and fishers, ignorant, but industrious

THE DENSITY OF POPULATION IN SIBERIA

© R. Martens & Co.

Since the Revolution the emigration from Great Russia to Siberia has been the full carrying power of the railroads—about 3,000 per day. The town of Harbin, for example, has increased from 60,000 to about 400,000. This influx affects the northern region very little. The chart is based upon the number of inhabitants per square verst. A square verst is more than two square miles. There is a remarkable corelation between density of population and distribution of railroads in all parts of Russia and Siberia



© R. Martens & Co.

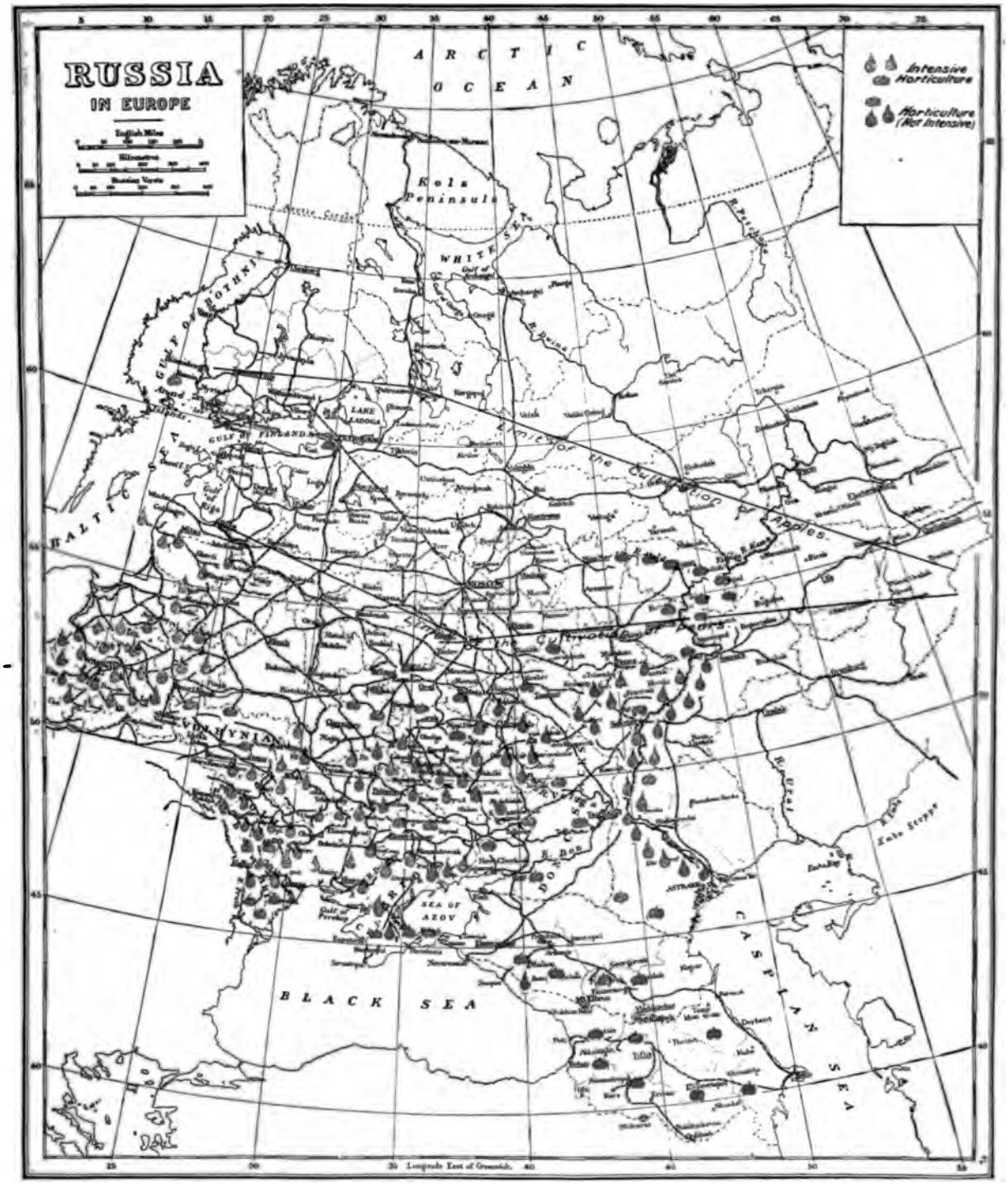
DENSITY OF POPULATION IN EUROPEAN RUSSIA

During the war the population of Moscow grew from 1,350,000 to nearly 3 million because refugees kept crowding from the South and West toward the industrial centres. There have been other changes, but the general condition is as represented above

© R. Martens & Co.

FARM MACHINERY USED BY PEASANTS

The chart shows where from ten to seventy improved implements are in use for every thousand peasants. The use of such implements will perhaps have as great an influence on Russia's industrial future as any one thing. Russia is badly in need of implements just now after four years without commerce



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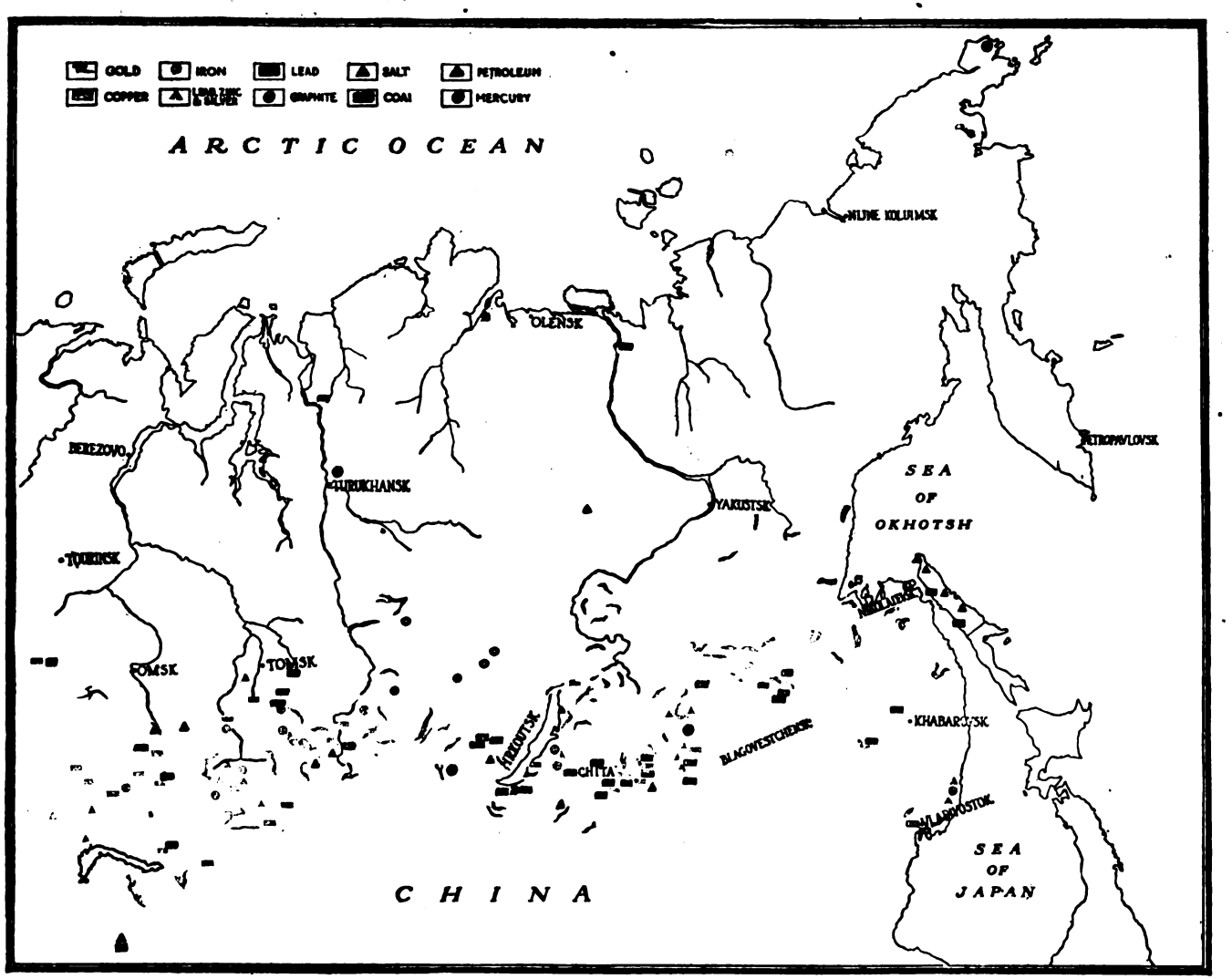
THE HORTICULTURE OF RUSSIA

Russia needs refrigerators and refrigerator cars not only to prevent Australian meat from competing with Siberian in Petrograd markets, but for fruit transportation.s Grapes, melons, cherries, etc., go to waste in immense quantities in the South, but are frequently at the same time luxuries in Moscow and cities similarly situated. Germany can get fruit from Poland and probably from Ukraine, for fruit requires no cultivation. The grapes grown in the Black Sea region make excellent wine

COMPARATIVE IMPORTANCE OF RUSSIAN FISHERIES

© R. Martens & Co.

A pood equals 36 pounds. The best of caviar is produced by the two southeastern fisheries. The export of both was controlled by Germans before the war. It is said that from these fisheries one could secure a different species of fish for every meal every day during the entire year



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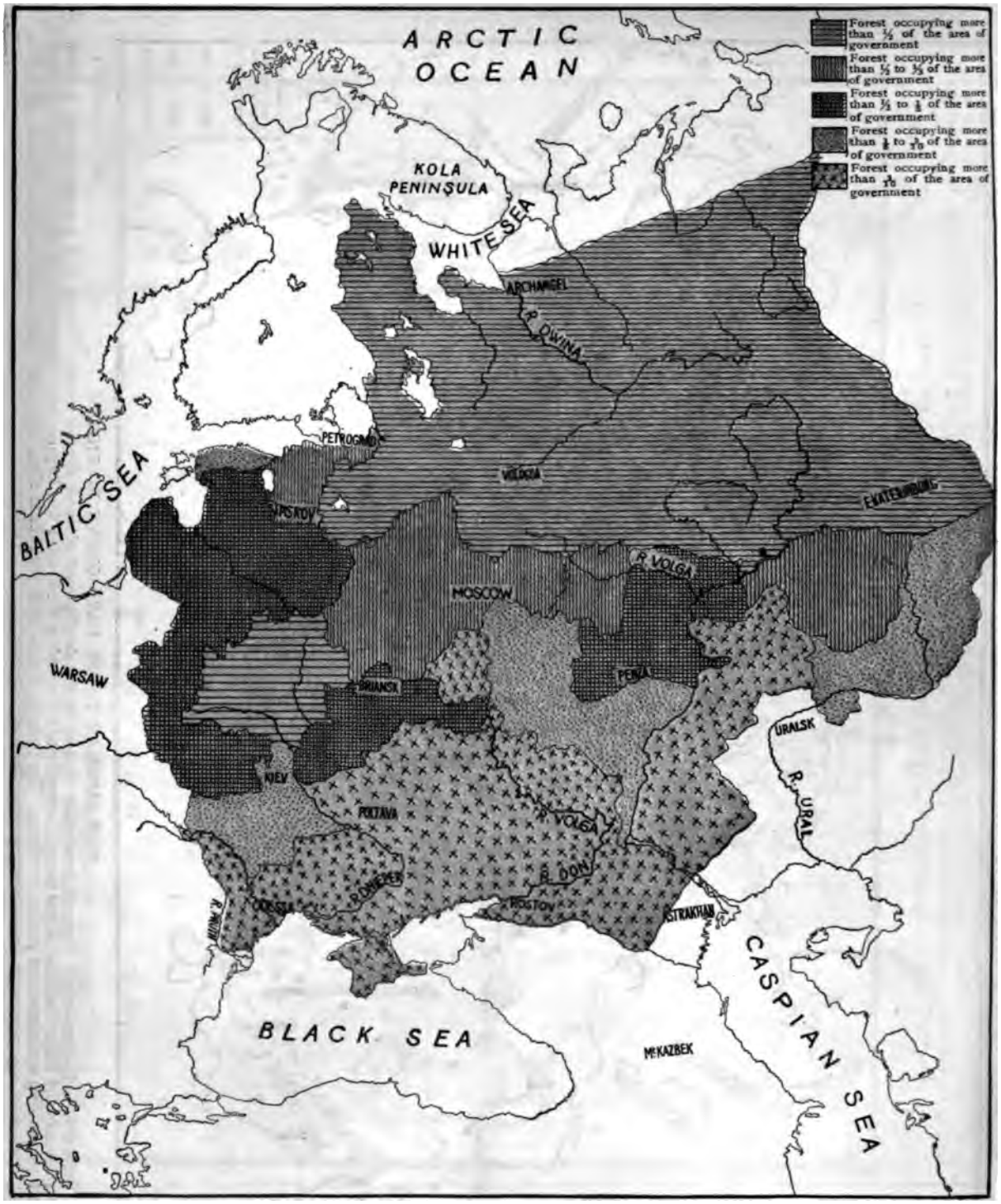
ENOUGH NATURAL WEALTH TO PAY THE WORLD'S WAR DEBT

Siberia's mineral wealth is almost untouched. Until recent years all the mining was by convict labor and even to-day hardly any machinery is used. Many places of future importance are now more than a thousand miles from railroads

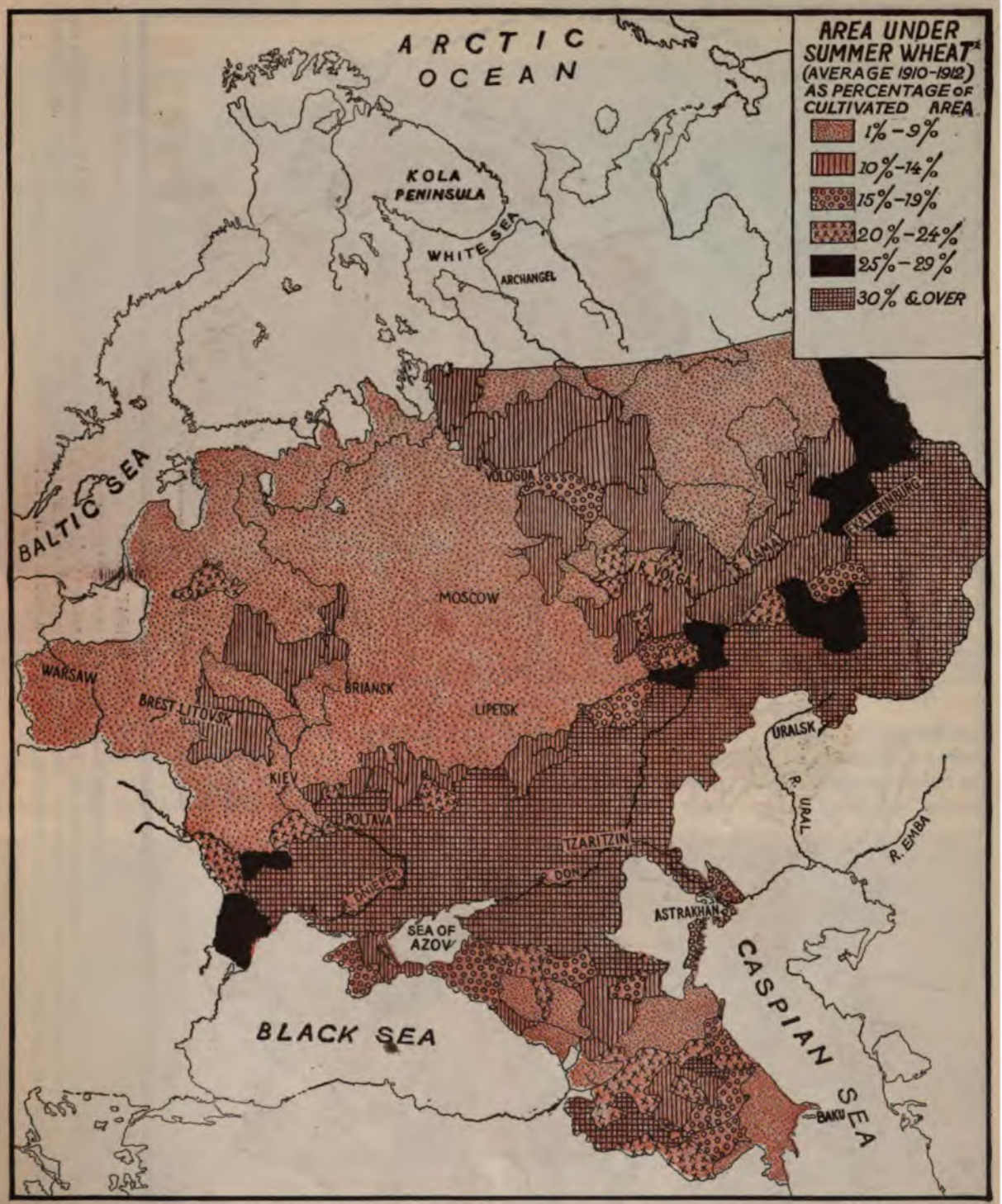
I.E. MOVEMENT AND SECRETS HIDING PLACE
PETROPAVLOVSK
VLADIVOSTOK
SEA OF OKHOTSK
SEA OF JAPAN
NIKOLAEVSK
NIKOLAYEVSKENSK
YAKUTSK
R. Lena
ARCTIC OCEAN
IRKUTSK
Yenisei R.
KARA SEA
TOMSK
OMSK
R. Ob
PETROGRAD
MOSCOW
R. Volga
KHIVA
BOKHARA
CASPIAN SEA



GERMANY CAN GET TIMBER IN RUSSIA

© R. Martens & Co.

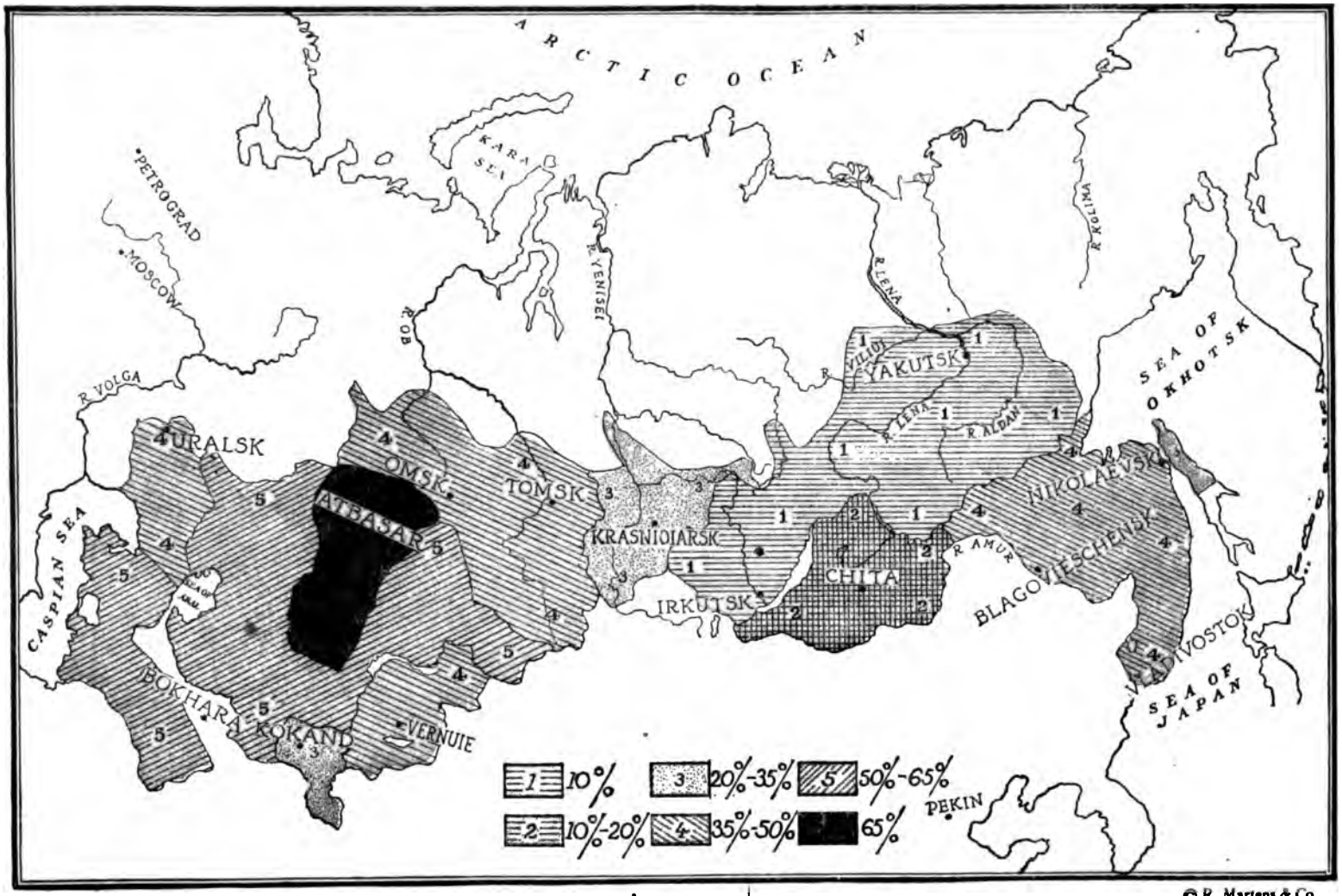
Thirty-six per cent. of European Russia is wooded, and, as the shading indicates, some of the best of these areas are now available for German needs. Timber cannot, like wheat, be eaten, so the peasant may be willing to cut and deliver it for money



THE WORLD'S SECOND LARGEST WHEAT SUPPLY

© R. Martens & Co.

Russia produces about 720 million bushels of wheat annually. In 1913, Russia exported wheat valued at more than 225 million rubles. Odessa is the great grain market of Russia. The distribution of wheat land corresponds roughly to that of the black soil while rye is grown principally on the "podzol" soil of central Russia. These two crops overlap in the transition soil belt. The winter wheat crop of European Russia is about three fifths as great as the summer yield.



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SIBERIA'S WHEAT AREAS

The percentages indicate the portions of areas now producing wheat

The cultivation of wheat in Siberia is increasing as population increases. The average yield in Russia is now about ten bushels per acre. This low yield is due to extensive cultivation and crude methods of tillage generally. Her soil and climate are as well suited to wheat culture as are those of Germany and England. Siberia's greatest yields are near Omsk. The total area in wheat in Siberia is seven million acres. In Siberia wheat is grown on the black soils

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

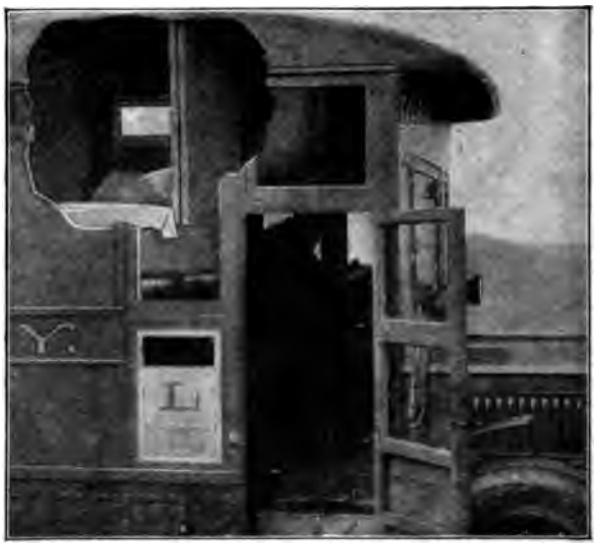
IS THIS THE SOLUTION OF THE TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM?

This motor truck, equipped with the largest pneumatic tires ever made—12-inch rear and ten-inch forward—has been in continuous operation between Akron, Ohio, New York, and Boston since last February. There is a fleet of them now, all running on better than express schedule, for they have made the 500-mile trip from Akron to New York in 47 hours and the 750-mile journey from Akron to Boston in 61 hours, and have frequently covered the 1,500-mile round trip in six days, which is about the usual one-way express schedule. The pneumatic tire not only reduces wear and tear on the truck chassis and engine, but minimizes damage to cargo, reduces gasolene consumption, does less damage to the roads and permits greater speed than the solid tire. The maintained rate of 250 miles a day is as good as any one ever expects a touring car to do

A MACHINE so gigantic that the curvature of the earth's surface had to be taken into consideration in its construction, is being built for the United States Army as part of the programme for the "salvage" of war waste. It is a huge planer, 500 feet long, which is to be used in the manufacture of giant lathes, which in turn are for use in the enormous "relining" plant

LARGEST PNEUMATIC TIRES EVER MADE

Through the heavy snows and low temperatures of the early part of 1918, these trucks maintained regular schedule, carrying a three-ton load. Tires of this size have not yet been put on the market, but the designers report that experience covering eight months indicates that they have come to stay



"SLEEPING QUARTERS"

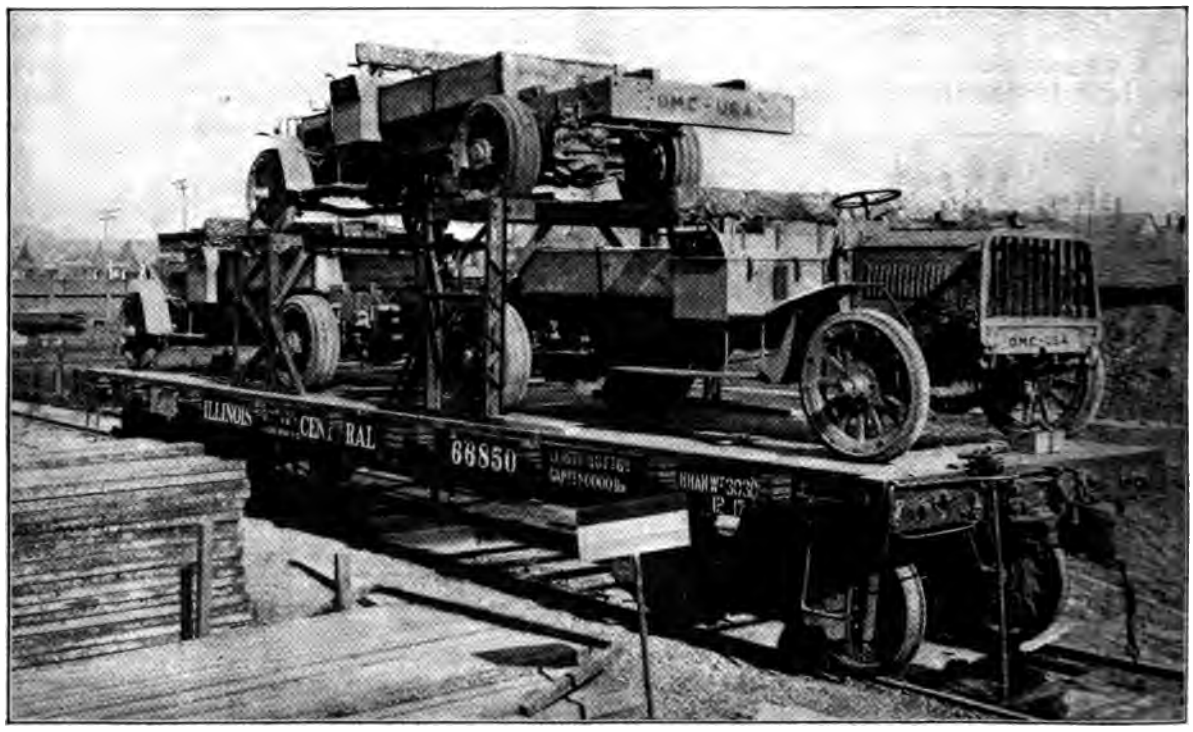
To run the trucks night and day requires two drivers, so this comfortable bunk has been provided back of the driver's seat, where one can sleep while the other drives. "Tramp" trucks, picking up cargo wherever they can find it and carrying it to any destination, are suggested by this latest transportation development

FROM DETROIT TO THE SEA

One of the daily trains of Army trucks, from fifty to two hundred a day, that transport themselves and a load of Army freight from the factories in Detroit to Atlantic ports. Each five-ton truck carries from two to three tons of Army supplies on its first trip, thus relieving the railroads of a vast amount of unnecessary load and insuring the delivery of both trucks and supplies when and where needed

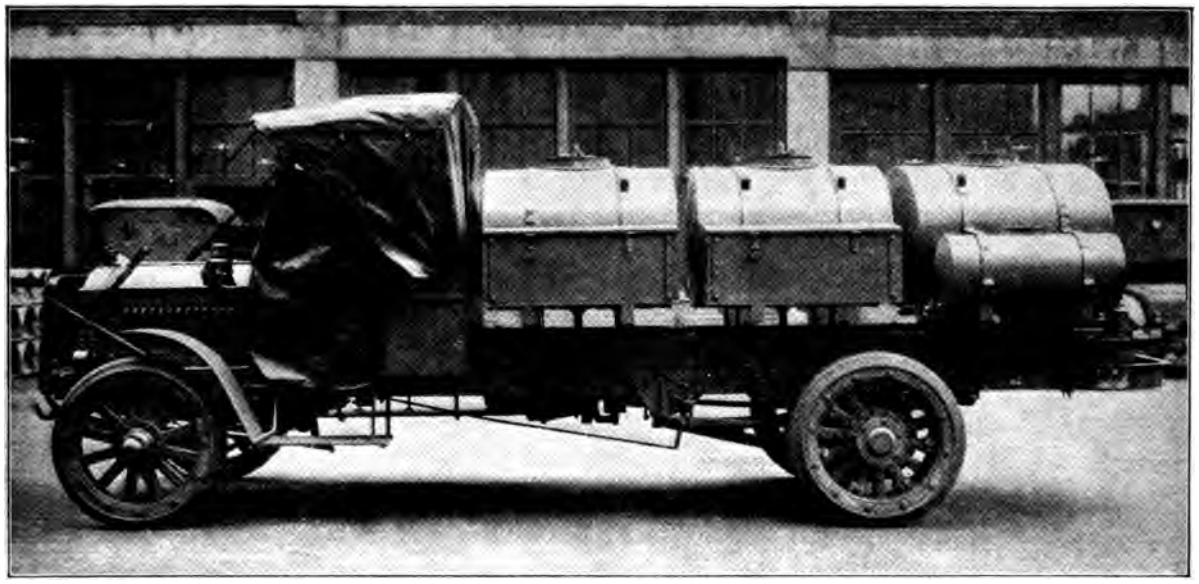
which the Ordnance Department is building "Somewhere in France."

The longest planer ever built heretofore is eighty feet. To insure a perfectly level bed for this one, more than six times as long, calculations had to be made by methods employed in the science of geodesy, combining geometry and astronomy! This great machine, almost as long as the Washington Monument, will cost $450,000. The lathes it will make will have a "swing" of 102 inches and can handle the largest "railroad" or naval gun. Some $6,500,000 worth of these



LOADING ARMY TRUCKS

Army trucks loaded on a flat-car for railroad shipment. These are lighter trucks, of the type used for ammunition-despatch service back *of the lines "over there."* By this ingenious method of loading, three trucks can be carried on a car that formerly held but two. This plan *alone will release twenty* railway cars a day that are sorely needed in the present emergency



GASOLENE AND OIL TANKS

A "tank" that is of the greatest possible military service, but not the kind of "tank" mentioned in the despatches. This is the style of vehicle used as a tender for aviation fields and motor transport trains. The large tanks carry gasolene, the smaller ones lubricating oil. Thousands of these trucks have been shipped overseas and they form an indispensable part of the Army's equipment

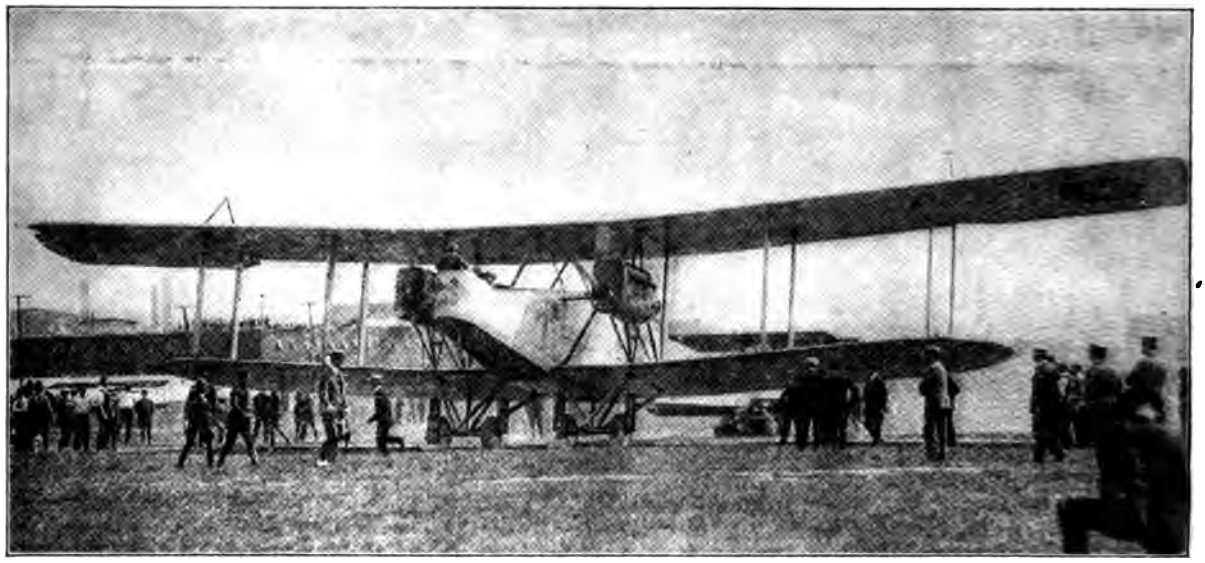
lathes will form part of the equipment of the plant which is to be used to reline big guns. The heat and chemical action of the gases of combustion wear out the rifling of a gun after a few hundred rounds. By boring out the inside and putting in a new lining, the gun is given a new lease of life. The "jacket" or shell of the gun is heated, a new lining inserted, and the gun then dipped into a "shrinkage pit," which shrinks the jacket tightly around the new lining. This process may be repeated several times with each gun.

The plant our Army is building in France for

© International Film Service

"CATERPILLAR" TRACTOR

The "caterpillar" type of tractor is a distinctly American invention, although the first military use of this vehicle which carries its own road-bed with it was made by the British with their now-celebrated "tanks." Our Army is using the principle, not only for "tanks" but for tractors, and so, curiously enough, is the Navy. These are marines escorting a camouflaged 6-inch gun



© Underwood & Underwood

THE LANGLEY BOMBING AIRPLANE

This is the first of the giant Handley-Page bombing airplanes to be built in the United States. It was named "Langley," in honor of the American scientist who first demonstrated the possibility of mechanical flight. This huge machine has a wing-spread of about 100 feet. It is equipped with two American-built engines. This is an English type of machine, but the plans for it were given to the American Government early in 1917. Equipped with three motors and carrying a crew of seven men, these machines have been turned out in large numbers in England and are used on bombing expeditions far back of the enemy's lines. Nearly a ton of explosives can be carried

© Underwood & Underwood

A DEVICE FOR RESURFACING WOODEN FLOORS

This curious-looking device is a machine that gives old wooden floors a new surface. It is operated by electricity, the motor operating a series of rotary planes and sand-paper rolls as the apparatus slowly rolls along the floor, while a vacuum-cleaner attachment gathers the shavings and sawdust

this work is comparable with the Krupp works in size. It will cost about $30,000,000. It will have its own electric generating plant of several thousand kilowatt capacity. Several 240-ton electric traveling cranes will lift the big guns. Machine tool equipment alone will cost almost $15,000,000.

The engineering work by the Ordnance Department in the development of this project was completed within thirty days of its inception, and work on every part of the programme is now well under way.

This great plant is only one part of the salvage work in France undertaken by our Army. There will be few "relics" for souvenir-hunters to pick up from the battlefields after this war. Every bit of worn-out or discarded equipment or supplies is remade into something useful. Old uniforms are cleaned, repaired and reissued; those not fit for our men are dyed green and issued to German prisoners! Shoes are ripped apart and remade, discarded uppers cut into shoestrings and cast-off soles ground up for use in waterproof compositions. Rubber boots and slickers are repaired, old felt hats made into soles for hospital slippers, every sort of scrap metal reutilized. Automobiles are patched together out of parts of damaged ones.

The American people as a whole have been incredibly wasteful. But salvage plans already in effect will save millions of dollars a month, and the relining of big guns will add millions of dollars more.

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THE WORLD'S WORK

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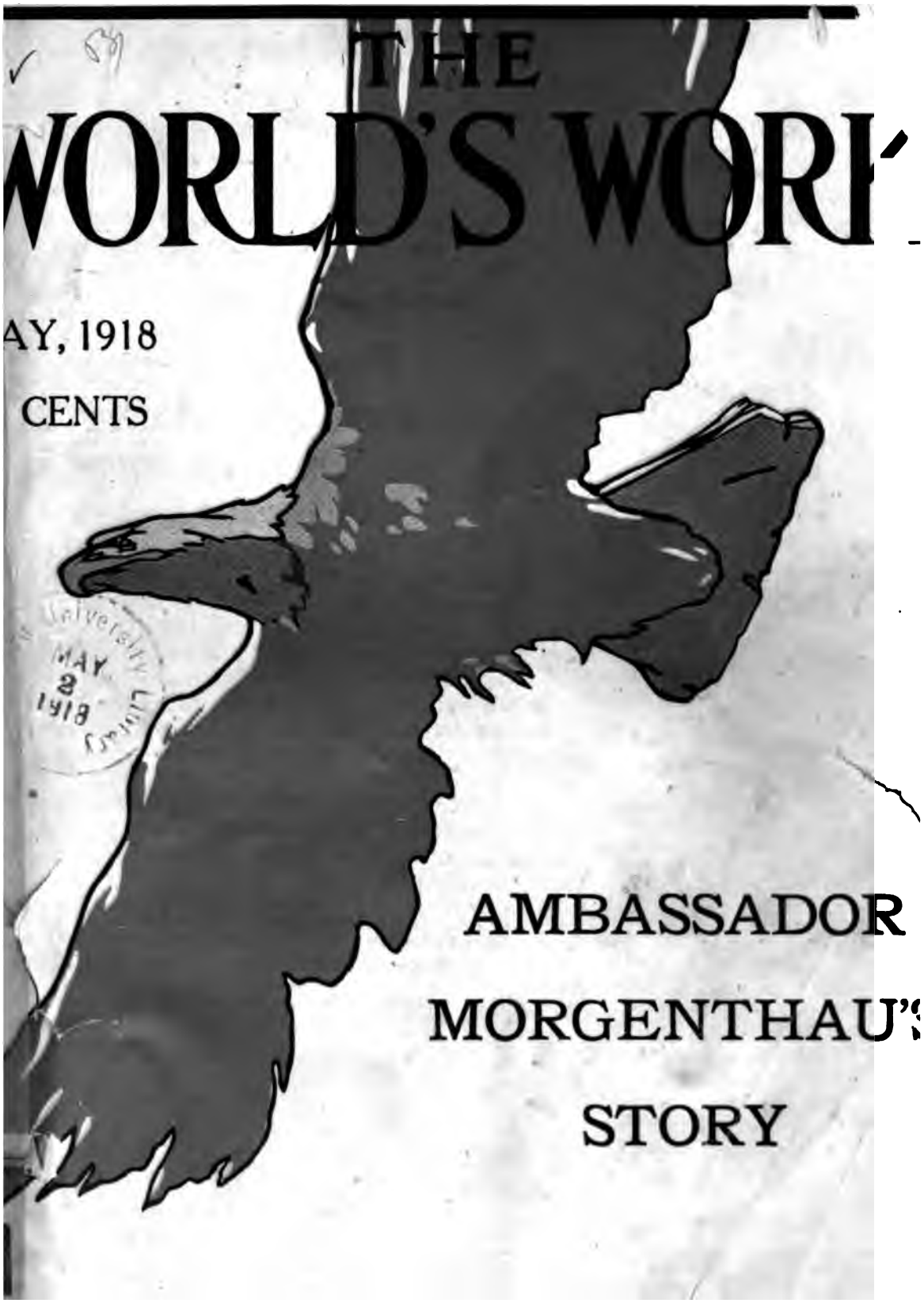

AMBASSADOR MORGENTHAU'S STORY

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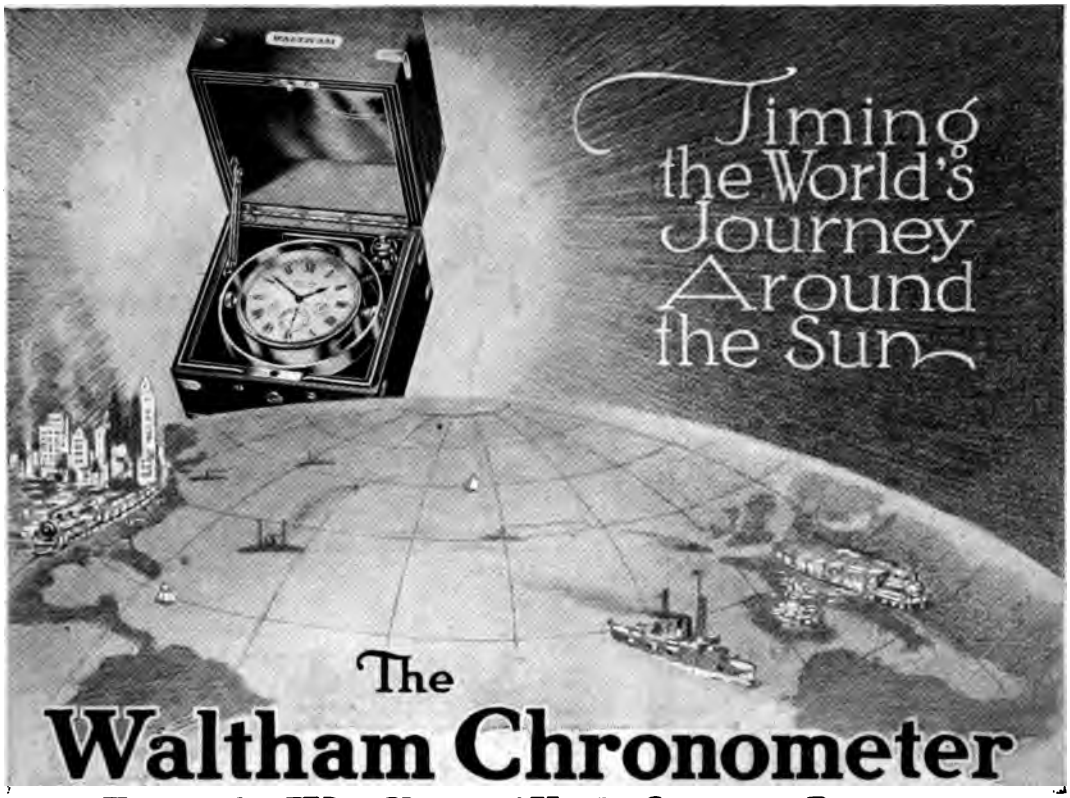

Times the War Ships of Uncle Sam and Britain

Dreadnoughts of war guarding the gateways of nations; destroyers vigilantly roaming the seas in quest of their hidden prey; ocean leviathans that carry their passengers safely from shore to shore when peace reigns — these are guided in their activities by Waltham Chronometers.

No greater faith was ever shown in the precision of a timepiece than when the war governments of the United States, England and Canada placed their orders at Waltham. Faith based on tests which proved the reliability and precision of the Waltham Chronometer.

Waltham, the only watch factory in the world equipped to make Chronometers, is also supplying other timepieces for war work. Deck clocks, comparing watches, airplane clocks, wrist watches, all made at Waltham, are doing their bit in helping the Allies go "over the top" to victory.

Visit the jeweler whose reputation stands highest for quality. Ask him to show you some of the Waltham models — particularly the Colonial A. The extreme thinness of this beautiful masterpiece is one of the crowning achievements of more than a half-century of watchmaking experience.

The Colonial A is an ensemble of all those superiorities which have led the horological experts of the greatest nations to choose Waltham in preference to any other watch made in America — in preference also to the finest timepieces of Switzerland, England or France.

WALTHAM

THE WORLD'S WATCH OVER TIME

Fighting

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Fighting Germany's Spies—V

THE WORLD'S WORK

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Ambassador Morgenthau's Story

II

THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE

and

HOW GERMANY PUT TURKEY INTO THE WAR

Victor Records

-the living evidence of an artist's greatness

What is it that makes an artist famous? That wins the applause of appreciative audiences? That establishes an enviable reputation as a great artist in the hearts of music-lovers?

The answer is indelibly inscribed on Victor Records. They are the living evidence of an artist's greatness. They reproduce the art of the most famous singers and instrumentalists with unswerving fidelity.

With the Victrola you can enjoy these superb interpretations at will right in your own home. But *only with the Victrola*—for the world's greatest artists make records for the Victrola exclusively.

Any Victor dealer will gladly play for you any music you wish to hear, and demonstrate the various styles of the Victor and Victrola—$10 to $400. Period styles to order from $375 to $950. Saenger Voice Culture Records are invaluable to vocal students—ask to hear them.

Victor Talking Machine Co.
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Canadian Distributors

Important Notice. Victor Records and Victor Machines are scientifically coordinated and synchronized in the processes of manufacture, and their use, one with the other, is absolutely essential to a perfect reproduction.

New Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers on the 1st of each month

Victrola, XVII, $265
Victrola XVII, electric, $325
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Obey that Impulse
Put on Your
WEED TIRE CHAINS
THE ONLY DEPENDABLE SAFEGUARD
AGAINST SKIDDING
EVERY "WEED"
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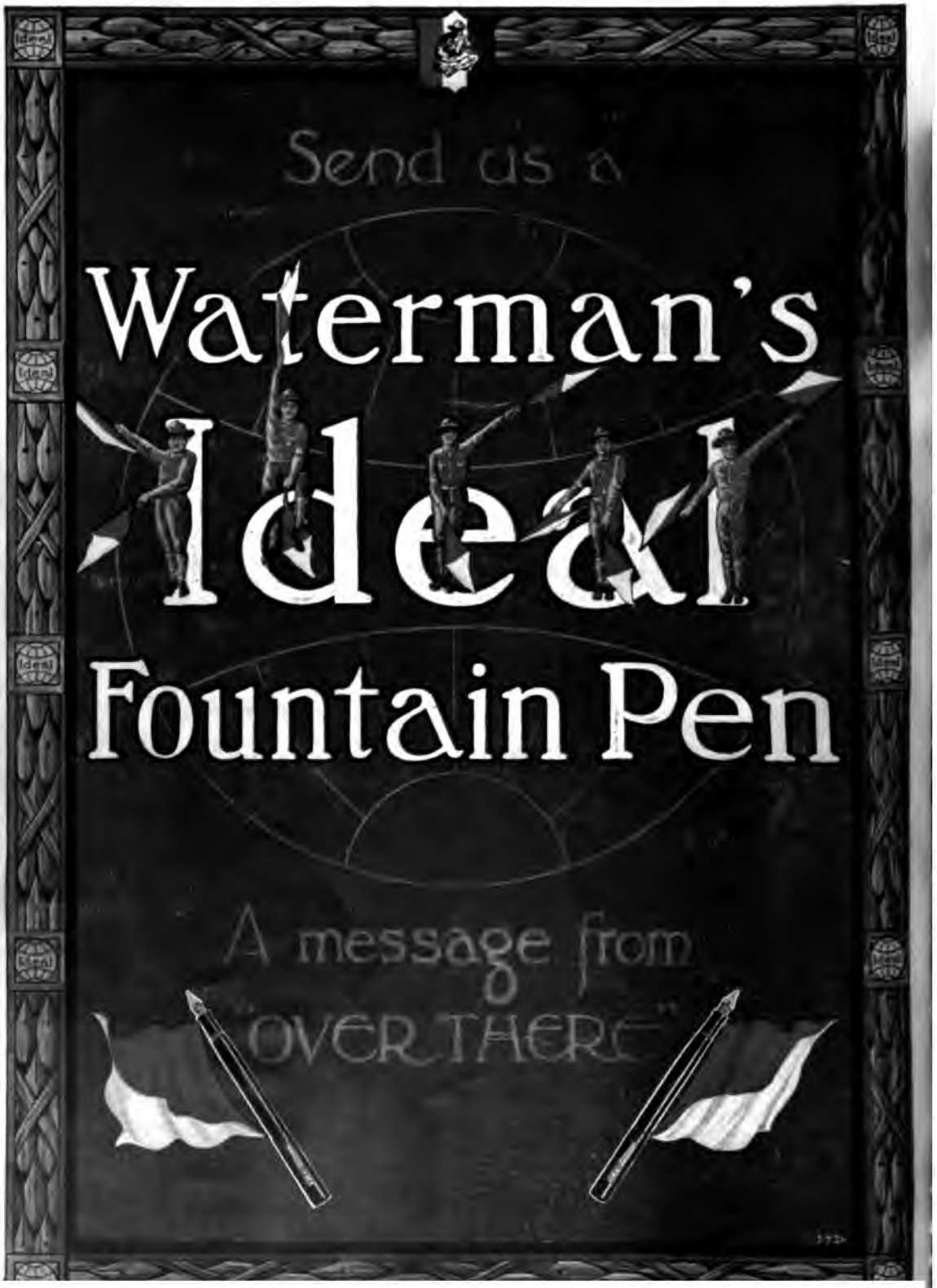
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A message from
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Ambassador Morgenthau's Story

III

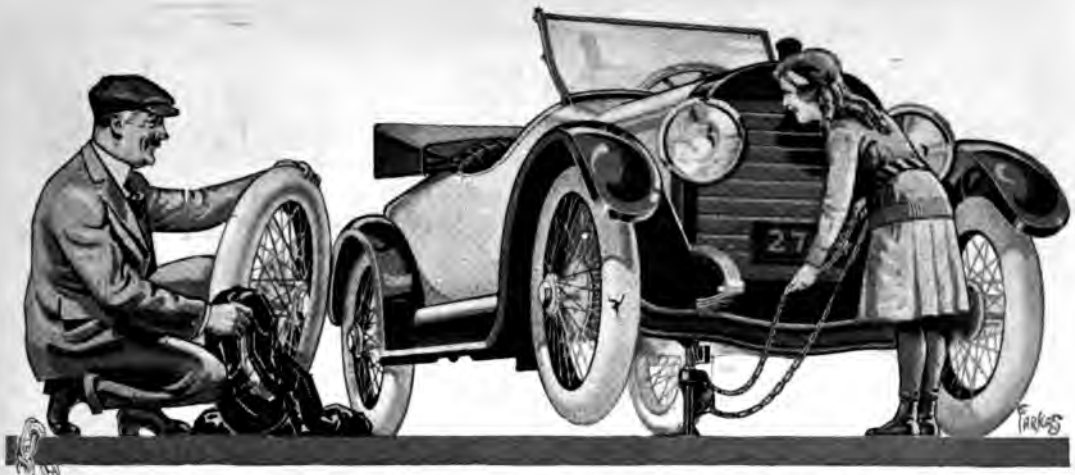
GETTING THE EUROPEANS SAFELY OUT OF CONSTANTINOPLE

and

THE GERMAN-MOSLEM "HOLY WAR"

Painted by Denman Fink for Cream of Wheat Co. *Copyright 1909 by Cream of Wheat Co.*

"A CASE OF DESERTION."



"Goodness, Daddy! You're Slow—The Car is Already Jacked Up!"

Weed Chain-Jack

It's a Child's Play to Operate It

Simply a few easy pulls on its chain lifts or lowers the heaviest car while you stand erect. Up or down—there's no labor.

To operate a Weed Chain-Jack it is not necessary to get down in a cramped, strained position and grovel in mud, grease or dust under a car to work a "handle" that is apt to fly up with unpleasant results. ***To lift a car*** with the Weed Chain-Jack, simply give a few easy pulls on its endless chain while you stand erect—clear from springs, tire carriers and other projections. ***To lower a car*** pull the chain in opposite direction.

Never gets out of order. Gears and chain wheel protected by a stamped-steel housing. ***Chain heavily plated*** to prevent rusting. ***Has a strong cap,*** providing the kind of support from which an axle will not slip, while a ***broad base*** prevents the jack from upsetting on uneven roads. ***Quickly adjusted to any required height*** by lifting the screw and spinning the corrugated "collar" shown in the illustration. ***Try it yourself***—you will never be satisfied with any other jack.

10 Days' Trial

If your dealer does not have them, send $7.50 for any size for passenger cars, or $15.00 for the Truck size, and we will send you one, all charges prepaid. For delivery in Canada send $8.50 for any size for passenger cars or $16.00 for the Truck size. Try it 10 days. If not satisfied, return it to us and we will refund your money.

MADE IN FOUR SIZES

SIZE	Height When Lowered	Height When Raised	Height When Raised With Aux. Step Up	Price
8 inch	8 inches	12 1-2 inches	14 1-2 inches	$7.50
10 inch	10 inches	15 3-8 inches	17 3-8 inches	7.50
12 inch	12 inches	18 1-2 inches	No Aux. Step	7.50
12 in. Truck	12 inches	19 1-4 inches	No Aux. Step	15.00

The 8 inch and 10 inch sizes are made with an auxiliary step as illustrated. When in operative position this step adds two inches to the height of the jack.

The Jack That Saves Your Back

American Chain Company, Inc.

Bridgeport, Connecticut

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The Battle of the Falklands

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Ambassador Morgenthau's Story

IV

GERMANY'S EARLY ATTEMPTS TO GET PEACE

and

THE ALLIED FLEET'S ATTACK ON THE DARDANELLES

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"JACK THE GIANT KILLER"

"What! My Car?"

"Yes! skidded—and it's up to you. You failed to provide the chauffeur with Tire Chains. Only good luck saved your wife from paying the supreme penalty for your negligence. She's on the way to the hospital painfully injured, but the doctor thinks she'll pull through. You'd better hurry to the hospital and then report to headquarters."

How strange it is that disaster must come to some men before they realize that all makes and types of tires will skid on wet pavements and muddy roads when not equipped with Chains.

These men do not appreciate until too late, that by failing to provide Weed Anti-Skid Chains they expose their families to injury and death.

The time to provide against accidents is before they happen. Don't wait until after the first skid. Put Weed Chains on all four tires at the first indication of slippery going and you will have quadruple protection against injury, death, car damage and law suits.

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ɜermany's Monstrous Trade Plot

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How the Allies Lost Constantinople

Mr. Morgenthau Tells of the Greatest Blunder of the War

Henry Ford Tells

"Why I Want to Go to the Senate"—
"Why a Pacifist is Willing to Fight"

GERMAN INTRIGUE IN MEXICO

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12 inch	12 inches	18 1-2 inches	No Aux. Step	7.50
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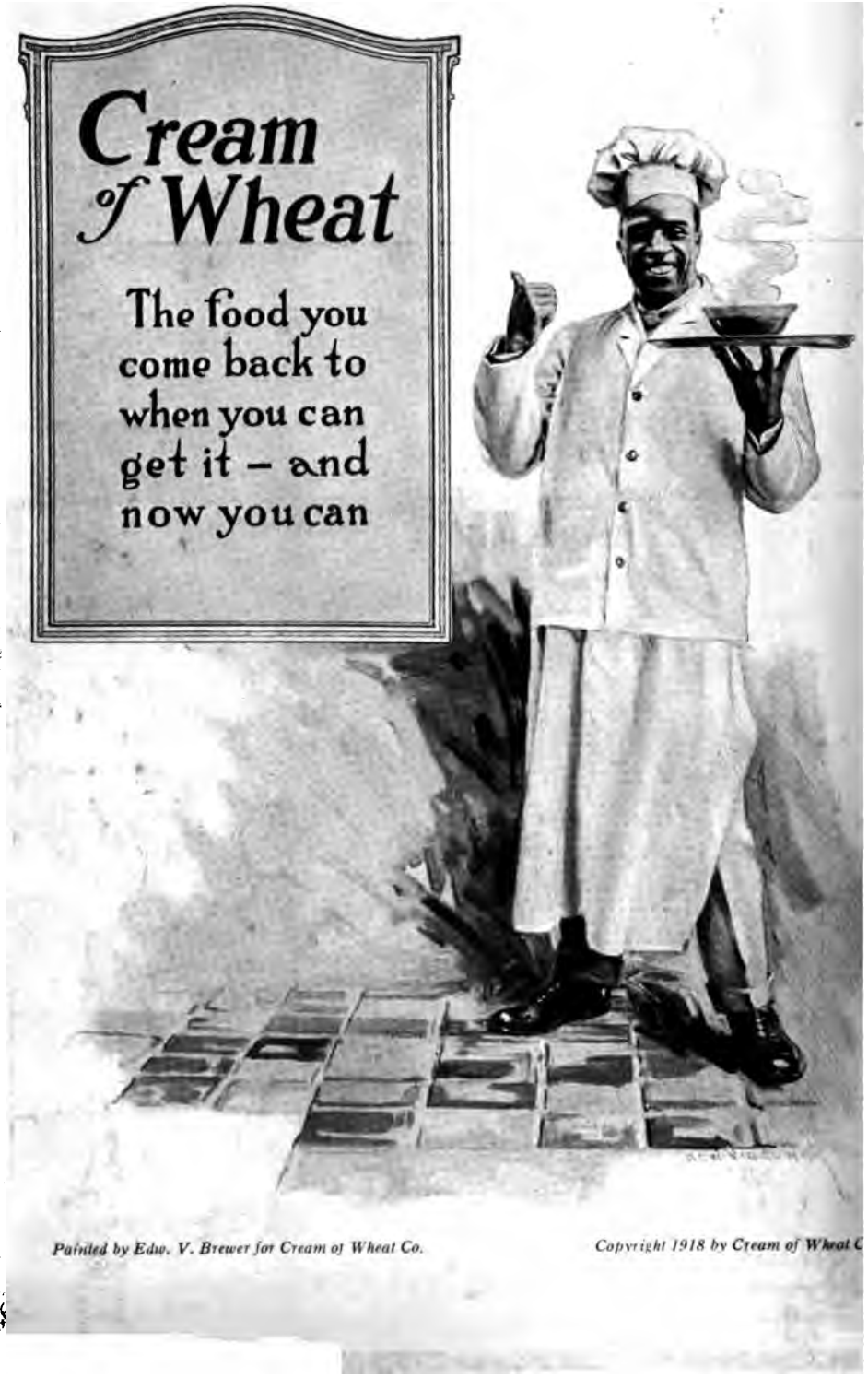
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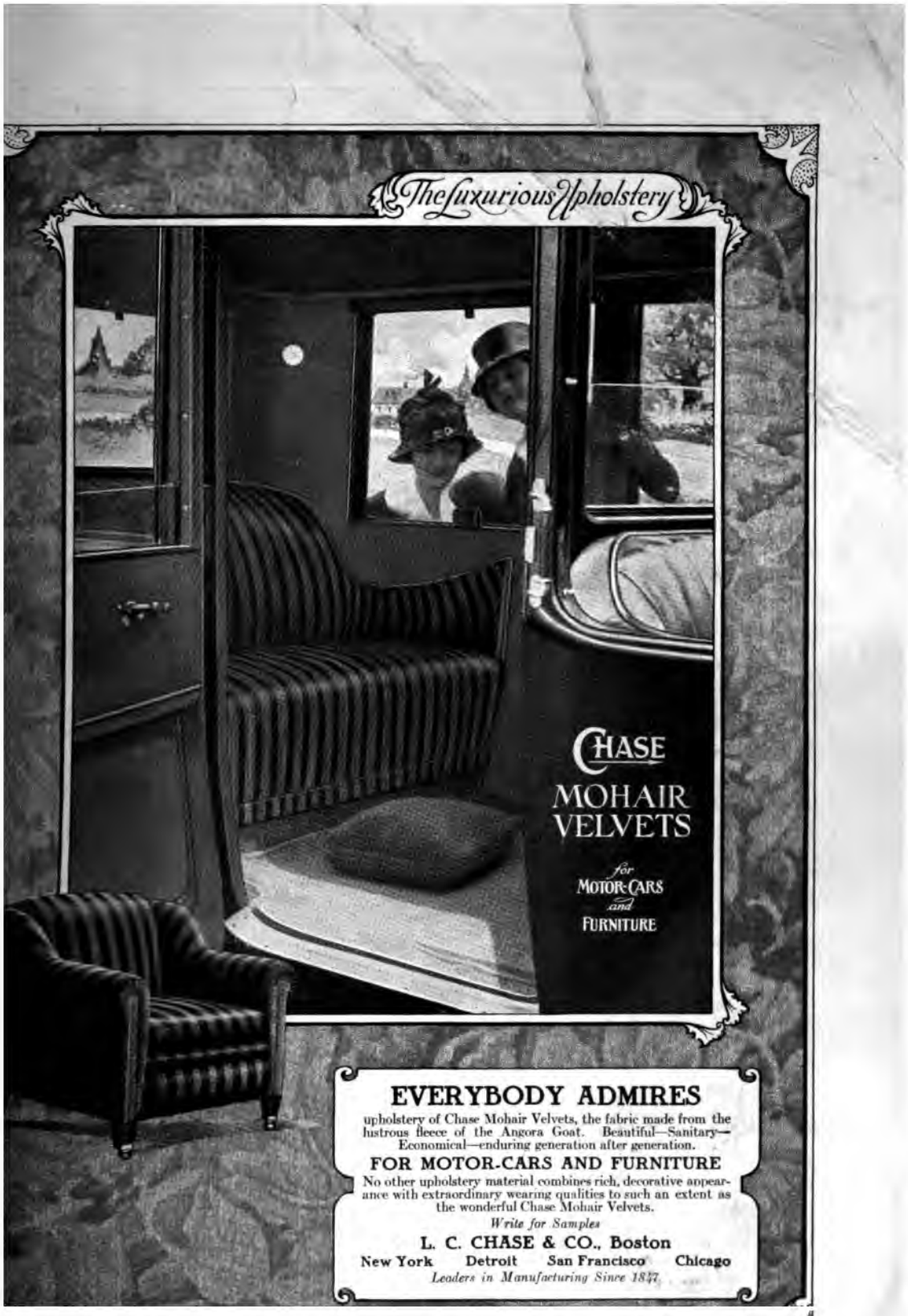

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